



Hellenizing Art in Ancient Nubia  
300 BC – AD 250  
and its Egyptian Models

*A Study in “Acculturation”*

László Török

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300 BC–AD 250  
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# Culture and History of the Ancient Near East

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# Hellenizing Art in Ancient Nubia 300 BC–AD 250 and its Egyptian Models

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*By*  
László Török



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## CONTENTS

List of Diagrams and Plates .....	ix
Preface and Acknowledgements .....	xix
Geographical and Political Terms .....	xxiii
Chronological Table .....	xxv
 Introduction. The Nubian Scene .....	 1
1. As Seen in the Classical Antiquity .....	1
2. As Seen in Modern Times .....	5
 Chapter One. Ergamenes, Aktisanes, and the Modern Discovery of Hellenizing Art in Meroe .....	 13
1. Ancient and Modern Legends About the Hellenization of Meroe .....	13
2. The Late Twentieth Century Appraisal of Meroitic Art: “High Art” and “Visual Culture” .....	21
 Chapter Two. Reception without Understanding? .....	 27
 Chapter Three. An Elusive Model: Images of Egypt’s Multicultural Identity in the Ptolemaic and Roman Periods .....	 41
1. The Arts of the Ptolemaic Period .....	41
1.1. Cultural Apartheid or Cultural Symbiosis? .....	41
1.2. How Hellenistic Was Hellenistic Art in Egypt? .....	53
1.3. A Dualist Model: The Petosiris Tomb .....	61
2. The Arts of the Roman Period .....	71
3. Greek Images of Egyptian Deities: For Whom? .....	81
 Chapter Four. Early Contacts with Ptolemaic Egypt and the Early Imports .....	 99

Chapter Five. Hellenizing Architecture and Sculpture in Meroe City .....	113
1. The City of Meroe and its Hellenizing Architecture .....	113
1.1. The Discovery of the Site .....	113
1.2. The City and its Role in Pre-Meroitic Times .....	115
1.3. The Meroitic City and the Late Amun Temple .....	122
1.4. Palaces in the “Royal Enclosure” .....	126
1.5. The Faience Cylinders from M 200–221 .....	135
2. The “Water Sanctuary” and its Sculptural Finds .....	139
2.1. The Finds from the 1911–1913 Excavations at M 95–194–195 and Their Interpretation .....	139
2.2. The Sculptures .....	151
2.2.1. The <i>In Situ</i> Decoration .....	151
2.2.2. The Statuary from the Cachette and Related Finds from M 194–195 .....	155
2.3. The Function of M 95–194–195 .....	169
2.4. Quality and Workshop .....	173
2.5. Date, Style, Program .....	176
Chapter Six. The Great Enclosure at Musawwarat es Sufra .....	189
1. Kings and Gods at Musawwarat es Sufra .....	189
1.1. The Building and its Function(s): 1 .....	189
1.2. Excursus: Building 600 at Naqa .....	198
1.3. The Gods of Musawwarat es Sufra .....	200
1.4. The Building and its Function(s): 2 .....	204
2. The Freedom of Imitation .....	214
2.1. The Ground Plan .....	214
2.2. Forms and Styles .....	221
2.2.1. Innovations in Architectural Forms .....	221
2.2.2. Innovations in Architectural Sculpture .....	227
2.2.3. On the Style of the Sculptures in the Round from Musawwarat es Sufra .....	236
Chapter Seven. From Mass-Product to Luxury and Back. Decorated Fine Pottery and Meroitic Vase Painting .....	239
1. Academic Access to Decorated Fine Pottery .....	239
2. Handmade Early Meroitic Finewares .....	243
3. Undecorated Wheel-Made Early Meroitic Finewares .....	245
4. Episodes of Figural Relief Decoration .....	247

5. Meroitic Vase Painting .....	251
5.1. A Note on Decoration Colours and Structures .....	251
5.2. Styles of Vase Painting .....	252
5.2.1. Linear Designs .....	252
5.2.2. Import and Imitation of Decorated Hellenistic Pottery in the Early Meroitic Period .....	253
5.2.3. The Beginnings of the “Line Drawing Style” ...	261
5.2.4. Narrative Episodes .....	269
5.2.5. Decorated Egyptian Pottery Produced for the Nubian Market and its Impact on Meroitic Painters .....	277
5.2.6. The Style of Order .....	288
5.2.7. Painters from the Region Between the Second and Third Cataracts .....	293
5.2.8. Back to Mass Production and Some Exceptions .....	295
Chapter Eight. The Hellenistic Egyptian Style Kiosk at Naqa or “Acculturation” Sidetracked .....	301
Chapter Nine. Media and Messages. The Autonomy of Nubian “Acculturation” .....	309
Abbreviations .....	327
Index of Names .....	349
Index of Places, Peoples, and Monuments .....	353
Museum Index .....	357
Plates .....	359



## LIST OF DIAGRAMS AND PLATES

### *Diagrams*

- 1 Profile of column bases, Musawwarat es Sufra, Great Enclosure, outer front colonnade 102 (p. 222)

### *Plates*

- 1 Map of the Middle Nile Region
- 2 Hellenizing Egyptian capital. After McKenzie 2007 fig. 191
- 3 Fragment of Egyptian terracotta statuette of cult attendant, Budapest, private collection. After Török 1995 Cat. 163
- 4 Egyptian terracotta statuette of Nubian priestess, Budapest, Museum of Fine Arts T 534. After Török 1995 Cat. 145
- 5 Head of Egyptian terracotta statuette of Nubian, Budapest, Museum of Fine Arts T 252. After Török 1995 Cat. 222
- 6 Tuna el-Gebel, Petosiris tomb, pronaos, relief scene. After Lefebvre 1924/2007 Pl. XIX
- 7 Tuna el-Gebel, Petosiris tomb, pronaos, relief scene. After Lefebvre 1924/2007 Pl. XX, bottom
- 8 Tuna el-Gebel, Petosiris tomb, naos, scene 88, detail. After C-C-G 123
- 9 Tuna el-Gebel, Petosiris tomb, naos, scene 93, detail. After C-C-G 140
- 10 Begarawiya West grave 501, inlaid casket lid. After Török 1989 No. 6
- 11 Meroe City, leg of bronze censer. After Török 1997b Pl. 189 (right)
- 12 Begarawiya South grave 3, top: bronze strainer; bottom: silver bowl. After Török 1989 Nos 1a, 2
- 13 Begarawiya South grave 6, metal vessels. After Török 1989 Nos 12–15
- 14 The region of Meroe City. After Hinkel – Sievertsen 2002 Pl. IX.3

- 15 Meroe City. After Hinkel – Sievertsen 2002 Pl. IX.4
- 16 Meroe City, late Amun temple M 260. After Wildung (ed.) 1997 fig. 52
- 17 Meroe City, “Royal Enclosure”, west wall behind the late Amun temple
- 18 Meroe City, “Royal Enclosure”, northern part. After Garstang – Phythian-Adams – Sayce 1914–1916 Pl. II
- 19 Meroe City, “Royal Enclosure”. After Garstang 1913 Pl. VI
- 20 Meroe City, “Royal Enclosure”, northern part. After Hinkel – Sievertsen 2002 Pl. IX.29
- 21 Meroe City, “Royal Enclosure”, northern part. After Hinkel – Sievertsen 2002 Pl. IX.13
- 22 Meroe City, “Royal Enclosure”, northern part. After Hinkel – Sievertsen 2002 Pl. IX.31
- 23 Meroe City, engaged sandstone capital. After Török 1997b Pl. 8
- 24 Meroe City, faience cylinder (Cylinder I), ROM 921.4.1. After Török 1997b Pl. 62
- 25 Meroe City, faience cylinder (Cylinder II), Montreal, Redpath Museum of the McGill University. After Trigger 1994 fig. p. 393
- 26 Meroe City, faience cylinder (Cylinder III), Louvre AE E 11522. After Trigger 1994 fig. p. 395
- 27 Meroe City, faience cylinder (Cylinder III), Louvre AE E 11522, panel with Pan. After Baud – Sackho-Autissier – Labbé-Toutée (eds) 2010 Cat. 163
- 28 Meroe City, “water sanctuary”, Garstang’s excavations. After Garstang – George 1914 Pl. VII
- 29 Meroe City, “water sanctuary”, German Archaeological Institute excavations, ground plan in 2008. After Wolf, Simone *et al.* 2008 fig. 9
- 30 Meroe City, “water sanctuary”, left: Hinkel – Sievertsen 2002 “Bauperiode V”, right: “Bauperiode VI”. After Hinkel – Sievertsen 2002 Pls IX.40, 41
- 31 Meroe City, “water sanctuary”, “Bauperiode VIII” of Hinkel – Sievertsen 2002 Pl. IX.43
- 32 Meroe City, “water sanctuary”, south wall of M 195 in 1912. After Török 1997b Pl. 28
- 33 Meroe City, “water sanctuary”, south wall of M 195 in 1912, centre: *Cat.* 34, right: *Cat.* 37. After Török 1997b Pl. 29

- 34 Meroe City, “water sanctuary”, south wall of M 195 in 1912. After Török 1997b Pl. 30
- 35 Meroe City, “water sanctuary”, south wall of M 195 in 1912. After Török 1997b Pl. 31
- 36 Meroe City, “water sanctuary”, south wall of M 195 in 1912, right: *Cat.* 36. After Török 1997b Pl. 32
- 37 Meroe City, “water sanctuary”, south wall of M 195 in 1912. After Török 1997b Pl. 33
- 38 Meroe City, “water sanctuary”, the cachette in 1912. After Török 1997b Pl. 20
- 39 Meroe City, “water sanctuary”, the cachette in 1912. After Török 1997b Pl. 21
- 40 Meroe City, “water sanctuary”, *Cat.* 1, head of statue. After Török 1997b fig. 75
- 41 Meroe City, “water sanctuary”, *Cat.* 2, fragment of statue. After Török 1997b fig. 77
- 42 Meroe City, “water sanctuary” (?), *Cat.* 3, statue of Aphrodite, München ÄS 1334. After Wildung (ed.) 1997 *Cat.* 439
- 43 Meroe City, “water sanctuary”, *Cat.* 4, fragment of Silenus head. After Török 1997b fig. 77
- 44 Meroe City, “water sanctuary”, bottom centre: *Cat.* 5, head of Silenus; top centre: *Cat.* 14, head of reclining man (?). After Török 1997b Pl. 43
- 45 Meroe City, “water sanctuary”, *Cat.* 7, *kithara* player. After Hofmann – Tomandl 1986 fig. 53
- 46 Meroe City, “water sanctuary”, *Cat.* 8, *aulos* player. After Garstang photo, Liverpool
- 47 Meroe City, “water sanctuary”, right: *Cat.* 9A, *syrix* player, left: *Cat.* 28, sphinx. After Török 1997b Pl. 52
- 48 Meroe City, “water sanctuary”, *Cat.* 11, reclining man, front view, Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek Æ.I.N. 1484. After Wenig 1975b No. 437
- 49 Meroe City, “water sanctuary”, *Cat.* 11, reclining man, back view, Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek Æ.I.N. 1484. After Török 1997b Pl. 37
- 50 Meroe City, “water sanctuary”, *Cat.* 12, reclining couple. After Török 1997b Pl. 35
- 51 Meroe City, “water sanctuary”, *Cat.* 16, fragment of head of reclining man (?). After Török 1997b Pl. 45



- 52 Meroe City, “water sanctuary”, left: *Cat. 17*, head of reclining man (?), front view, right: *Cat. 18*, head of reclining man (?), front view. After Török 1997b Pl. 46
- 53 Meroe City, “water sanctuary”, left: *Cat. 17*, head of reclining man (?), profile view, right: *Cat. 18*, head of reclining man (?), profile view. After Török 1997b Pl. 47
- 54 Meroe City, “water sanctuary”, extreme left: *Cat. 19*, second from left: *Cat. 12*, male figure, second from right: *Cat. 20*, extreme right: *Cat. 21*, heads of reclining figures (?), all front view. After Török 1997b Pl. 48
- 55 Meroe City, “water sanctuary”, extreme left: *Cat. 19*, second from left: *Cat. 12*, male figure, second from right: *Cat. 20*, extreme right: *Cat. 21*, heads of reclining figures (?), all profile view. After Török 1997b Pl. 49
- 56 Meroe City, “water sanctuary”, *Cat. 22*, standing draped male figure. After Török 1997b Pl. 44
- 57 Meroe City, “water sanctuary”, *Cat. 23*, seated draped male figure. After Török 1997b Pl. 39
- 58 Meroe City, “water sanctuary”, *Cat. 23*, seated draped male figure. After Török 1997b Pl. 40
- 59 Meroe City, “water sanctuary”, left: *Cat. 25*, fragment of statue, right: *Cat. 26*, fragment of statue. After Török 1997b fig. 78
- 60 Meroe City, “water sanctuary”, *Cat. 27*, head of female figure. After Török 1997b fig. 78
- 61 Meroe City, “water sanctuary”, *Cat. 31*, fragment of male figure. After Török 1997b fig. 76
- 62 Meroe City, “water sanctuary”, *Cat. 33*, falcon statue. After Török 1997b Pl. 16
- 63 Memphis, Serapeum, Ptolemaic exedra. After Lauer – Picard 1955 Pl. 28
- 64 Relief with figure of reclining boy Dionysos, Luxor Museum of Ancient Egyptian Art J 33. After Bothmer (ed.) 1979 Cat. 281
- 65 Musawwarat es Sufra, Great Enclosure. After Hinkel – Sievertsen 2002 Pl. IX.77
- 66 Naqa, building 600. After Wildung – Schoske 1999 fig. 80
- 67 Naqa, building 600. After Knudstad – Frey 1998 fig. p. 195, upper half
- 68 Musawwarat es Sufra, Great Enclosure, building 101–102. After Hinkel – Sievertsen 2002 Pl. IX.78

- 69 Musawwarat es Sufra, Great Enclosure, front colonnade of building 101–102, structure of iconographical program. After Török 2002a Pl. XII
- 70 Musawwarat es Sufra, Great Enclosure, front colonnade of building 101–102, column 7, scenes 7*a* (right), 7*b* (left). After LD V 72/a
- 71 Musawwarat es Sufra, Great Enclosure, front colonnade of building 101–102, column 8, scenes 8*a* (right), 8*b* (left). After Wenig 1993 fig. 179
- 72 Musawwarat es Sufra, Great Enclosure, front colonnade of building 101–102, column 9, scenes 9*a* (right), 9*b* (left). After Wenig 1974 fig. 13
- 73 Musawwarat es Sufra, Great Enclosure, front colonnade of building 101–102, column 10, scenes 10*a* (right), 10*b* (left). After Wenig 1993 fig. 192
- 74 Meroe City, Temple M 250. After Wildung (ed.) 1997 fig. 61
- 75 Musawwarat es Sufra, Great Enclosure, front colonnade of building 101–102, columns No. 1 (left), 5 (centre), 2 (right). After Cailiaud 1823–1826 I Pl. XXX
- 76 Musawwarat es Sufra, Great Enclosure, front colonnade of building 101–102, columns No. 5 (top), 2 (bottom). After LD V 71/d, e
- 77 Musawwarat es Sufra, Great Enclosure, front colonnade of building 101–102, columns No. 8, 9. After Wenig 1999a fig. 26
- 78 Musawwarat es Sufra, Great Enclosure, room 108, elephant wall terminal. After Wenig 1999a fig. 28
- 79 Musawwarat es Sufra, Great Enclosure, Temple 300, front, reconstruction drawing by K.-H. Priese. After Wenig 1974 fig. 4
- 80 Musawwarat es Sufra, Great Enclosure, room 108, column statues, drawing by K.-H. Priese. After Wenig 1974 figs 6, 7
- 81 Musawwarat es Sufra, Great Enclosure, building 101–102, triple protome from the main entrance. After Wenig 1975b No. 434
- 82 Musawwarat es Sufra, Great Enclosure, room 108, column statue of Arensnuphis, reconstruction drawing by K.-H. Priese. After Wenig 1999a fig. 27
- 83 Tabo, north colossus. After Wenig 1975b No. 430
- 84 Meroe City, Temple M 600, statue of Sebiuwerker. After Baud – Sackho-Autissier – Labbé-Toutée (eds) 2010 fig. 61
- 85 Meroe City, building M 282=KC 102, head of Sebiuwerker statue, Khartoum SNM 24564. After Wildung (ed.) 1997 Cat. 298

- 86 Tabo, bronze statue of a king, Khartoum SNM 24705. After Baud – Sackho-Autissier – Labbé-Toutée (eds) 2010 Cat. 229
- 87 Musawwarat es Sufra, Apedemak temple, north front, King Arnekhamani and Prince Arka. After Wenig 1975b No. 424
- 88 Wad ban Naga, pottery vessel from the palace, Khartoum SNM 62/10/140. After Perez Die (ed.) 2003 Cat. 35
- 89 Meroe City, fragment of pottery vessel. Liverpool, World Museum 49.47.836
- 90 Meroe City, fragment of pottery vessel, Liverpool, World Museum 49.47.904
- 91 Meroe City, fragment of pottery vessel, Liverpool, World Museum 49.47.840
- 92 Meroe City, fragments of pottery vessels. After Török 1997b fig. 131/x-60 to x-63
- 93 Meroe City, fragments of pottery vessels. After Török 1997b fig. 132
- 94 Meroe City, fragments of pottery vessels. After Török 1997b fig. 133
- 95 Musawwarat es Sufra, building 101–102, table amphora. After Wenig – Fitzenreiter 1994 fig. 20
- 96 Meroe City, fragment of pottery vessel. Stray find photographed at the site
- 97 Meroe City, pottery vessel, Louvre AE E 13484. After Baud – Sackho-Autissier – Labbé-Toutée (eds) 2010 Cat. 90
- 98 Karanog, grave 325, pottery vessel, Philadelphia E 8469. After O'Connor 1993 Pl. 29
- 99 Begarawiya West grave 306, pedestal bowl, MFA 23.1466. After Wenig 1978 Cat. 250
- 100 Begarawiya West grave 369, bronze bowl. After Török 1989 No. 92
- 101 Meroe City, fragment of pottery vessel. After Török 1997b Pl. 201
- 102 Begarawiya West grave 308, pottery bowl, MFA 23.1469. After Wenig 1978 Cat. 251
- 103 Meroe City, fragment of pottery vessel. After Török 1997b fig. 116/297–9
- 104 Faras grave 2856, pottery cup, Munich ÄS 3851. After Wildung (ed.) 1997 Cat. 423

- 105 Pottery cups from Faras grave 2801, Berlin 20836 (left), Meroe City, Berlin 20631 (centre), Faras grave 856, Berlin 20838 (right). After Wildung (ed.) 1997 Cats 424–426
- 106 Meroe City, pottery cup, Louvre E 11378+E 27493. After Kendall 1996 figs 1/a–d
- 107 Meroe City, pottery cup, Louvre E 11378+E 27493 and Liverpool E 8384, reconstruction drawing by Y. Markowitz. After Kendall 1996 fig. 3
- 108 El Hobagi, bronze bowl, drawing of decoration, Khartoum SNM 36313. After Dissaux – Reinold – Lenoble 1997 figs 3/a, 3/b
- 109 El Hobagi, bronze bowl, drawing of decoration, Khartoum SNM 26317. After Lenoble 2004 fig. 1
- 110 Meroe City, fragment of pottery vessel. After Török 1997b fig. 128/x-27
- 111 Duanib, temple relief. After *LD V* 68/f
- 112 Shablul, pottery vessel, drawing of decoration. After Randall-MacIver – Woolley 1909 Pl. 29/11
- 113 Karanog grave 614, pottery vessel, Philadelphia E 8313. After Wenig 1978 Cat. 244
- 114 Faras grave 2698, pottery vessel, Oxford 1912.475. After Wenig 1978 Cat. 237
- 115 Faras grave 675, pottery vessel, Oxford 1912.321. After Wenig 1978 Cat. 232
- 116 Semna South, pottery vessel, drawing of decoration. After Hofmann 1988 fig. 2
- 117 Meroe City, fragment of pottery vessel. After Török 1997b fig. 90/284–6
- 118 Meroe City, fragments of pottery vessels, left: Eighteenth Dynasty painted bowl, Liverpool World Museum 1973.1.698, right: Meroitic bowl, Liverpool World Museum 47.48.128. After Török 1997b Pls 103, 104
- 119 Faras grave 1226, pottery vessel. After Török 1987a fig. 27
- 120 Faras grave 1087, pottery vessel. After Török 1987a fig. 29
- 121 Karanog grave 712, pottery vessel, Philadelphia E 8157. After O'Connor 1993 Pl. 23
- 122 Hadra *hydria*, ex Coll. Benaki, Alexandria. After Guerrini 1964 Pl. I/A 5
- 123 Karanog grave 712, pottery vessel. After Woolley – Randall-MacIver 1910 Pl. 45/8157

- 124 Karanog grave 112, pottery vessel, Philadelphia E 8216. After Baud – Sackho-Autissier – Labbé-Toutée (eds) 2010 fig. 273
- 125 Karanog grave 162, pottery vessel, Philadelphia E 8293. After O'Connor 1993 Pl. 21
- 126 Karanog grave 129, pottery vessel, Philadelphia E 8192. After O'Connor 1993 Pl. 24
- 127 Karanog grave 566, pottery vessel, Philadelphia E 8183. After O'Connor 1993 frontispiece
- 128 Kerma, pottery vessel, MFA 13.4038. After Baud – Sackho-Autissier – Labbé-Toutée (eds) 2010 fig. 91
- 129 Faras grave 1063, pottery vessel, drawing of decoration, Oxford 1912.401. After Bourriau 1981 No. 211
- 130 Faras grave 786, pottery cup, BM 51615. After Wenig 1978 Cat. 253
- 131 Sedeinga grave I T 16, pottery vessel, Khartoum SNM 27368. After Perez Die (ed.) 2003 Cat. 189
- 132 Karanog grave 315 (?), pottery vessel, Cairo JE 40086. After Wenig 1978 Cat. 223
- 133 Karanog grave 315 (?), pottery vessel, Cairo JE 40486, detail. After Török 1988 Pl. III/15
- 134 Pottery vessel, Brooklyn, Charles Edwin Wilbour Fund 71.84. After Wenig 1978 Cat. 221
- 135 Karanog grave 542, pottery vessel, Philadelphia E 8162. After Wenig 1978 Cat. 222
- 136 Karanog grave 738, pottery vessel. After Woolley – Randall-MacIver 1910 Pl. 78/8457
- 137 Karanog grave 543, pottery vessel, Philadelphia E 8310. After Wenig 1978 Cat. 240
- 138 Faras grave 1090, pottery vessel, Oxford 1912.410. After Wenig 1978 Cat. 241
- 139 Meroe City, pottery vessel, Louvre AF 12839. After Baud – Sackho-Autissier – Labbé-Toutée (eds) 2010 Cat. 124
- 140 Faras grave 2636, pottery cup, BM EA 51448. After Baud – Sackho-Autissier – Labbé-Toutée (eds) 2010 Cat. 128
- 141 Semna South grave M-153, pottery vessel, Khartoum SNM 18875. After Wildung (ed.) 1997 Cat. 413
- 142 Faras grave 1090, pottery vessel, Berlin 20856 (left), Gebel Barkal, pottery cup, Berlin 4603 (right). After Wildung (ed.) 1997 Cats 414 (left), 415 (right)

- 143 Sedeinga grave I T 16, pottery vessel, Khartoum SNM 27367. After Perez Die (ed.) 2003 Cat. 188
- 144 Semna South grave N-432, pottery vessel, Khartoum SNM 18886. After Wenig 1978 Cat. 245
- 145 Sedeinga, pottery cup, Louvre AE E 32530. After Baud – Sackho-Autissier – Labbé-Toutée (eds) 2010 Cat. 126
- 146 Karanog grave 183, pottery vessel. After Woolley – Randall-MacIver 1910 Pl. 55/8169
- 147 Karanog grave 187, pottery vessel. After Woolley – Randall-MacIver 1910 Pl. 64/8227
- 148 Cemetery 150, pottery vessel. After Emery – Kirwan 1935 Pl. 41/VII
- 149 Karanog grave 187, bronze bowl, drawing of decoration, Cairo JE 41017. After Woolley – Randall-MacIver 1910 Pl. 27
- 150 Karanog grave 187, bronze bowl, drawing of decoration, Philadelphia E 7155. After Woolley – Randall-MacIver 1910 Pl. 28
- 151 Naqa, “Roman Kiosk”, ground plan. After Wildung – Schoske 1999 fig. 47
- 152 Naqa, “Roman Kiosk”, west front
- 153 Naqa, “Roman Kiosk”, south front before restoration. After Wildung – Schoske 1999 fig. 48
- 154 Naqa, “Roman Kiosk”, south front, virtual view after restoration. After Wildung – Kroeper 2006 fig. 15
- 155 Naqa, Apedemak temple, interior west wall, Zeus-Amun-Sarapis and Queen Amanitore. After Gamer-Wallert 1983 Bl. 12
- 156 Naqa, Apedemak temple, interior south wall, Apedemak-Sarapis and Queen Amanitore. After Gamer-Wallert 1983 Bl. 10/a
- 157 Naqa, Apedemak temple, interior north wall, upper register, Zeus-Helios-Amun (?). After Gamer-Wallert 1983 Bl. 11/a
- 158 Naqa, Apedemak temple, south pylon, side wall. After Gamer-Wallert 1983 Bl. 3/a
- 159 Naqa, Apedemak temple, west front. After Gamer-Wallert 1983 Bl. 7
- 160 Begarawiya North, statue of queen and prince, Cairo CG 684. After Wenig 1975b No. 432



## PREFACE AND ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

It is a game with very few pieces where the skill of the player lies in complicating the rules.<sup>1</sup>

This book is about monuments of Meroitic architecture, sculpture and minor arts created under the influence of the Hellenistic and Hellenizing architecture, sculpture and minor arts of Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt. Evidently, it does not pretend to be a history of Meroitic art. “Traditional” or “Egyptianizing” style monuments will be discussed insofar as they belong to the same cultural context as the Hellenizing monuments or if they also display Hellenizing features. My aim is to show that the Nubian reception of Egyptian Hellenistic and Hellenizing art was inner-directed all the way through (this is why I put “acculturation” between quotation marks in this book). This is not to say, however, that my final aim is the identification of some perennial model of Meroitic cultural behaviour. I am not going to enter the theoretical discussion about acculturation, either.<sup>2</sup> I am more interested in the study of individual cases as they succeed each other during the history of the Meroitic kingdom, from the first luxury objects arriving from early Ptolemaic Egypt and receiving a Meroitic function (Chapter IV) through the AD first century “Roman Kiosk” at Naqa (Chapter VIII); from seemingly unique architectural and sculptural programs such as the “water sanctuary” at Meroe City (Chapter V) or the Great Enclosure at Musawwarat es Sufra (Chapter VI) through long-lived and widely distributed genres such as fine decorated pottery (Chapter VII).

Evidently, the assessment of Hellenizing art in Meroe (Chapters I, II) depends greatly if not entirely on our understanding of Hellenistic and Hellenizing art in Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt (Chapter

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<sup>1</sup> Iris Murdoch: *The Nice and the Good*. (Vintage edn.) London 2000 165.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. S.J. Barns – W.S. Melion (eds): *Cultural Differentiation and Cultural Identity in the Visual Arts*. Washington 1989; J.M. Hall: *Ethnic Identity in Greek Antiquity*. Cambridge 1997; *Hellenicity: Between Ethnicity and Culture*. Chicago 2002; S. Jones: *The Archaeology of Ethnicity: Constructing Identities in the Past and Present*. London – New York 1997; L. Laurence – J. Berry (eds): *Cultural Identity in the Roman Empire*. London – New York 1998.



III). In distilling my own image of Egyptian art between the fourth century BC and the AD third century from the extremely different images presented in the literature of the last one hundred years or so I was guided first of all by the works of Bernard V. Bothmer, Nikolaus Himmelmann, Judith McKenzie, Christina Riggs, Paul Stanwick, and Susan Venit.<sup>3</sup> Nubian architecture, sculpture and pottery became the subject of art historical research when the late Bernard V. Bothmer started to make preparations for the great 1978 Brooklyn exhibition *Africa in Antiquity* (Chapter I).<sup>4</sup> My research into “Nubian Hellenism” was greatly stimulated by this exhibition<sup>5</sup> and by the first art historical studies written on objects and genres “discovered” as its result;<sup>6</sup> but my interest had been first aroused by a historical problem, viz., the controversy about the settlement chronology of Lower Nubia in the Ptolemaic and Roman periods.<sup>7</sup> No progress concerning this particular problem would have been possible without the studies published by Jehan Desanges<sup>8</sup> and Stanley Burstein<sup>9</sup> on the history and culture of the Meroitic period.

I am especially grateful to Professor János György Szilágyi for encouragement and for discussing with me various aspects of “acculturation”: “acculturation” both as an art historical problem and as a ubiquitous feature of everyday life in this part of the world. I am indebted to Professor H.-R. Goette for correcting my dating of the granite royal portrait acquired recently by the Liebieghaus-Museum in a conversation we had on November 26 2008 in Budapest. I received the decisive stimulus to write this book in 2008 from a passionate discussion between Susan Doll, Janice Yellin, Dan’el Kahn and myself on the last day of the

<sup>3</sup> *ESLP*; Frankfurter 1998; Himmelmann 1983; McKenzie 1990/2005, 2007; Riggs 2005; Stanwick 2002, 2004; Venit 2002.

<sup>4</sup> Bothmer 1979.

<sup>5</sup> L. Török: The Art of the Ballana Culture and Its Relation to Late Antique Art. *Meroitica* 5 (1979) 85–100; Török 1987a, 1987b, 1989.

<sup>6</sup> Wenig 1975a; 1975b; Wenig 1978; Wenig 1979.

<sup>7</sup> W.Y. Adams’s thesis, according to which Lower Nubia was uninhabited before the AD 2nd century and thus no Lower Nubian archaeological find showing a Hellenistic influence and/or imported from Egypt can be dated earlier, and the various responses on it were published in W.Y. Adams: *Meroitic North and South. A Study in Cultural Contrasts*. (*Meroitica* 2). Berlin 1979.

<sup>8</sup> First of all Desanges 1978; and cf. *id.*: L’hellénisme dans le royaume de Méroé. *Graeco-Arabica* 2 (1983) 275–296; *id.*: Rom und das Innere Afrikas. in: H. Duchhardt – J.A. Schlumberger – P. Segl (eds): *Afrika. Entdeckung und Erforschung eines Kontinents*. Köln-Wien 1989 31–50; *id.*: Bilan des recherches sur les sources grecques et latines de l’histoire de la Nubie dans les trente dernières années. in: Bonnet (ed.) 1992 363–378. More recently, see his comments in: Desanges 2008.

<sup>9</sup> E.g., Burstein 1993, 1995a, 2008.

*11th International Conference for Meroitic Studies* in Vienna, where Dr. Kahn presented arguments against the inner-directedness of Nubian “acculturation”<sup>10</sup> which we found difficult, but apparently not impossible, to confute. Dr. Vincent Rondot corrected a number of errors in Chapter VI and graciously granted me access to his unpublished study on the Tabo colossi. Chapter V could not have been written without the information generously provided by Drs Simone Wolf and Hans-Ulrich Onasch on their ongoing research at the “water sanctuary” in Meroe City. Except for the “water sanctuary”, where the excavators made me acquainted with so far unpublished evidence, Meroe City is known to me thanks to the records and finds of the 1909–1914 excavations, which the late Professor A.F. Shore and the School of Archaeology, Classics and Egyptology<sup>11</sup> of the University of Liverpool generously put at my disposal for study and publication and which I tried to interpret in my *Meroe City, An Ancient African Capital*.<sup>12</sup> I also benefited from the evidence published from the more recent excavations conducted by Peter L. Shinnie<sup>13</sup> and subsequently by a University of Khartoum-Royal Ontario Museum expedition directed by Ali Osman and Krzysztof Grzymski,<sup>14</sup> further from the studies of Friedrich W. Hinkel and Uwe Sievertsen on the building chronology of Meroe City,<sup>15</sup> and from Hinkel’s highly useful documentation of the reliefs from Temple M 250.<sup>16</sup> A large part of Shinnie’s fieldwork remained, however, unpublished,<sup>17</sup> and Grzymski’s excavations or the researches of Simone Wolf and Hans-Ulrich Onasch are not yet completed.<sup>18</sup> Every new archaeological discovery and learned study may, and hopefully will, modify what is going to be said on the following pages.

Budapest and Verőce, spring 2009–autumn 2010.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. Kahn n.d.

<sup>11</sup> At that time: School of Archaeology and Oriental Studies. Cf. <<http://www.liv.ac.uk/sace/facilities/museumarchives.htm>>.

<sup>12</sup> Török 1997b.

<sup>13</sup> Shinnie – Anderson (eds) 2004.

<sup>14</sup> Grzymski 2003, 2004, 2005.

<sup>15</sup> Hinkel – Sievertsen 2002.

<sup>16</sup> Hinkel 2001. Cf. Török 2004.

<sup>17</sup> Cf. Welsby 2005.

<sup>18</sup> See also the preliminary reports on a brief Sudanese-German field campaign, S. Wenig: Meroe Joint Excavations. Bericht über die Vorkampagne 1992. *MittSAG* 1 (1994) 15–18; Wolf 1996; D. Eigner: Die Grabung am Schlackenbühl NW 1 in Meroe. *MittSAG* 4 (1996) 23–27; C. Näser: The Meroe Joint Excavations 1992 on the North Mound at Meroe. in: S. Wenig (ed.): *Neueste Feldforschungen im Sudan und in Eritrea (Meroitica 21)*. Wiesbaden 2004 71–101.



## GEOGRAPHICAL AND POLITICAL TERMS

The political term *Kush* refers to the native kingdom emerging after the end of the Egyptian New Kingdom occupation (c. 1069 BC) and existing in the *Middle Nile Region* (between the First Cataract and the Khartoum area) as a political unit until the AD fourth century<sup>1</sup> (Pl. 1). Between the end of the Nubian Twenty-Fifth Dynasty (the kings of which ruled over a double kingdom extending over Kush and Egypt) and the third century BC the kingdom of Kush may also be called *kingdom of Napata* (after one of its centres); between the third century BC and the AD fourth century it may be referred to as *kingdom of Meroe* (after another one of its centres). In Greek and Latin texts the kingdom of Kush is called Αἰθιοπία or *Aethiopia*, respectively (Aithiopia or Aethiopia are to be preferred to the writing Ethiopia);<sup>2</sup> Latin sources may also call it *Meroe* after one of its capitals<sup>3</sup> or speak about “the island of Meroe”.

Geographically the term Kush is interchangeable with the term *Nubia*.<sup>4</sup> In a strict sense, Nubia designates geographically *Lower Nubia* between the First and Second Cataracts<sup>5</sup> and *Upper Nubia* between the Second and Fifth Cataracts. The territory of ancient Kush extends over the territory of two modern political units, namely Egypt (Lower Nubia from the First Cataract to Maharraqa, a place now under the waters of Lake Nasser) and the Sudan (south of Maharraqa). From the late third century BC onward Lower Nubia between the First and Second Cataracts appeared in official terminology as “Land of the Thirty Miles”, Greek Τριακοντάσχοινος, Triakontaschoinos, Egyptian p3 t-n-30. The c. 125 km long section of the Lower Nubian Nile Valley between Syene/Aswan and Hieria Sykaminos/Maharraqa (or the nearby island Tachompso/Takompso) was distinguished in the antiquity as “Land of the Twelve Miles”, Greek Δωδεκάσχοινος, Dodekaschoinos, Egyptian sht n itrw 12.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. Török 1997a.

<sup>2</sup> In order to avoid the confusion with Ethiopia, the former Abyssinia.

<sup>3</sup> See Juvenal, *Satires* 6.526–528.

<sup>4</sup> For the natural, social, economic and cultural geography of Nubia, see Adams 1977.

<sup>5</sup> In detail about the ancient geographical names of and in Lower Nubia, see Locher 1999.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Locher 1999 230–256.



## CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE

NUBIA	EGYPT
c. 755–656 BC Twenty-Fifth Dynasty	818–664 BC Twenty-Third, Twenty-Fourth, Twenty-Fifth Dynasties
c. 656–275 BC Napatan Period	664–332 BC Late Period 332 BC <i>Alexander the Great conquers Egypt</i> 332–323 BC Alexander 331 BC <i>foundation of Alexandria</i>
around 320–305 BC King Gʻtʻisn (Aktisanes)	323–306 BC Ptolemy as satrap
	306/4–283/2 BC Ptolemy I Soter
c. 319/8 BC <i>Ptolemy I's military expedition to Lower Nubia (?)</i>	
	282–246 BC Ptolemy II Philadelphos
275 or 274 BC Ptolemy II's military expedition	
c. 275–250 BC King Arkamaniqo (Ergamenes)	
c. 275 BC <i>beginning of the Meroitic period</i>	
c. 250 BC burial of Arkamaniqo at Begarawiya South	
	246–221 BC Ptolemy III Euergetes I
King Arnekhamani	
	221–204 BC Ptolemy IV Philopator
206–186 BC <i>Meroe occupies northern Lower Nubia</i>	206–186 BC <i>the secession of Upper Egypt</i>
King Arqamani (Ergamenes II); King Adikhalamani	204–180 BC Ptolemy V Epiphanes 180–164 163–145 BC Ptolemy VI Philometor

Table (*cont.*)

NUBIA	EGYPT
early (?) 2nd cent. BC <i>introduction of the Meroitic cursive writing</i>	170–163, 145–116 BC Ptolemy VIII Euergetes II (Physkon)
late 2nd cent. BC <i>introduction of the Meroitic hieroglyphic writing</i> <sup>1</sup>	
late 2nd cent. BC Queen Shanakadakheto	116–107 BC Cleopatra III/Ptolemy IX
late 2nd cent. BC. King Taneyidamani	107–88 BC Cleopatra III/Ptolemy X
	80–58, 55–51 BC Ptolemy XII Neos Dionysos
	51–30 BC Cleopatra VII Philopator 1. August 30 BC <i>Octavian takes Alexandria</i>
29–21 BC <i>war with Rome</i>	30 BC–AD 14 Octavius Caesar (from 27 BC Augustus)
middle decades of the AD 1st cent. King Natakamani and Queen Amanitore	AD 41–54 Claudius AD 54–68 Nero
	AD 337–361 Constantius II
around AD 350–370 <i>end of the kingdom of Meroe</i>	
	AD 364–378 Valens

<sup>1</sup> For the chronology of the introduction of the cursive and hieroglyphic writings, see recently Rilly 2010a 14.

## INTRODUCTION

### THE NUBIAN SCENE

#### 1. As Seen in the Classical Antiquity

Now, they relate that of all people the Aithiopians were the earliest, and say that the proofs of this are clear. That they did not arrive as immigrants but are the natives of the country and therefore rightly are called autochthonous is almost universally accepted. That those who live in the South are likely to be the first engendered by the earth is obvious to all. For as it was the heat of the sun that dried up the earth while it was still moist, at the time when everything came into being, and caused life, they say it is probable that it was the region closest to the sun that first bore animate beings. [...] They [i.e., the Aithiopians] say that the Egyptians are settlers from among themselves and that Osiris was the leader of the settlement. They say that the whole of what is now Egypt was not a country, but sea at the time when the world was first formed. Later, however, as the Nile, when rising, carried down the mud from Aithiopia, Egypt was little by little accumulated. [...] The customs of the Egyptians, they say, are for the most part Aithiopian, the settlers having preserved their old traditions. For to consider the kings gods, to pay great attention to funeral rites, and many other such things, are Aithiopian practices, and also the style of their statues and the form of their writing are Aithiopian (τάς τε των ἀγαλμάτων ιδέας καὶ τοὺς των γραμμάτων τύπους Αἰθιοπικοὺς ὑπάρχειν).

The quotation is from the world history (*Bibliotheke*) of the first century BC author Diodorus Siculus (2.1, 3.1–4).<sup>1</sup> Diodorus made use of

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<sup>1</sup> *FHN* II No. 142, trans. T. Eide.—In his paper on the Nubia-image of the Classical sources, S.M. Burstein also discusses the role played by the primacy of Aithiopian culture as it occurs in Diodorus's work in the attempts made recently in the USA at the establishment of an "Afrocentric curriculum" in the public schools: Burstein 1995b 29 f. For the background of Afrocentrism, cf. Cheikh A. Diop: *Antériorité des civilisations nègres*. Paris 1967; M. Bernal: *Black Athena* 1. *The Fabrication of Ancient Greece 1785–1985*. New Brunswick 1987; *id.*: *Black Athena* 2. *The Archaeological and Documentary Evidence*. New Brunswick 1991. Ironically, the Nubian evidence is missing from the argumentation of Bernal and other, more amateurish and still more prejudiced and/or extremist "Afrocentric" authors, cf. M.R. Lefkowitz – G.M. Rogers (eds): *Black Athena Revisited*. Chapel Hill – London 1996; M. Lefkowitz: *Not Out of Africa. How Afrocentrism Became An Excuse to Teach Myth As History*. New York 1996.



several earlier historical and geographical writings. His description of the kingdom of Meroe derives from the lost *On Affairs in Asia* of the second century BC Agatharchides of Cnidus<sup>2</sup> through the mediation of the first century BC geographical writer Artemidorus of Ephesus.<sup>3</sup> Agatharchides had close contacts with members of the court of Ptolemy VI and seems to have had access to the royal archives in Alexandria as well. His work is considered of original value.<sup>4</sup> As to the original information included in his discourse on Aithiopia, Diodorus makes the following remark:

Agatharchides of Cnidus [...] in Book 2 of his history of Asia, and the geographical writer Artemidorus of Ephesus in his Book 8, and some others settled in Egypt have investigated most of what I have written [...] and have hit the mark in almost everything. For I have also myself talked to many of the priests during the time I visited Egypt,<sup>5</sup> and came into conversation with not a few representatives<sup>6</sup> who were present there from Aithiopia.<sup>7</sup>

Referring to a remark of Diodorus concerning his sources, viz., that “[t]he Aithiopians also relate many other things about their antiquity and their settlement of Egypt, about which there is no pressing need to write”,<sup>8</sup> Stanley Burstein suggests that “Diodorus, or probably the source in which he found this passage and the accompanying citation of conversations with Aithiopian ambassadors, claimed to be quoting the views of Aithiopians in discussing the colonization of Egypt from Nubia”.<sup>9</sup> As transmitted by Diodorus, Agatharchides’s discourse starts with the statement that the Aithiopian dwellers of the Middle Nile Region south of Egypt were an autochthonous people, and it continues with the explanation of this fact by their closeness to the Sun. Ever since

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<sup>2</sup> W. Aly: *Strabon von Amasia. Untersuchungen über Text, Aufbau und Quellen der Geographika*. Bonn 1957 73 f.; J. Desanges: *Diodore de Sicile et les éthiopiens d’Occident*. CRAIBL 1993 525–541; cf. A. Dihle: *Die Griechen und die Fremden*. München 1994 86 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Burstein 1989 22.

<sup>4</sup> On Agatharchides, see Burstein 1989.

<sup>5</sup> For the problems connected to the Egyptian priestly sources of the Greek writers, cf. J. Tait: *The Wisdom of Egypt: Classical Views*. in: P. Ucko – T. Champion (eds): *The Wisdom of Egypt: Changing Visions Through the Ages*. London 2003 23–37 29 ff.

<sup>6</sup> The term πρεσβευτής used here is the word for ambassador, but it may also mean commercial agents, see T. Eide in *FHN* II 706 note 344.

<sup>7</sup> Diodorus 3.11.2–3, *FHN* II No. 167, trans. T. Eide.

<sup>8</sup> Diodorus 3.3.7, *FHN* II No. 142, trans. T. Eide.

<sup>9</sup> Burstein 1995b 36.

Homer these features are *topoi* of Greek tradition. Homer's Aithiopi-ans, the most distant men, dwell in a mythical land by the streams of Ocean. They are pious, just and blameless and deserve therefore the friendship of the gods who regularly visit them.<sup>10</sup> The discourse on the Aithiopian origins of Egyptian culture reflects the utopian view of the connection between the closeness to the Sun and the genesis of human culture. Besides Utopia the sources used by Agatharchides were also influenced by the "nationalistic"<sup>11</sup> priestly tradition of Late Period Egypt, which associated Kush with pharaonic concepts of ideal religiosity and charismatic kingship, traditional values regarded as lost in a land ruled by foreign conquerors.<sup>12</sup>

The Utopian image of Aithiopia as well as the Nubia-image of the "nationalistic" tradition may well have been in harmony with the Meroites' own view of Nubian identity: an identity to which the memory of the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty's rule over Egypt was central. That it was indeed so is also hinted at by the titles of Arqamani, a late third-early second century BC Meroitic ruler.

The setting is the following: in 207/6 BC Upper Egypt revolted against Ptolemy IV Philopator.<sup>13</sup> In 205 BC the rebels elevated their

<sup>10</sup> *Il.* 1.423 f., 23.205–7; *Od.* 1.22–24, 4.84, 5.282, 287. Cf. H. Braunert: *Utopia, Antworten griechischen Denkens auf die Herausforderung durch soziale Verhältnisse*. Kiel 1969; J. Ferguson: *Utopias of the Classical World*. London 1975 16 ff.; L. Kákosy: Nubien als mythisches Land. *Ann. Univ. Scient. Budapest Sectio Historica* 8 (1966) 3–10; C. Onasch: Kush in der Sicht von Ägyptern und Griechen. in: Endesfelder – Priese et al. (eds) 1977 331–336 334; Romm 1992.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. A.B. Lloyd: Nationalist Propaganda in Ptolemaic Egypt. *Historia* 31 (1982) 33–55.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. J.H. Johnson: The Demotic Chronicle as An Historical Source. *Enchoria* 4 (1974) 1–17; *ead.*: Is the Demotic Chronicle an Anti-Greek Tract? in: H.J. Thyssen – K.-T. Zauzich (eds): *Grammata Demotika. Festschrift Erich Lüddeckens zum 15. Juni 1983*. Würzburg 1984 107–124; Huss 1994 143 ff.; Hölbl 2001 153; J.F. Quack: *Einführung in die altägyptische Literaturgeschichte* III. *Die demotische und gräko-ägyptische Literatur (Einführungen und Quellentexte zur Ägyptologie 3)*. Münster 2005 155–159. Cf. also J. Bingen: Les tensions structurelles de la société ptolémaïque. *Atti del XVII Congresso Internazionale di Papirologia* III. Napoli 1984 921–937 = Bingen 2007 189–205; *id.*: L'Égypte gréco-romaine et la problématique des interactions culturelles. *Proceedings of the XVI International Congress of Papyrology*. Chicago 1981 3–18 = Bingen 2007 240–255.—Cf. also Baines 1995 42.—For the *Oracle of the Potter*, see Huss 1994 165 ff.—For the Petubastis story, see E. Bresciani: *Letteratura e poesia dell'antico Egitto*. Torino 1969 655 ff.

<sup>13</sup> Hölbl 2000 153 ff.; Huss 2001 448, 506 ff.—For the Egyptian revolts in the Ptolemaic era and their political and social background, see C. Préaux: *Esquisse d'une histoire des révolutions égyptiennes sous les Lagides*. *CdÉ* 11 (1936) 522–552; M. Alliot: *La Thébaïde en lutte contre les rois d'Alexandrie sous Philopator et Épiphane*. *Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire* 29 (1951) 421–443; W. Peremans: *Les révolutions*

leader, Hor-Wennofer, who was also supported by the priesthood of Amun-Re of Thebes, to king at Thebes. In 199 BC Hor-Wennofer was followed on the throne by his son Ankh-Wennofer<sup>14</sup> who maintained his kingship until August 186 when, despite the military aid he received from the king of Meroe, his army was destroyed by the forces of Ptolemy V Epiphanes. During the period of the Upper Egyptian revolt Lower Nubia was conquered by Meroe as far north as Philae, an area which had been under Nubian supremacy in earlier times. The two decades of Meroitic supremacy witnessed significant building activity in northern Lower Nubia. The rulers of Meroe were in these times Arqamani (Ergamenes II) and his successor Adikhalamani. The titularies assumed by Arqamani depict him as a guardian of the ancestral traditions and as a ruler who restores the ancient cults and thus recreates the order and integrity of his land. While it was the order in Lower Nubia conquered from Egypt that was actually meant, the titularies<sup>15</sup> were intended to address the inhabitants of *both* Lower Nubia and Upper Egypt:

**Philae, Arensnuphis temple; Dakka, Thoth temple<sup>16</sup>**

Throne name	<i>Drt-ḥ-ʾImn</i> , Epithet: <i>tīt-Rʿ</i> “Living-hand-of-Amun”, Epithet: “Image-of-Re”
Son of Re name	<i>ʾrk-ʾImn</i> , Epithet: <i>ḥ-ḏt mri-ʾs.t</i> Arqamani, Epithet “Living-forever, Beloved-of-Isis”

**Kalabsha, Mandulis temple<sup>17</sup>**

Horus name	<i>Dr(t)-nṯr-n-pr.f qj-ʿ j[....].f stp.n-ʾImn-r-swʿb-tʿw</i> “The-God’s-hand-in-his temple, whose-arm-is- [raised] [...], chosen-of-Amun-to-purify-the-lands”
Throne name	<i>Drt-ḥ-ʾImn</i> , Epithet: ? “Living-hand-of-Amun”, Epithet: ?

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égyptiennes sous les Lagides. in: Maehler – Strocka (eds) 1978 39–49; A.-E. Veisse: *Les “révoltes égyptiennes”. Recherches sur les troubles intérieurs en Égypte du règne de Ptolémée III à la conquête romaine* (*Studia hellenistica* 41). Leuven-Paris-Dudley 2004.

<sup>14</sup> Pestman 1995.

<sup>15</sup> *FHN* II No. (128).

<sup>16</sup> Dunham 1957 fig. D/24G.

<sup>17</sup> Beckerath 1984 Anh. 37.—The “purification of the land” gives expression to the notion of “restoring the order” in Lower Nubia after the expulsion of the Ptolemies; yet the special emphasis laid on the observance of ritual purity also recalls the great Twenty-Fifth Dynasty predecessor, Piankhy, who stressed it in his great triumphal stela when contrasting himself with his conquered Egyptian enemies, see *FHN* I No. 9 lines 12 f., 150 ff.; and cf. Baines 1995 36.

Son of Re name	<i>rw-Imn</i> , Epithet: <i>nh-dt</i> Arqamani, Epithet: "Living-forever"
<b>Pyramid Beg. N. 7<sup>18</sup></b>	
Horus name	<i>Kšj ntrj-ḥpr=f</i> "The Kushite Whose-coming-into-being-is-divine"
Son of Re name (a)	<i>rq-Imn</i> , Epithet: <i>nh-dt mri-šs.t</i> Arqamani, Epithet: "Living-forever, Beloved-of-Isis"
<b>Pyramid Beg. N. 7<sup>19</sup></b>	
Son of Re name (b)	<i>rq-Imn</i> , Epithet: <i>nh-dt mri-šs.t</i> Arqamani, Epithet: "Living-forever, Beloved-of-Isis"
Son of Re name (c)	<i>Mkltk</i> (Meroitic)
Son of Re name (d)	<i>Mq-r tk Js(.t) t<sup>1</sup>rk</i> (Meroitic) <sup>20</sup>
Son of Re name (e)	<i>rq-Imn</i> , Epithet: <i>nh-dt mri-šs.t</i> Arqamani, Epithet: "Living-forever, Beloved-of-Isis"

## 2. As Seen in Modern Times

After its collapse in the AD fourth century, the kingdom of Meroe faded into oblivion. While its medieval successor kingdoms, which belonged to the Monophysite community, were not completely isolated from Eastern Christianity, the Middle Nile Region remained mostly inaccessible for foreigners and those who visited the region were not interested in its past.<sup>21</sup> The conquest of the Sudan in 1820 by the army of Muhammad Ali, Ottoman Viceroy of Egypt, opened the way in the Middle Nile Region for travelers, treasure hunters and students of history. The early nineteenth century travelers were infected by the enthusiasm of ancient Egypt's Napoleonic discoverers and, comparing their Nubian discoveries to the monuments of Egypt and realizing the similarities between the two cultures, begun to meditate on the problem of their relationship. Prior to the establishment of Egyptian chronology and the systematic documentation and publication of the

<sup>18</sup> Chapman – Dunham 1952 Pl. 4/E.

<sup>19</sup> Dunham 1957 fig. D/24D; Chapman – Dunham 1952 Pl. 5/B.

<sup>20</sup> C. Rilly: Meroitic Palaeography as a Tool for Chronology: Prospects and Limits. Unpubl. paper presented at the *10th International Conference of Nubian Studies, Paris 2004* 9 note 32: for Meroitic *mk-l tk Wos-tk* (?), "beloved of the deity, beloved (?) of Isis". I am grateful to Dr Rilly for granting me insight into his manuscript.

<sup>21</sup> For the accounts of the mostly Arabic travelers, see G. Vantini: *Oriental Sources Concerning Nubia*. Heidelberg – Warsaw 1975; Török 1997a 8 f.

monuments of the ancient Middle Nile Region by the expedition led in 1842–45 by Carl Richard Lepsius, the utopian idea of the primacy of Aithiopian culture<sup>22</sup> did not seem irrational to European travelers who received a classical education and expected to find things in the Region which were described by Herodotus, Strabo, Diodorus, Pliny and other ancient authors. E.g., George Alexander Hoskins, one of the few early travelers who also published their notes and drawings, returned from his travels in Nubia (1832–33) convinced that ancient Kush was

the land whence the arts of learning of Egypt, and ultimately of Greece and Rome, derived their origin.<sup>23</sup>

The acute observer Hermann Fürst von Pückler-Muskau did not share Hoskins's view:

Der Hypothese einiger Reisenden beipflichten zu wollen...nämlich: dass die Architekturüberreste Äthiopiens älter als die Ägyptens seien, wäre hier eine vollständige Absurdität. In allen diesen Bauarten sehen wir ohne Ausnahme nur eine untergeordnete *Nachahmung*, keineswegs einen untergeordneten *Anfang*.<sup>24</sup>

It was realized shortly that a large part of the Nubian monuments recorded by Lepsius<sup>25</sup> dates from periods when the Middle Nile Region was under Egyptian domination. While contributing to the widening of the horizons of nascent Egyptology, the work of the Lepsius expedition also provided indisputable arguments for the rejection of the utopian view of Nubian culture and promoted instead an Egyptocentric perception. Egyptologists beheld a culture that could be regarded as a colonial extension of ancient Egypt. The way to the colonial interpretation of the whole of Nubian history was now open. Classical authority could also be found to support Egyptocentrism: didn't Herodotus

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<sup>22</sup> See also Lucian, *Iupp. Trag.* 42; *De sacr.* 2; *Philops.* 4; *De astrol.* 3 f.; Heliodorus, *Aithiopika* (*passim*). For Heliodorus's image of the kingdom of Meroe, see T. Hägg: The Black Land of the Sun. Meroe in Heliodorus's Romantic Fiction. in: *Proceedings of the Sixth International Congress of Graeco-Oriental and African Studies Nicosia 30 April–5 May 1996* (*Graeco-Arabica* 7–8 [1999–2000]). Nicosia 2000 195–218 = T. Hägg: *Parthenope. Selected Studies in Ancient Greek Fiction* (1969–2004). Ed. L.B. Mortensen and T. Eide. Copenhagen 2004 345–375.

<sup>23</sup> G.A. Hoskins: *Travels in Ethiopia*. London 1835 v.

<sup>24</sup> Pückler-Muskau 1985 593.

<sup>25</sup> *LD, LD Text*.

say that Aithiopia was civilized by the *Automoloi* ("Deserters"),<sup>26</sup> the 240,000 men who deserted from the garrison of Elephantine under Psamtek I:

Once they had settled among the Aithiopians, the Aithiopians learnt Egyptian customs and have become more civilized.<sup>27</sup>

The monumental ruins and texts preserved from the centuries of Middle and New Kingdom Egyptian domination did not give much description of the indigenous population, depicting it symbolically as a vanquished barbarian enemy and its princes as Egyptianized natives. It was only with the discovery of hieroglyphic inscriptions erected by native post-New Kingdom rulers, i.e., the kings of the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty who also ruled Egypt and their Napatan-period successors<sup>28</sup> that Egyptologists were confronted with textual manifestations of the indigenous Nubian culture.<sup>29</sup> Until quite recently, however, the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty texts were regarded as vehicles of a political-ideological playacting by which the Nubian monarchs tried to legitimate their kingship in Egypt<sup>30</sup> by appropriating elements of the Egyptian myth of the state, while the hieroglyphic royal inscriptions of the Napatan period were declared a hybrid genre and considered to have been hardly more than poor manifestations of an elite pretension. While the iconographical and inscriptional evidence of the Middle and New Kingdom domination as well as the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty and Napatan inscriptions indicated the existence of an Egyptianized native elite

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<sup>26</sup> Mela 3.85: *Automoles*, Strabo 16.4.8, 17.1.2; Pliny, *NH* 6.191 (Desanges): *Semberritae*, Hesychius s.v.: *Machloiones*.

<sup>27</sup> Herodotus 2.30.5, *FHN* I No. 56, trans. T. Eide.

<sup>28</sup> For the historical background, see Török 1997a.

<sup>29</sup> The Great Triumphal Stela of Piankhy (*FHN* I No. 9), Tanwetamani's Dream Stela (*FHN* I No. 29), Aspelta's Election, Banishment, and Adoption Stelae (*FHN* I Nos 37–39), the Harsiyotef Stela (Cairo 48864, N.-C. Grimal: *La stèle triomphale de Pi(ankh)y au Musée du Caire JE 48862 et 47086–47089*. Le Caire 1981 40–61) and smaller stela fragments (e.g., *FHN* I No. 10, Piankhy) were discovered in 1862 in the Amun Temple at Gebel Barkal and most of them were published and discussed before long by Mariette, Maspero and de Rougé (for the find and the first publications cf. *PM* VII 217 f.; J. Leclant: *Les textes d'époque éthiopienne*. in: *Textes et langages d'Égypte pharaonique* II. Le Caire 1973 123–135).

<sup>30</sup> Eyre 1996 415–433 429 views the literary tradition of the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty as shaped by elite decorum: "Allusion to a classic literary work would create the same reaction as allusion to a biblical or latin author in Eighteenth Century Europe. This is particularly clear in the royal inscriptions of Dyn. 25, where 'quotation' of *belles lettres*, like contemporary quotation in art, asserted the community, coherence and identity of the ruling class as 'Egyptian'".

throughout Nubia's long history, the way, intensity, reasons and consequences of its Egyptianization were not analyzed since it was taken for granted that it could only have been forced and formal.

The adoption of Egyptian writing, monumental style and intellectual concepts by the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty and the Egyptianized appearance of the Kushite culture of the subsequent centuries were summarily interpreted under the impact of three misconceptions: viz., the projection of the experience of nineteenth century colonialism into ancient history, the misunderstanding of the processes of "acculturation", and the ignorance of Late Period Egypt. These, originally rather technical, misconceptions received ideological dimensions through the influence of Darwinian evolutionism.<sup>31</sup> Darwinian evolutionism not only seemed to make scientifically credible the inequality of races. Its biological determinism also offered a strong support to the emerging culture-historical theory in the terms of which creativity was the property of a few superior races.<sup>32</sup> In his *Nubische Grammatik*<sup>33</sup> Lepsius suggested that the indigenous peoples of Africa belonged to two major stocks, viz., the "Hamitic" and the "Negro". While in the first the great civilizing force of the continent was identified, the "Negro" populations, among them the inhabitants of the Middle Nile Region, were described as inert,<sup>34</sup> primitive, and culturally dependent on inspirations received from "Hamitic" Egypt. E.A. Wallis Budge, who published his first comprehensive history of Nubia in 1907, introduced this arrogant theory in the nascent Nubian Studies.<sup>35</sup> His views were espoused by his contemporaries and also determined the outlook of the next generations of Nubian scholars, all the more that the archaeological evidence which increased with a dramatic speed from the early years of the twentieth century was interpreted by scholars who were educated in the tradition of Ethnic Prehistory, a tradition which emerged from

<sup>31</sup> Cf. Trigger 1989 110 ff.

<sup>32</sup> Trigger 1989 148 ff.

<sup>33</sup> C.R. Lepsius: *Nubische Grammatik, mit einer Einleitung über die Völker und Sprachen Afrikas*. Berlin 1880.

<sup>34</sup> "Stagnation" would be viewed as a feature of ancient African cultures still in the 1960s, cf. the criticism directed against W.Y. Adams: Post-Pharaonic Nubia in the Light of Archaeology I. *JEA* 50 (1964) 102–120 by B.G. Haycock: The Place of the Napatan-Meroitic Culture in the History of the Sudan and Africa. in: Yusuf Fadl Hasan (ed.): *Sudan in Africa. Studies Presented to the 1st International Conference Sponsored by the Sudan Research Unit 7–12 February 1968*. Khartoum 1971 26–41 26 ff.

<sup>35</sup> E.A.W. Budge: *The Egyptian Sudan, Its History and Monuments*. London.

culture-historical archaeology and survived in world archaeology well into the 1950s.<sup>36</sup>

A last important summary of Middle Nile history drawn from the viewpoint of an Ethnic Prehistorian was Walter B. Emery's *Egypt in Nubia*.<sup>37</sup> It appeared in the middle of the epochal work of the UNESCO International Campaign to Save the Monuments of Nubia (1959–1969)<sup>38</sup> and was overshadowed by the spectacular finds made in its course which questioned one after another the traditional Egyptocentric image. The viewpoint of the most influential archaeologists of the Campaign was determined by their training in American cultural anthropology<sup>39</sup> and/or their closeness to the theory of New Archaeology,<sup>40</sup> what also partly explains their easy refusal of the traditional Egyptocentrism in historical interpretation. The method of New Archaeology proved to function as a useful tool in the interpretation of the archaeological material not only as an evidence of ethnic and cultural continuity but also as a testimony of indigenous cultural developments.

In our days the abandonment of the paradigm of Egyptocentrism shifted to the extreme. In the last two decades or so scholars of ancient Nubia went all lengths to keep alive a crusade against the ghost of Egyptology and put forward a new image of ancient Nubia in which Egyptian influences did not play a creative role. This cannot be a satisfactory solution if one faces the wealth of the *means of expression* that Nubian culture has borrowed from Egypt throughout its history, from the Predynastic period through Late Antiquity. While Nubia as part of Egypt's "outside world", Nubia under Middle and New Kingdom

<sup>36</sup> B.G. Trigger: Paradigms in Sudan Archaeology. *The International Journal of African Historical Studies* 27 (1994) 323–345 325 ff.

<sup>37</sup> W.B. Emery: *Egypt in Nubia*. London 1965.

<sup>38</sup> For the Campaign see, with further literature, W.Y. Adams: The Nubian Archaeological Campaigns of 1959–1969: Myths and Realities, Success and Failures. in: Bonnet (ed.) 1992 3–27; A.J. Mills: The Archaeological Survey from Gemai to Dal. *Ibid.* 29–31; T. Säve-Söderbergh: The International Nubia Campaign: Two Perspectives. *Ibid.* 33–42; F. Wendorf: The Campaign for Nubian Prehistory. *Ibid.* 43–54.

<sup>39</sup> W.Y. Adams: Post-Pharaonic Nubia in the Light of Archaeology I, II. *JEA* 50 (1964) 102–120; 51 (1965) 160–169; *id.*: The Nubian Campaign: Retrospect and Prospect. in: *Mélanges offerts à K. Michalowski*. Warszawa 1966 13–30; Adams 1977 8 ff., 665 ff.

<sup>40</sup> On the relationship between Trigger 1965 and L. Binford's work (esp. Archaeology as Anthropology. *American Antiquity* 28 [1962] 217–225; Archaeological Systematics and the Study of Cultural Process. *Ibid.* 31 [1965] 203–210) see, in hindsight, B.G. Trigger: History and Settlement in Lower Nubia in the Perspective of Fifteen Years. *Meroitica* 7 (1984) 367–380 *passim* and esp. 370, 379.



domination, and Nubia in the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty period continue to occupy an obligatory, even if not always generously allotted, place in general histories of Egypt,<sup>41</sup> some Nubian scholars doubt not only the competence but also the good faith of any *also* Egyptologically founded investigation of ancient Nubia, suspecting such investigations of aiming at nothing else than to place anew “an emphasis...on cultural innovation coming from a dominant Egyptian culture”.<sup>42</sup> According to a recent study discussing the history of research,

[t]here are now...many working in the field who are not from a primarily Egyptological background. This is in many ways an asset. However, this lack of Egyptological background has generated problems, through the uncritical acceptance of Egyptological assumptions and their incorporation into new work.<sup>43</sup>

The uncritical acceptance of Egyptological assumptions deserves indeed criticism: but the *uncritical refusal* of methods and informations deriving from Egyptology does not bring us closer to the understanding of the relation of Nubian culture to Egypt, either. In none of the periods of its history was ancient Nubia a Nilotic imitation of Egypt. Yet a properly *Nubian* reading of phenomena that seem to have been inspired by Egyptian concepts, or using Egyptian or Egyptianized means of expression, cannot be established without the knowledge of the original *Egyptian* reading of these concepts and expressive means.

The evidence indicating the influence of Ptolemaic and Roman Egyptian culture<sup>44</sup> came off especially badly with scholars advocating a radically de-Egyptianized image of ancient Nubia. While the value of Hellenistic/Roman style objects imported from Egypt<sup>45</sup> in the dating of archaeological contexts or as evidence for trade contacts and inter-

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<sup>41</sup> See, e.g., B.G. Trigger – B.J. Kemp – D. O'Connor – A.B. Lloyd: *Ancient Egypt. A Social History*. Cambridge 1983; I. Shaw: Egypt and the Outside World. in: Shaw (ed.) 2000 314–329; J. Taylor: The Third Intermediate Period (1069–664 BC). *Ibid.* 330–368; K.A. Bard: *An Introduction to the Archaeology of Ancient Egypt*. Malden-Oxford-Carlton 2008 *passim*.

<sup>42</sup> D.N. Edwards: Ancient Egypt in the Sudanese Middle Nile: A Case of Mistaken Identity? in: O'Connor – Reid (eds) 2003 137–150 140.

<sup>43</sup> Morkot 2003 152.

<sup>44</sup> However imprecise, in the following distinction will be made in the discussion of art monuments between Hellenistic/Roman Egyptian and traditional (i.e., “pharaonic style”). For the issue, see Chapter III.

<sup>45</sup> For catalogues of imported objects, see Hofmann 1978 213–30; Török 1989 118–150, 163–189.

nal gift exchange is accepted, albeit not always whole-heartedly,<sup>46</sup> the attempts made at the interpretation of Nubian architecture, sculpture, and minor arts showing the impact of Hellenistic/Roman Egyptian art as *monuments of Nubian culture* receive little attention. Disinterest within Nubian Studies is not compensated by the sporadic contributions made by classical archaeologists: in fact, only few classical scholars ventured to penetrate the unfamiliar world of the Nubiological literature incited by their historical/philological/art historical researches concerning ancient authors also writing about Nubia or the study of some work of art imported to Nubia in the antiquity or by their encounter with some spectacular archaeological evidence for Late Roman federate policy discovered in Nubia. Prior to the 1970s, their view was obscured by the consensus in traditional Nubian Studies according to which Meroitic history may best be described as the long decline of a peripheral culture interrupted by brief periods of creativity brought about by contact with Egypt.<sup>47</sup> It would be unjust, however, to explain the failure of Nubia's integration in Ancient History alone as the consequence of a conventionally lukewarm interest towards the periphery of a periphery.<sup>48</sup> Reasons for a delayed integration may also be identified in the special limitations and methodological idiosyncrasies inherent in Nubian Studies, which may indeed confuse or discourage the ancient historian educated in a different intellectual milieu and being spoiled by the possession of working tools which only very rarely seem to require serious improvement.

A notable exception is the work of the classical historian Stanley Burstein. In his pioneering "The Hellenistic Fringe: The Case of Meroe"<sup>49</sup> Burstein presented a comprehensive interpretation of the Nubian reception of classical culture. Alongside several other important studies on Nubian history and its textual sources,<sup>50</sup> he gave with

<sup>46</sup> Cf. Edwards 1996 86 ff.

<sup>47</sup> For the biased results, cf. L.A. Thompson 1969 26–61; L.A. Thompson: *The Kingdom of Kush and the Classical World. Nigeria and the Classics* 11 (1969) 26–53.

<sup>48</sup> For most classical archaeologists, Hellenistic Egyptian art is a periphery of Classical art: and Nubia is on the periphery of Egypt. Cf. L. Török: *A Periphery on the Periphery of the Ancient World? Ancient Nubia in Six New Books on the Middle Nile Region. Symbolae Osloenses* 73 (1998) 201–217. See also Burstein 1995a 127–146.

<sup>49</sup> Burstein 1993; printed version of a lecture delivered in 1988 at the Symposium on Hellenistic History and Culture held at the University of Texas at Austin, 20–22 October 1988.

<sup>50</sup> E.g., Burstein 1989, 1995a, 1998; S.M. Burstein: *The Nubian Campaigns of C. Petronius and George Reisner's Second Meroitic Kingdom of Napata. ZÄS* 106

this work a considerable impetus to the integration of Nubian Studies into Ancient History. Burstein's arguments for the inner-directedness of the Nubian adoption of classical iconography, forms and style are essential in the reassessment of the traditional views concerning Meroitic history and culture, and they will be reiterated in the following. Nevertheless, when I argue for alternative conclusions in this book it is because the chronological basis on which Burstein's work had been built was meanwhile significantly altered, most notably as regards the dating of the "water sanctuary" at Meroe City (Chapter V), a monument that plays a central role in Burstein's reasoning.<sup>51</sup> From the 1980s, also the chronology of Meroitic vase painting underwent significant changes (Chapter VII). Burstein's attention was focused on the overall historical factors influencing artistic production in Meroe rather than on individual genres and monuments. The way, however, as we interpret the impact of Hellenistic art on Meroe depends for the most part on the absolute chronological dates we assign to individual buildings or building elements, sculptures, vase paintings, native and imported artifacts. While largely accepting Burstein's reconstruction of the political context of Meroitic art, in the following I shall consider it primarily from an art-historical viewpoint.

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(1979) 95–105; *id.*: Herodotus and the Emergence of Meroe. *JSSEA* 11 (1981) 1–5; *id.*: The Axumite Inscription from Meroe and Late Meroitic Chronology. *Meroitica* 7 (1984) 220–221; *id.*: "Kush and the External World": A Comment. *Meroitica* 10 (1989) 225–230; *id.*: The Roman Withdrawal from Nubia: A New Interpretation. *SO* 73 (1998) 125–132; *id.*: Paccius Maximus: a Greek Poet in Nubia or a Nubian Greek Poet? in: *Actes de la VIIIe Conférence Internationale des Études Nubiennes* III. *Études. CRIPEL* 17 (1995) 47–52.

<sup>51</sup> In his more recent survey of the impact of Greek culture on Nubia, Burstein devotes only one or two remarks to the architectural/artistic evidence, without discussing its dimensions, complexity or chronological position. See Burstein 2008.

## CHAPTER ONE

### ERGAMENES, AKTISANES, AND THE MODERN DISCOVERY OF HELLENIZING ART IN MEROE

Hellenistic art [...] has undergone a[n] [...] upward revaluation. Most recently of all [...] a great deal of interest has shifted from the supposed centers of power to the periphery, creating the basis for a series of “frontier studies” that will [...] profoundly modify our assessment of the political, economic, and cultural history of the Hellenistic Age.<sup>1</sup>

#### 1. *Ancient and Modern Legends About the Hellenization of Meroe*

In the second season (December 1910–February 1911) of his excavations at Meroe City<sup>2</sup> (Chapter V.1.1) John Garstang investigated the monumental stone wall<sup>3</sup> enclosing the centre of the ancient town (the so-called “Royal Enclosure”)<sup>4</sup> and observed quarry marks and “the ligatured Greek letters HP, deeply cut and well formed” on several of its blocks. In his discussion of the results of the season’s work, the eminent philologist A.H. Sayce—who identified the site as (one of) the ancient capital(s) of the Aithiopians and initiated its archaeological exploration<sup>5</sup>—noted that the letters were

in one case [...] preceded by the accentual sign of the rough breathing “. [...] As the accentual signs were invented by Aristophanes of Byzantium, the erection of the wall cannot be earlier than the reign of Ptolemy IV (Philopator) with which the forms of the letters would agree. It would be

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<sup>1</sup> P. Green: Introduction: New Approaches to the Hellenistic World. in: Green (ed.) 1993 1–11 6.

<sup>2</sup> J. Garstang: Second Interim Report on the Excavations at Meroe in Ethiopia. *LAAA* 4 (1912) 45–52.

<sup>3</sup> Török 1997b 41 ff.

<sup>4</sup> The names given by Garstang to quarters and buildings of Meroe City (such as, e.g., Royal Bath) are still widely used in the literature, although their correctness is questioned.

<sup>5</sup> A.H. Sayce: Meroe. *LAAA* 3 (1910) 53–56.

the time when Ergamenes emancipated the kingdom from its bondage to the priests of Amon [...] and brought Greek artists and workmen to Meroe [...] The influence of Greek culture from the age of Ergamenes onward is very apparent. Among the priesthood, and consequently in the religious cult, Egyptian influence continued to be predominant up to the end of the monarchy, but at court it was largely superseded by that of Hellenism.<sup>6</sup>

Before discussing the evidence concerning Ergamenes to some detail, it must be advanced that his historical original, the Meroitic king Arkamaniqo<sup>7</sup> was, as Agatharchides informs us, a contemporary of Ptolemy II (282–246 BC) and his association with the alleged date of the introduction of the accentual signs and thus with the regency of Ptolemy IV (221–204 BC) is anyway irrelevant.<sup>8</sup> Ergamenes, who appears in Diodorus's above-quoted excerpts from Agatharchides's lost *On Affairs in Asia*, plays a central role in Agatharchides's description of Aithiopia:

Of the customs among the Aithiopians not a few appear to be very different from those of other peoples, especially as regards the election of kings. The priests first select the best candidates from among themselves, and from among these selected men the multitude then chooses as king him whom the god seizes<sup>9</sup> while being carried about in a procession in a traditional manner. They then immediately prostrate themselves before this man and honour him as a god, in the belief that the rule has been placed in his hands through the providence of the divinity. [...] The strangest thing, however, is the circumstances that surround the death of their kings. In Meroe the priests who busy themselves with the worshipping and honouring of the gods, the highest and most powerful class

<sup>6</sup> A.H. Sayce: The Historical Results. *LAAA* 4 (1912) 53–65 63.

<sup>7</sup> For the identification of Ergamenes with Arkamaniqo and his chronological position, see F. Hintze: *Die Inschriften des Löwentempels von Musawwarat es Sufra*. Berlin 1962 16 f.; K.-H. Priese: Nichtägyptische Namen und Wörter in den ägyptischen Inschriften der Könige von Kusch. *MIO* 14 (1968) 165–191 184 ff.; Hofmann 1978 37 ff.

<sup>8</sup> In this period breathings were not yet used. It is anyhow extremely unlikely that a mason in Kush, even in the possession of some knowledge of Greek language and writing, would ever have used the sign of rough breathing in a mark that served the recording of his production. It would rather seem that Sayce mistook unintentional scratches for the sign  $\text{~}$ . Aristophanes of Byzantium, successor of Eratosthenes of Cyrene (c. 246–194 BC) as director of the Museion library, died around 180 BC and was active in the period of Ptolemy V (204–180 BC), cf. Hölbl 2001 191. For Eratosthenes, see P.M. Fraser: Eratosthenes of Cyrene. *PBA* 56 (1970) 175–207.

<sup>9</sup> The verb λαμβάνειν is the common Greek word for “take hold of” or “grasp”; in the actual context, however, its meaning is probably “take possession of” in a religious sense, see T. Eide in: *FHN* II 646 note 307.

in the society, send a message to the king whenever it occurs to them, ordering him to die. This is an oracle sent them by the gods, they pretend, and a command from the immortals must in no way be neglected by a mortal being. They also give other reasons likely to be accepted by simple minds brought up in the old and ingrained traditions and lacking a reason for protesting against arbitrary commands. In former times the kings were subject to the priests, without being vanquished by arms or any force at all, but overpowered in their minds by just this kind of superstition. At the time of Ptolemy II, however, Ergamenes, king of the Aithiopians, who had received instruction in Greek philosophy, was the first who dared disdain this command. With the determination worthy of a king he came with an armed force to the forbidden place where the golden temple of the Aithiopians was situated and slaughtered all the priests, abolished this tradition, and instituted practices at his own discretion.<sup>10</sup>

For Garstang and Sayce the story of the cultural hero Ergamenes seemed to provide a sufficient explanation for the appearance of Hellenistic architectural elements and artefacts in Meroe City. The reality of the story is, however, a somewhat more complex issue. As an ethnographer, Agatharchides focused his interest on the problem of how it is possible for people to maintain traditions and customs, which cannot be explained on the basis of common sense and which, though they have a negative impact on human actions, are nevertheless retained merely because they are in accordance with certain religious concepts. The Ergamenes story was intended to demonstrate a blatant case in point. At the same time, it presented an example of the superiority of Greek philosophy over such traditions, as it is the Greek education of Ergamenes that enables him to put an end to the tyranny of the priests. The most important message of the story is the victory of λογισμός (reason) over δεισιδαιμονία (superstition).<sup>11</sup> Of course, it is not about the mission of Greek culture: at least not in the sense as criticized by Boardman:

Modern scholarship studies “acculturation”, but the degree to which it was positively sought in antiquity, except by Imperial Rome and then for motives of security and finance, was probably slight, and later authors may have falsely attributed missionary aims to some peoples and persons.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>10</sup> Agatharchides in Diodorus 3.5.1, 3.6.1–4, *FHN* II No. 142, trans. T. Eide.

<sup>11</sup> Dihle 1961 223 ff.

<sup>12</sup> Boardman 1994 315.

While the Ergamenes story has a distinct Herodotean layer,<sup>13</sup> it is introduced with a fairly realistic description of the oracular confirmation of royal legitimacy. The information for this could have derived from Egypt just as well as from Meroe.<sup>14</sup> The motif of election may also have appeared familiar to the Greek reader who was aware of the Macedonian tradition according to which the kingship was reserved for the Argeads, descendants of Zeus and Heracles, but in the selection of the king the members of the royal family, the military, and the assembly of the nobility also participated.<sup>15</sup> It is also a feature of Greek kingship that “the good king is a philosopher”.<sup>16</sup>

The identity of Agatharchides’s Ergamenes with Arkamaniqo, a historical king, invites the story’s interpretation from a *Meroitic* viewpoint as well. Arkamaniqo is generally regarded in the literature as a sort of “heretic” king à la Ekhnaton, who, by means of a royal coup d’état, put a violent end to the “rule” of the priests of Amun of Napata, separating thus church and state and removing the centre of the kingdom geographically from their sphere by transferring the “capital” from Napata to Meroe.<sup>17</sup> The interpretation of Agatharchides’s story as a royal revolt against the authority of Amun’s priesthood over the institutions of kingship is certainly wrong if one realizes the unbroken

<sup>13</sup> The massacre of the priests also occurs in the story of Sabacos (=Shabaqo), Herodotus 2.137, cf. *FHN* I No. 63; see furthermore Herodotus 7.39; for the motif, see I. Hofmann – A. Vorbichler: *Der Äthiopenlogos bei Herodot.* Wien 1979 76 ff.

<sup>14</sup> Its amalgamation with the motif of the kingship of a person selected from among the priests points towards a tradition also preserved by Plato (*Politicus* 290d–e) and Plutarch (*De Iside et Osiride* 9.354B). According to the latter, in Egypt “kings were chosen from among the priests or warriors, the latter class being held in respect and honour for its bravery, the former for its wisdom. A king chosen from among the warriors instantly became a priest”. This tradition doubtless derives from genuine information and points, similarly to what we suppose to have been among Agatharchides’s sources, towards a “nationalist” discourse on Egyptian kingship.—For oracles in the legitimization of the kings of the Napatan period, see Török 1997a 217–229, 241–246, 277.

<sup>15</sup> Cf. E.N. Borza in: Green (ed.) 1993 23–35 (response to N.G.L. Hammond: The Macedonian Imprint on the Hellenistic World, 12–23) 27; A.B. Lloyd: The Ptolemaic Period (332–30 BC). in: I. Shaw (ed.): *The Oxford History of Ancient Egypt*. Oxford 2000 395–421 408.

<sup>16</sup> J. Bingen: Ptolemy I and the Quest for Legitimacy. in: Bingen 2007 15–30 17.

<sup>17</sup> E.g., I. Hofmann: *Studien zum meroitischen Königtum*. Bruxelles 1971 77; Adams 1977 305, 311; Hofmann 1978 41; F. Hintze: The Meroitic Period. in: Hochfield – Riefstahl (eds) 1978 89–105 94 f. The idea of the “transfer of the capital” is still maintained by several authors, see, e.g., Bianchi 2004a 213; Burstein 2008 47.—For the simultaneous existence of several “capitals” in the Napatan-Meroitic kingdom, see Török 1992, 1997a 230 ff.

continuity of Kushite kingship ideology with the cult of Amun of Thebes and a series of local Amun gods, among them Amun of Napata, in its centre.<sup>18</sup> It also appears unlikely if one takes due notice of the continuity of Napata as one of the principal royal seats of the land before, during, and after the reign of Arkamaniqo.<sup>19</sup>

The Ergamanes story reflects another kind of discontinuity: namely, the coming to power of a new dynasty.<sup>20</sup> While Arkamaniqo did not “transfer the capital”, he did transfer the royal burial ground from the neighbourhood of Napata, i.e., from the area that was traditionally connected with the founders of the kingdom of Kush who originated there,<sup>21</sup> to the neighbourhood of Meroe City.<sup>22</sup> His actual tomb, Begarawiya South 6,<sup>23</sup> which is situated on the lower edge of the hillock occupied by Begarawiya South Cemetery, a necropolis at Meroe City where aristocrats and royal wives had been buried since the reigns of Kashta (c. 775–755 BC) and Piankhy (755 [?]-721 BC), can most likely be interpreted as his interment in the cemetery of his non-ruling ancestors (see also Chapter IV). Otherwise, the burial of a ruler in a low-lying, peripheral part of a non-royal cemetery would be more than unusual: indeed, Arkamaniqo’s second successor<sup>24</sup> opened a new royal burial ground (Begarawiya North) on the top of another hillock next to Begarawiya South.

Albeit transferring them into the realm of the Herodotean motif of the massacre of the priests, Agatharchides’ Ergamenes story hints at the violent circumstances in which the new dynasty emerged.

<sup>18</sup> Cf. Török 1997a 263 ff.; Török 2002a *passim*.

<sup>19</sup> Cf. Török 2002a 306 ff.—Arkamaniqo’s successor Amanislo transferred the splendid New Kingdom lion statues (“Prudhoe lions”, BM 1, 2, *PM* VII 212) from Amenhotep III’s temple at Soleb to Napata where they were reerected flanking the entrance avenue of the restored royal palace B 1200, cf. Kendall 1991 301.

<sup>20</sup> L. Török: Amasis and Ergamenes. in: U. Luft (ed.): *Intellectual Heritage of Egypt. Studies Presented to László Kákossy* (*Studia Aegyptiaca* 14). Budapest 1992 555–561.

<sup>21</sup> For the pre-Twenty-Fifth Dynasty princely necropolis of el Kurru, see D. Dunham: *El Kurru*. Boston 1950; Morkot 1991; L. Heidorn: Historical Implications of the Pottery from the Earliest Tombs at El-Kurru. *JARCE* 31 (1994) 115–131; L. Török: *The Birth of an Ancient African Kingdom. Kush and Her Myth of the State in the First Millennium BC*. Lille 1995 29 ff.; R.G. Morkot: Kingship and Kinship in the Empire of Kush. in: Wenig (ed.) 1999 179–299; Morkot 2003.

<sup>22</sup> For the royal burials at Napata, see Dunham 1955 (Nuri), Dunham 1957 (Barkal); at Meroe City: Dunham 1957 (Begarawiya North), Dunham 1963 (Begarawiya South).

<sup>23</sup> Dunham 1957 27 ff.

<sup>24</sup> His direct successor Amanislo was buried next to him in the pyramid tomb Beg. S. 5 situated on an even lower-lying part of the hillock, see Dunham 1957 37.



Arkamaniqo's remarkable throne name lends further support to the above-sketched interpretation. He adopted the throne name  $\text{Hnm-ib-R}'$ , "The-heart-of-Re-rejoices"<sup>25</sup> of Amasis of the Twenty-Sixth Dynasty. Amasis did not hide the fact from his contemporaries that he violently deposed his predecessor.<sup>26</sup> Imitating Amasis's throne name as the only one among the Egyptian and Meroitic rulers,<sup>27</sup> Arkamaniqo deliberately and pointedly associated himself with an Egyptian king who was known to posteriority as a usurper.<sup>28</sup> Significantly, Amasis' most important features in Herodotus's description, viz., a usurper in the beginning, a "lover of the Greeks" later (2.178), may also be extracted from Agatharchides's Ergamenes-portrait. While other elements of the Ergamenes story come in fact from different stories of Herodotus, this parallelism is more likely historical and is part of the parallelism felt and brought to expression by Arkamaniqo himself. The model of Arkamaniqo's throne name, the change of the royal burial ground connected to his reign, and the elements of the classical Egypt- and Aithiopia-traditions associated with him all fit into the homogeneous picture of a dynastic change of epochal importance. It is worth noting here, however, that Arkamaniqo, Amanislo and Amanitekha, the three earliest rulers of the new dynasty buried in the area of Meroe City assumed throne names containing an utterance concerning  $\text{ib R}'$ , "the heart of Re": Arkamaniqo  $\text{Hnm-ib-R}'$ , "The-heart-of-Re-rejoices"; Amanislo  $\text{nh-nfr-ib-R}'$ , "Neferibre-lives"; and Amanitekha  $\text{Mn-ib-R}'$ , "Re-is-One-whose-heart-endures". Though titles consisting of this element already occurred in earlier Kushite titularies, it is the two occurrences of the throne name  $\text{Nfr-ib-R}'$  in the titularies of Irike-Amannote (second half of the fifth century BC)<sup>29</sup> and Akhratane (middle of the fourth century BC)<sup>30</sup> that concern us here. Irike-Amannote appears to have been the first, Akhratane the third generation of a

<sup>25</sup> In the view of Bianchi 2004a 224 Arkamaniqo's titulary would have emphasized his ties to the Ptolemaic court.

<sup>26</sup> For his stela from Year 1 see H. de Meulenaere: Amasis. *LÄ I* (1973) 181–182.

<sup>27</sup> Unless the epithet  $\text{Stp-ntrw}$ , "Chosen-of-the-Gods", in the Throne name of Arkamaniqo's fifth successor, Adikhalamani, repeats Amasis's Golden Horus name: in this case, we would have good reason to suppose that Amasis's titulary (and additional information) could be found in some archives in Meroe. Cf. *FHN II* 590; for the archives in Kush, see my discussion of the royal titularies in Török 2002a 335 ff.

<sup>28</sup> H. de Meulenaere: *Herodotos over de 26ste Dynastie*. Loeven 1951 85 ff.

<sup>29</sup> *FHN I* No. (69).

<sup>30</sup> *FHN II* No. (79).

new dynasty.<sup>31</sup> Hnm-ib-R' in Arkamani's titulary indicates his association with Amasis in order to allude to his founding of a new dynasty with violent means. While the traditional notion of Mn-ib-R' in itself points towards the association of Re's enduring favour with the king's valiance,<sup>32</sup> the re-emphasis of the concept of ib-R' appears to have been intended first of all to manifest a political link between Irike-Amanote and his descendant Akhratane, on the one hand, and between Arkamaniqo and his descendants, on the other.

Contacts between the Meroitic kingdom and Hellenistic Egypt existed, however, already prior to the reign of the cultural hero Ergamenes-Arkamaniqo. There existed a tradition in Hellenistic literature according to which Alexander the Great was active in Aithiopia,<sup>33</sup> and Arrian<sup>34</sup> writes about an Aithiopian embassy to Alexander in 324 BC. Hence Stanley Burstein suggested that Callisthenes led an expedition to Aithiopia in Alexander's reign.<sup>35</sup> This suggestion remains, however, far too hypothetical.<sup>36</sup> While neither the embassy sent by the king of Kush to Alexander nor the diplomatic contacts between the Macedonian conqueror and the fabled "Queen Candace" of Meroe, mentioned in the *Alexander Romance*,<sup>37</sup> can be verified, the informations about the kingdom of Meroe occurring from c. 300 BC in the Hellenistic literature, especially in works on geography and ethnography, reflect the curiosity of actual embassies, traders and other travelers exploring the Middle Nile region for political, commercial and scientific purposes.<sup>38</sup>

The impact of early diplomatic contacts with Ptolemaic Egypt is demonstrated by the evidence concerning the early third century BC king Gt̄isn of Meroe. His elaborate titulary preserved on stray blocks

<sup>31</sup> FHN II 464 f.

<sup>32</sup> H. Brunner: Herz. LÄ II (1977) 1158–1168 1160; N.-C. Grimal: *Les termes de la propagande royale égyptienne de la XXe dynastie à la conquête d'Alexandre*. Paris 1986 709 f.

<sup>33</sup> Lucanus, *Phars.*, 10.272 ff., Johannes Lydus, *De mens.*, 4.107.

<sup>34</sup> *Anab.*, 7.15.4.

<sup>35</sup> S.M. Burstein: Alexander, Callisthenes and the Sources of the Nile. in: Burstein 1995a 63–76.

<sup>36</sup> Cf. Desanges 1978 247; Desanges 1992 367; Burstein 1993 41.

<sup>37</sup> Ps.-Callisthenes, *Alexander Romance* 3.18, 3.21.1–3, 3.22.2–5, 7–8, FHN II No. 85. Candace (Meroitic *kdke*, *ktke*) was a title and not a name, see I. Hofmann: Zu den Titeln *ktke* und *pqr*. ZDMG Suppl. III 2 (1977) 1400–1409.

<sup>38</sup> For the earliest Hellenistic writers on Aithiopia, see Pliny, *NH* 6.183, FHN II No. 100. For Hellenistic literature on Nubia in general, see Burstein 1995b 29–39.

from a temple at Napata dedicated to Amun of Thebes and Amun of Napata<sup>39</sup> displays the influence of late fourth century BC Egyptian titularies. His Horus name imitates the Horus name of Philip III Arrhidaios (323–317 BC),<sup>40</sup> while his throne name that of Ptolemy I Soter (304–283/2 BC).<sup>41</sup> Gʾtʾsn is probably identical with the Aithiopian king Aktisanes appearing in Hecataeus's book on Egypt.<sup>42</sup> Hecataeus of Abdera wrote his (lost) history of Egypt, a work of idealizing tendency and intended to serve as a *Fürstenspiegel* for Ptolemy I,<sup>43</sup> between c. 320–305 BC.<sup>44</sup> He placed Aktisanes in a fictive context as opponent of Amasis, the penultimate king of the Twenty-Sixth Dynasty and adorned him with features of the utopian “blameless Aithiopian” of Greek literature:

[W]hen Aktisanes, the king of the Aithiopians, went to war against him [i.e., Amasis], then the majority took the opportunity of their hatred and revolted. He was therefore easily vanquished, and Egypt fell under the rule of the Aithiopians. Aktisanes, however, bore his good fortune humanely and treated his subjects fairly.<sup>45</sup>

Hecataeus used the name of a contemporary Kushite ruler in order to underline for his readers the (fictional) historicity of a story in which he blames Amasis as unlawful king. Yet the positive features of Aktisanes served not only the literary contrast between the opponents. The sympathetic presentation of an Aithiopian ruler to the Greek public was also meant to put the contacts of the Ptolemaic court with Kush in a positive context that markedly differs from the traditional image of Egypt's vile neighbour, “wretched Kush”.<sup>46</sup> In the second century BC Agatharchides similarly addressed a Greek audience, which he wanted

<sup>39</sup> K.-H. Priese: Eine verschollene Bauinschrift des frühmeroitischen Königs Aktisanes (?) vom Gebel Barkal. in: Endesfelder – Priese *et al.* (eds) 1977 343–367; *FHN* II Nos (86), 87.

<sup>40</sup> Beckerath 1984 Argeaden 2.

<sup>41</sup> Beckerath 1984 Ptolemäer 1.

<sup>42</sup> In Diodorus 1.60–61.1, *FHN* II No. 88. Cf. E. Schwartz: Diodorus von Agyrion. *RE* 5 (1903) 663–704.

<sup>43</sup> Cf. Jacoby 1912 2760 ff.; O. Murray: Hecataeus of Abdera and Pharaonic Kingship. *JEA* 56 (1970) 141–17; Assmann 1996 413 f.

<sup>44</sup> Jacoby 1912; O. Murray: The Date of Hecataeus' Work on Egypt. *JEA* 59 (1973) 163–168.

<sup>45</sup> Hecataeus in Diodorus 1.60.1.2–3, *FHN* II No. 88, trans. T. Eide.

<sup>46</sup> For the notion of “wretched Kush”, see A. Loprieno: *Topos und Mimesis*. Wiesbaden 1988 22 ff.; S.T. Smith: *Wretched Kush. Ethnic Identities and Boundaries in Egypt's Nubian Empire*. London-New York 2003 11 ff., 19 ff.

to reassure that Ptolemaic contacts with Meroe were not shameful since they were directed above all by missionary initiatives.

Similarly to Sayce, also Rostovtzeff, L.A. Thompson and, more recently, Jehan Desanges<sup>47</sup> emphasized Ergamenes's role as "the Hellenizer" of Meroe. With no little condescension, Rostovtzeff wrote: "under Ergamenes Meroe, the capital, and in particular its citadel with its Hellenistic palaces, its Hellenistic bath, its Ethiopian-Hellenistic statues and decorative frescoes, became a little Nubian Alexandria".<sup>48</sup> In Thompson's view Ergamenes turned Meroe into "an approximation of a Hellenistic kingdom".<sup>49</sup> Thompson interprets the Ergamenes story as an indirect evidence for "a major reform of the Meroitic monarchy". As a consequence of his late dating of the Hellenizing monuments of Meroitic art, Burstein does not attribute the role of "Hellenizer" to Arkamaniqo. Yet he suggests that, beginning with Arkamaniqo, "the kings of Meroe adopted a new, less Egyptianizing, style of regalia".<sup>50</sup> In fact, the multilayered (tripartite) Meroitic royal garment consisting of a tunic, a coat, and a sash emerged in the last third of the third century BC, i.e., several decades after Arkamaniqo's reign, under the actual influence of the multilayered (tripartite) garment of the Ptolemies.<sup>51</sup>

## 2. *The Late Twentieth Century Appraisal of Meroitic Art: "High Art" and "Visual Culture"*

The first, and so far last, comprehensive history of Nubian art was published in 1978.<sup>52</sup> Steffen Wenig's pioneering essay "A History of the Art, Architecture, and Minor Arts of Nubia and the Northern Sudan"<sup>53</sup> introduces his catalogue of the monumental Brooklyn exhibition *Africa in Antiquity*.<sup>54</sup> The material exhibited in Brooklyn as well as Wenig's art-historical essay and catalogue reflect the organizers' aim to present

<sup>47</sup> Desanges 1983 277.

<sup>48</sup> M. Rostovtzeff: *The Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire* I. Oxford 1957 302.

<sup>49</sup> L.A. Thompson 1969 36.

<sup>50</sup> Burstein 1993 48, with reference to Hofmann 1978 52.

<sup>51</sup> See Török 1990; for the multilayered Ptolemaic garments, see Bianchi 1978; Baines 2004 50 ff.; for the origins of their elements, see Leahy 1988.

<sup>52</sup> For a much shorter overview, see Török 1996.

<sup>53</sup> Wenig 1978 21–111.

<sup>54</sup> Organized by Bernard V. Bothmer and Steffen Wenig.

a coherent image of *Nubian* cultural/artistic developments between c. 3000 BC and the end of the Christian kingdoms and demonstrate the special aesthetic quality of “such objects as we of the present day consider to be works of art” but “were not [...] so considered by their makers”.<sup>55</sup> The Nubian focus determined the exclusion of “works of Egyptian art made in Nubia or imports. Exceptions have been made principally for works from Dynasty XXV and the Ballana Period”, with the explanation that “[o]bjects of Egyptian or foreign manufacture from these periods have been included because they express Nubian and Sudanese artistic ideals”.<sup>56</sup> An art historical stance is also obvious in the case of two subsequent monumental Nubian exhibitions, viz., the exhibition shown between October 1996 and September 1998 in Munich, Paris, Amsterdam, Toulouse and Mannheim and the 2003 Barcelona show.<sup>57</sup> The organizers of these exhibitions also included Egyptian imports from all periods. As opposed to these exhibitions, the major show mounted in 2004 in the British Museum had the intention, to present the widest possible horizon of Nubian cultural history with an accent on new archaeological discoveries and without drawing a theoretical line between “art” and “visual culture”.<sup>58</sup> The exhibition mounted in 2010 in the Louvre focused on the Meroitic period and presented carefully selected objects that excellently illustrated the history of Meroitic culture, also including high art.<sup>59</sup>

Combining a style critical approach with a typological classification,<sup>60</sup> Steffen Wenig described five stylistic groups in Meroitic art “which may have coexisted to some extent or may have succeeded one another or may reflect regional variations”,<sup>61</sup> viz., a first group consisting of works of “official” art continuing the stylistic traditions of the Napatan period and dating to the Early Meroitic period; a second consisting of works of art in (traditional) Egyptian style; a third works of “official” art displaying “independent Meroitic features” and dating

<sup>55</sup> Wenig 1978 11.

<sup>56</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>57</sup> Wildung (ed.) 1997; Perez Die (ed.) 2003, respectively.

<sup>58</sup> Welsby – Anderson (eds) 2004.

<sup>59</sup> Baud – Sackho-Autissier – Labbé-Toutée (eds) 2010.

<sup>60</sup> For typological descriptions of Meroitic art, see also F. Hintze: *Elemente der meroitischen Kultur. Meroitica* 5 (1979) 101–105; J. Leclant in: J. Leclant (ed.): *Ägypten III. Spätzeit und Hellenismus*. München 1981 233–272.

<sup>61</sup> Wenig 1978 65.

from the fourth or early third century BC;<sup>62</sup> a fourth consisting of the *ba*-statues and heads associated with mortuary cult and originating from elite tomb superstructures;<sup>63</sup> and finally a fifth group consisting of works of art “strongly influenced by Hellenistic art, principally from Alexandria”.

Wenig argued that the works influenced by Hellenistic art were “produced during a short span of time” and “probably reflect a passing fashion” which was “apparently limited to Meroe [City] and Naqa”.<sup>64</sup> Accordingly, he dated the sculptures found in the “water sanctuary” at Meroe City (Chapter V) in general terms to the AD third century,<sup>65</sup> allowing an earlier, AD second century date for some pieces.<sup>66</sup> While Garstang identified the “water sanctuary” as royal baths with a *frigidarium* and a *tepidarium*<sup>67</sup> and his architect W.S. George as a “Greek palaestra of the earlier type...[rather than] a fully-equipped Roman bath”,<sup>68</sup> Wenig commented on the sculptures and the building as follows:

Because they (i.e., the sculptures) were all placed at the edge of the large pool, and because the bath installation also contained a semicircular room with three apselike niches, which may have functioned as thrones or seats, we are inclined to view the whole structure as, perhaps, a splendid, ornate imitation of a Hellenistic villa, complete with a swimming pool. The close relationship that existed between the Kingdom of Kush and the Classical world, with Rome and especially with Alexandria, [...] stimulated the Meroites to re-create in their royal city things they had heard existed in other great cities of the ancient world.<sup>69</sup>

The more recent reassessment of the chronology of vase painting and the dating of its early phase to the third-second century BC instead of the AD second-third century (see Chapter VII) places the Hellenizing

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<sup>62</sup> Wenig 1978 99 note 21 partly lists, however, examples from the second-first centuries BC (his Cats 135, 137).

<sup>63</sup> According to Wenig 1978 65 they date from the period between the AD first-fourth centuries. For the earliest (royal) *ba*-statues from the second century BC and the earliest non-royal ones from the first century BC, see, however, Török 2002b 67 f.

<sup>64</sup> Wenig 1978 87.

<sup>65</sup> For a similar dating of the reclining male figure from the “water sanctuary”, now Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek Æ.I.N. 1484, here Chapter V.2.2.2 *Cat. 11*, see Wenig 1975b 426 No. 437.

<sup>66</sup> In 1969 the classical archaeologist Theodor Kraus dated all sculptures to the Roman period. T. Kraus: Rom und Meroe. *MDAIK* 25 (1969) 49–56 55.

<sup>67</sup> Garstang 1913 77 ff.

<sup>68</sup> W.S. George: Architectural and General Results. *LAAA* 6 (1914) 9–21 15 ff.

<sup>69</sup> Wenig 1978 87.

buildings and architectural elements, sculptures and objects of minor arts into such a context as can no longer be interpreted in the terms of a “passing fashion”. While stressing the significance of the results of this “passing fashion” with the observation that

[t]he transformation of prototypes taken from Classical antiquity and their adaptation to the indigenous artistic tradition clearly demonstrate the continued creativity of Meroitic artists[.]

Wenig also remarked in his 1978 survey that “[w]e have no idea why the Meroites adopted certain motifs and chose to ignore others”.<sup>70</sup> There is indeed no direct evidence for the formulas of the Meroites’ reaction to Egyptian art, be it in traditional or Hellenistic style. We may nevertheless form an idea of what the Meroites thought what “art” was about, because we can understand (even if only incompletely) the original *function* of the individual Meroitic buildings, statues, reliefs, vase paintings etc.<sup>71</sup> It is the monuments themselves that one by one present answers to Wenig’s question, provided that we succeed in considering and interpreting them within their original context. In the following chapters of this book individual genres and monuments will be addressed with the initiative to come closer to the *Meroitic* reading of concepts, forms and styles borrowed from Hellenistic Egypt—have we achieved this, we have also by and large understood *why* the Meroites adopted them.

The concept of “art” as it is hinted at, as a rule only indirectly, in Nubian Studies is vague and oscillates between operating with the Egyptological hierarchy of sponsors (ruler and temples, elite, “middle class”, everybody else), genres (monumental-not monumental, official-private), execution (precious-common-cheap material, perfection-“average”-“provincial”-mass product quality) and the acceptance of the recent trend of dealing with “visual culture”, which is “like material culture, [...] a more *historical* category than ‘art’”.<sup>72</sup> The examination of monuments of “art” as historical sources without paying attention to the issue of their quality eliminates a significant attribute of the sources in question.<sup>73</sup>

<sup>70</sup> Wenig 1978 87.

<sup>71</sup> For the issue, cf. S. McNally – I. Schrunk: The Impact of Rome on the Egyptian Pottery Industry. *JARCE* 37 (2000) 91–114.

<sup>72</sup> L. Jordanova: *History in Practice*. London 2000 89, quoted in P. Stewart 2008 2 note 4.

<sup>73</sup> See also the considerations of P. Stewart 2008 2 ff.

In this book I shall try to focus on monuments and artifacts that may be described as “high art” according to the criteria explained in Chapter V.2.4. It must be admitted that these criteria are not exact: they were formulated in order to find a way how to appraise an actual architectural and sculptural complex that constitutes part of one of the early Meroitic royal residences and mixes elements of high and low aesthetic and technical quality in a most puzzling fashion. Further attempts at the description of the potential Meroitic notion(s) of “high art” will be made in Chapters VII.5.2.2 and 5.2.3 in the discussion of Meroitic vase painting in its relation to contemporary Egyptian decorated pottery.





## CHAPTER TWO

### RECEPTION WITHOUT UNDERSTANDING?

[W]e are observing a remarkable diffusion of images, if not ideas, and in their new contexts those images had meaning.<sup>1</sup>

The late twentieth century trend of the interest in the frontiers of the ancient world, in peripheries and in peripheral cultures<sup>2</sup> also reached the students of the Hellenistic world. “[S]tudies of the Hellenistic fringe should never be left on the fringe of Hellenistic studies”, said Frank Holt in a paper delivered in 1988 at a symposium discussing new approaches to Hellenistic history and culture.<sup>3</sup> His paper was a response to a case study presented by Stanley Burstein at the same symposium. In this study, which I already have quoted in the Introduction,<sup>4</sup> Burstein discussed the cultural interaction between Ptolemaic/Roman Egypt and her southern neighbour, the kingdom of Meroe.<sup>5</sup> Holt fully agreed with Burstein when the latter summarized the nature of Hellenistic imprint on Meroe as follows:<sup>6</sup>

Protected by geography and heirs to a centuries-long civilized tradition of their own...the Meroitic elite were free to select only those elements of Hellenism compatible with their traditions. In the Hellenistic period these were limited to a few imported luxuries. In the Roman period the range of imports, both material and spiritual, widened considerably, and

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<sup>1</sup> Boardman 1994 11.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Romm 1992; C.R. Whitaker: *Frontiers of the Roman Empire. A Social and Economic Study*. Baltimore-London 1994.

<sup>3</sup> Holt 1993 55.

<sup>4</sup> Burstein 1993. Reprinted in Burstein 1995a 105–123. The Greek image of Nubia was also discussed in S.M. Burstein: *Le relazioni dei Greci con Kush e Aksum. I Greci* 3 (2001) 471–498.—The studies of Burstein and others on “Hellenistic Nubia” would not have been possible without the pioneering work of Jehan Desanges, see Desanges 1978, 1983, 1992 and cf. *id.*: *Les relations de l’Empire romain avec l’Afrique nilotique et érythréenne, d’Augustus à Probus*. in: *ANRW II.10.1* (1988) 3–43; *id.*: *Rom und das Innere Afrikas*. in: H. Duchhardt – J.A. Schlumberger – P. Segl (eds): *Afrika. Entdeckung und Erforschung eines Kontinents*. Wien 1989 31–50; E. Seguenny – J. Desanges: *Sarapis dans le royaume de Kouch. CdÉ* 61 (1986) 324–329.

<sup>5</sup> Burstein 1993.

<sup>6</sup> Burstein 1993 53.

an occasional Meroitic king, impressed perhaps by ambassadors' reports of life at Alexandria, might even have a nymphaeum built at Meroe, import Greek flute players, or have Greek taught at his court; but the essential pattern remained unchanged. The bulk of classical imports continued to be limited to obvious luxury goods...while cultural imports such as architectural forms occur only as decorative elements in buildings built in accordance with Meroe's Egyptianizing traditions.

Holt confronted the case of Meroe with that of Asoka's India<sup>7</sup> in order to formulate a rather ungenerous model:

Where there were Greek colonists on the Hellenistic fringe, there was Greek culture, but...the cultural frontier of Hellenism rarely reached beyond them in any lasting or meaningful way<sup>8</sup> [...] the Hellenistic fringe was...an arena where the confrontations of Greek and non-Greek cultures produced little in the way of "brotherhood" and cultural borrowing.<sup>9</sup>

Holt's simplified image of the Hellenistic fringe is not unparalleled. To quote another great authority on the interaction between Greek and not-Greek cultures, John Boardman introduces his book on *The Diffusion of Classical Art in Antiquity* with similarly rational and disillusioning sentences:

Much of this book is about *the reception of art without understanding*; it is about media rather than messages. [...] We think we can understand the messages of Greek art because we know something of Greek culture from its literature and we have faith (possibly misplaced) in interpretations based on a continuous tradition in the west. This book is about Greek art as a medium of communication to non-Greek cultures and it therefore deals more with the responses to images that are sometimes misunderstood and often reinterpreted than with the communication of shared ideas.<sup>10</sup>

Boardman presents a monumental survey of the reception of Greek art in the Near East and the Persian Empire, the Semitic World and Spain, the East after Alexander the Great, Egypt (excluding Alexandria!) and North Africa, the countries of the Black Sea, Italy and Europe; in time from the Geometric Style through late antiquity. However broad the

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<sup>7</sup> Cf. Boardman 1994 109 ff.; for bibliographical orientation: 328, 331 ff. notes 85 ff. See also B. Kiilerich: Graeco-Roman Influence on Gandhara Sculpture. *Acta Hyperborea* 1 (1988) 140–150.

<sup>8</sup> Holt 1993 61.

<sup>9</sup> Holt 1993 64.

<sup>10</sup> Boardman 1994 7 (the Italics are mine).

perspective is, the peripheries disregarded by Boardman—among others Nubia and Upper Egypt<sup>11</sup>—may nevertheless modify his general picture. One may object here that Boardman's general conclusion is completely in accordance with Holt's and Burstein's Nubia-image. Yet this latter rests on an historical, archaeological and art-historical evidence the interpretation of which has changed significantly<sup>12</sup> and to which a considerable corpus of new evidence was also added in the meantime.<sup>13</sup> Now what happens to a model when we realize that it was built on shifting sands?

In the conclusion of his book, Boardman arrives at a more nuanced statement, which is very far indeed from the above-quoted starting-point:

The mental processes of admitting influence in the arts are more difficult to fathom than the physical processes. Straight copying of a foreign motif for its own sake, or simply because it is foreign and with no attempt to understand or convey its basic meaning or function, seems not to have been a normal practice in antiquity.<sup>14</sup>

Recent studies on “acculturation”<sup>15</sup> seem to be in accordance. As formulated by Averil Cameron,

[j]ustifiable dissatisfaction has been expressed with the traditional idea of “Hellenization” as providing a patina or outside layer over an underlying native culture, and an emphasis has been placed instead on interdependence and interpenetration.<sup>16</sup>

We have seen in the Introduction that prior to the mid-1960s Nubian scholars interpreted Twenty-Fifth Dynasty culture as born from the

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<sup>11</sup> The southernmost monument discussed is the tomb of Petosiris at Hermopolis/Tuna el Gebel, and the temples of Dendera, Kom Ombo, Esna, Edfu and Philae are mentioned, Boardman 1994 167–170 and 175 f., respectively.

<sup>12</sup> For the textual evidence, see now *FHN* II, III; S.[M.] Burstein (ed.): *Ancient African Civilizations. Kush and Axum*. Princeton 1998; and cf. Desanges 1992.

<sup>13</sup> See first of all the publication of the Apedemak temple at Musawwarat es Sufra: Hintze *et al.* 1971, 1993 and of John Garstang's excavations conducted at Meroe City in 1909–1914: Török 1997b. See also Hinkel 2001; Hinkel – Sievertsen 2002. On the decoration of Meroe Temple 250, see also Török 2004.

<sup>14</sup> Boardman 1994 319.

<sup>15</sup> For the notion cf. N. Wachtel: *L'acculturation*. in: J. Le Goff – P. Nora (eds): *Faire de l'histoire* I. Paris 1974 124–146; A. Bernand: *Leçon de civilisation*. Paris 1994 185 ff.

<sup>16</sup> Averil Cameron: *The Eastern Provinces in the 7th Century A.D. Hellenism and the Emergence of Islam*. in: S. Said (ed.): *ΕΛΛΕΝΙΣΜΟΣ. Quelques jalons pour une histoire de l'identité grecque. Actes du Colloque de Strasbourg 25–27 octobre 1989*. Leiden 1992 287–313 287.

necessity of the political legitimation of the Nubian dynasty's rule in Egypt. It was also repeatedly suggested that the art of the Napatan and Meroitic periods was determined by an inherent conservatism. In this view, Nubia remained culturally dependent on inspirations and innovations received from Egypt. Early twentieth century writers argued that, from Early Napatan through Late Meroitic times, the periods of the weakening of Egyptian influence were periods of cultural decline. What is this if not an apology of the colonizer as missionary. According to George Andrew Reisner,

the tradition of Egypt became fixed as the traditions of [Ai]thiopia.<sup>17</sup> This is the basis on which rests the whole history of the culture of [Ai]thiopia. The civilization was Egyptian, not native, and the subsequent history is one of loss, not of gain, of the gradual fading of the traditions of the arts and crafts and of the knowledge of the Egyptian language and the sacred texts.<sup>18</sup>

Abandoning their inherited evolutionist and colonial perspectives, by the 1960s students of Nubian history were ready to accept the consideration that Nubian culture has two readings, viz., an Egyptian and a Nubian, and that the two readings cannot be established separately. Very soon, however, Nubian Studies started to loosen its ties with Egyptology and became increasingly disinterested in the Egyptian component of this double reading. Yet from an exclusively Nubio-centric perspective the question cannot be answered: what is the correct interpretation of the prominent and constant Egyptian features of Nubian culture?

We cannot dispense here with a brief history of the Nubian reception of Egyptian art before the Meroitic period.<sup>19</sup> In the centuries preceding the New Kingdom conquest of Nubia a high quality monumental architecture was created at the town of Kerma, the centre of the Upper Nubian native kingdom of Kerma. The pottery produced in the Classic Kerma period (1750–1500 BC) and the Meroitic finewares represent the highest technical and aesthetic quality reached in the ceramic

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<sup>17</sup> In the original stands “Ethiopia”. To avoid any confusion and in conformity with the modern usage, I replace it with the proper Greek name of Kush.

<sup>18</sup> G.A. Reisner: *The Pyramids of Meroe and the Candaces of Ethiopia*. *BMFA* 21/ no. 124 (1923) 12–27 16.

<sup>19</sup> In more detail, see Török 2002a.

production of the entire Nile Valley.<sup>20</sup> Monumental architecture in the Kerma kingdom was restricted, however, on the royal centre and was not essentially influenced by Egypt. In Lower Nubia no monumental native architecture existed. The ceramic production<sup>21</sup> of the Lower Nubian C-Group (c. 2400/2300–c. 1600 BC) is highly remarkable but, due probably to the special symbolic connotations of its decoration,<sup>22</sup> it did not survive long the Egyptian conquest.

Under the New Kingdom Egyptian domination (c. 1550–1069 BC) the Nubians lived in Egyptian-type walled towns, in urban settlements attached to the Ramesside rock sanctuaries, in settlements associated with Egyptian fortresses, or in agricultural villages between the First and the Fourth Cataract. The higher echelons of the native elite were buried in Egyptian-type (rock-cut and/or built) tombs. While the tradition of Kerman pottery production did not survive the Egyptian conquest, Kerman type(s) of sacral architecture and fortifications continued to be built at Kerma-Dokki Gel.<sup>23</sup> In the temples, which the Egyptian conquerors built for the cult of Egyptian deities also Egyptianized Nubian deities and Egyptian deities traditionally associated with Nubia were worshipped.<sup>24</sup> The reliefs of the exterior walls and the decoration of the accessible courts of the temples presented a visual discourse on the relationship between the gods and the ruler that included, albeit in an Egyptian guise, native religious traditions as well. With the Egyptian withdrawal in the 1060s BC not all urban settlements were abandoned. Several temples remained in use, while the area between the First and Fourth Cataracts disintegrated into a series of small polities. These were probably identical with the subordinate territorial units of the

<sup>20</sup> See recently C. Bonnet: The Kerma Culture. in: Welsby – Anderson (eds) 2004 70–77; *id.*: Kerma. in: Welsby – Anderson (eds) 2004 78–82; *id.*: *Edifices et rites funéraires à Kerma. Avec la collaboration de D. Valbelle, contributions de L. Chaix et de B. Privati.* Paris 2000; *id.*: *Le temple principal de la ville de Kerma et son quartier religieux. Avec la collaboration de D. Valbelle, contribution de B. Privati.* Paris 2004; C. Bonnet (ed.): *Kerma: Royaume de Nubie.* Genève 1990.

<sup>21</sup> M. Bietak: *Studien zur Chronologie der Nubischen C-Gruppe. Ein Beitrag zur Frühgeschichte Unternubiens zwischen 2200 und 1550 v. Chr.* Graz-Wien-Köln 1968; Bietak 1979; H.-Å. Nordström: The Middle Nubian Pottery. Analysis and Classification. in: T. Säve-Söderbergh (ed.): *Middle Nubian Sites (The Scandinavian Joint Expedition to Sudanese Nubia Publications 4).* Uddevalla 1989 25–52.

<sup>22</sup> Török 2009 131 ff.

<sup>23</sup> C. Bonnet: Un ensemble religieux nubien devant une forteresse égyptienne du début de la XVIII<sup>e</sup> dynastie. Mission Archéologique Suisse à Doukki Gel-Kerma (Soudan). *Genava* 57 (2009) 95–108.

<sup>24</sup> For a survey, see Török 2009 211 ff.

Egyptian domination, which, in turn, had been organized on the bases of former native political units. The survival of the indigenous elite of these units and the experience, which this elite acquired through its participation in the government of Egyptian Nubia facilitated the emergence of native successor polities. Nevertheless, there can be little doubt that these relapsed into less developed social/economic structures. Egyptian literacy also disappeared,<sup>25</sup> which inevitably caused changes in the political and economic administration.

The re-integration of the Middle Nile Region into one political entity in the course of the tenth or ninth century BC<sup>26</sup> was determined by the political and economic limitations and general vulnerability of the fragmented successor polities. It was also facilitated by the new-old elite's experience of a larger-scale administration. Moreover, the successor polities inherited the fragments of a socio-economic structure that functioned properly only on an imperial scale. The process was stimulated by the necessity of re-integrating the entire region into international redistribution and finally pushed ahead by the inequality caused by differences in natural resources (including the limited availability of arable land in many of the successor polities)<sup>27</sup> so that the successor polities in Upper Nubia were given a time advantage.

To the best of our knowledge the re-unification process set out from a chiefdom situated in the region of Napata/Gebel Barkal in the neighbourhood of the Fourth Cataract. Its princes were buried at el Kurru.<sup>28</sup> Their chiefdom owed its role to its direct access to gold-producing areas in the region between the Fourth and Fifth Cataracts and its geographical situation, which secured control over the caravan route

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<sup>25</sup> For seemingly isolated cases, see, however, the papyrus amulet published by P. Rose: Evidence for Early Settlement at Qasr Ibrim. *Egyptian Archaeology* 17 (2000) 3–4.

<sup>26</sup> For the alternative chronologies, see T. Kendall: The Origin of the Napatan State: El-Kurru and the Evidence for the Royal Ancestors. in: Wenig (ed.) 1999 3–117; *id.*: A Response to László Török's 'Long Chronology' of El-Kurru. *Ibid.* 164–176 ("short chronology"); L. Török: The Origin of the Napatan State: The Long Chronology of the El-Kurru Cemetery. A Contribution to T. Kendall's Main Paper. *Ibid.* 149–159; Török 2008a 151 ff. ("long chronology").

<sup>27</sup> For the issue cf. K.A. Bard – R.L. Carneiro: Patterns of Predynastic Settlement Location, Social Evolution, and the Circumscription Theory. *CRIPEL* 11 (1989) 15–23.

<sup>28</sup> R.G. Morkot and T. Kendall argue for a similar process setting out from the Kawa region, see Morkot 1991 216 f.; R.G. Morkot: *The Black Pharaohs. Egypt's Nubian Rulers*. London 2000 149 f.; T. Kendall: The Origin of the Napatan State: El-Kurru and the Evidence for the Royal Ancestors. in: Wenig (ed.) 1999 3–117 63 f.

between Abu Hamed and Lower Nubia as well as over the roads leading across the Butana to the interior of Africa. The el Kurru chiefs were buried initially in tumulus graves that attest to the survival of native mortuary religion throughout the centuries of Egyptian domination. After some generations they started to adopt elements (and not the whole) of Egyptian mortuary religion. They built enclosure walls around their tombs and erected mortuary cult chapels and Egyptian-type tomb superstructures (pyramid-on-mastaba, steep-sided pyramid). The latter features were, however, unknown in contemporary Egyptian practice. They were modeled actually on Eighteenth Dynasty period pyramid tombs of Lower Nubian indigenous princes<sup>29</sup> and late New Kingdom private tombs at Thebes in Egypt and Aniba in Lower Nubia<sup>30</sup> (where also Panehesy, a late New Kingdom Egyptian viceroy, who revolted against the Egyptian rule, was buried).<sup>31</sup> The revival of these special tomb superstructure types was considered probably as a return to ancestral traditions.

There may be little doubt that the “Egyptianization” of the el Kurru burials was part of the formation of the “ideology” of an emergent state, i.e., the creation of its concepts of legitimacy, unity, and continuity with the past. The mortuary cult of the ruling ancestors opened the road to the creation of a kingship ideology, which would be formulated from the mid-eighth century BC onwards in Egyptian-language texts and in images executed in Egyptian style and following Egyptian iconographical types. Yet what the texts and images articulated was a synthesis of Egyptian and Nubian concepts and not merely a—however purposeful—selection of imitations of Egyptian concepts, forms, or styles.

Accomplishing the re-unification of the Middle Nile Region, around the middle of the eighth century BC the descendants of the el Kurru

<sup>29</sup> T. Säve-Söderbergh – L. Troy: *New Kingdom Pharaonic Sites. The Finds and the Sites (The Scandinavian Joint Expedition to Sudanese Nubia Publications 5:2, 5:3)*. Uppsala 1991.

<sup>30</sup> G. Steindorff: *Aniba II*. Glückstadt-Hamburg 1937.

<sup>31</sup> For Panehesy, see K.A. Kitchen: *The Third Intermediate Period in Egypt (1100–650 BC)*. Warminster 1973 (2nd edn. 1986, 3rd edn. 1995) 247 f.; K. Jansen-Winkel: Das Ende des Neuen Reiches. *ZÄS* 119 (1992) 22–37; A. Niwinski: Bürgerkrieg, militärischer Staatsstreich und Ausnahmezustand in Ägypten unter Ramses XI. Ein Versuch neuer Interpretation der alten Quellen. in: *Gegengabe. Festschrift für Emma Brunner-Traut*. Tübingen 1992 235–262; A. Niwinski: Le passage de la XX<sup>e</sup> à la XXII<sup>e</sup> dynastie. *Chronologie et histoire politique. BIFAO* 95 (1995) 329–360. For his burial, see G. Steindorff: *Aniba II*. Glückstadt-Hamburg 1937 240 f.



chiefs turned their attention towards the politically fragmented Egypt of the Third Intermediate Period.<sup>32</sup> Encouraged by the Theban high priesthood, Kashta (c. 775–755 BC) appeared as pharaoh in Upper Egypt. The reigning Theban God's Wife of Amun adopted his daughter into the office of the God's Wife of Amun Elect.<sup>33</sup> His successor, Piankhy (755 [?]-721 BC)<sup>34</sup> declared himself ruler of Egypt in his early reign and carried out military actions against Lower Egyptian powers hostile to Thebes.<sup>35</sup> In his twentieth regnal year he directed a victorious campaign against the coalition controlling Lower and Middle Egypt.<sup>36</sup> His successor Shabaqo ruled from Memphis a double kingdom extending from the Nile Delta to the Fifth Cataract.<sup>37</sup>

Temple building in Egyptian style started under Kashta at Napata.<sup>38</sup> The cult of Amun of Napata, the most important of the local Amun gods associated with Kushite kingship,<sup>39</sup> originated in the cult of a native deity who was, however, Egyptianized and associated with Amun of Thebes already in the reign of Thutmose I at the beginning of

<sup>32</sup> Cf. J. Taylor: The Third Intermediate Period (1069–664 BC). in: I. Shaw (ed.): *The Oxford History of Ancient Egypt*. Oxford 2000 330–368.

<sup>33</sup> For the evidence, see *FHN* I Nos (3), 4; for the political significance of the God's Wife of Amun: M. Gitton – J. Leclant: Gottesgemahlin. *LÄ* II (1977) 792–812; E. Graefe: *Untersuchungen zur Verwaltung und Geschichte der Gottesgemahlin des Amun vom Beginn des Neuen Reiches bis zur Spätzeit*. Wiesbaden 1981.

<sup>34</sup> I adopt here the regnal years of Piankhy, Shabaqo, and Shebitqo as suggested by Dan'el Kahn, cf. D. Kahn: The Inscription of Sargon II at Tang-i Var and the Chronology of Dynasty 25. *Or* 70 (2001) 1–18; *id.*: Divided Kingdom, Co-regency or Sole Rule in the Kingdom(s) of Egypt-and-Kush. *Ägypten und Levante* 16 (2006) 275–291; *id.*: Was There a Co-regency in the 25th Dynasty? *MittSAG* 17 (2006) 135–141.

<sup>35</sup> For the evidence, see *FHN* I Nos 8, 10; Török 1997a 144 ff.

<sup>36</sup> For the Great Triumphal Stela of Piankhy, see N.-C. Grimal: *La stèle triomphale de Pi(ankh)y au Musée du Caire JE 48862 et 47086–47089*. Le Caire 1981; *FHN* I No. 9; Török 2002a 368 ff.

<sup>37</sup> Shabaqo is usually considered the first ruler of the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty, including Shabaqo, Shebitqo, Taharqo and Tanwetamani (cf. J. v. Beckerath: *Chronologie des pharaonischen Ägypten. Die Zeitbestimmung der ägyptischen Geschichte von der Vorzeit bis 332 v. Chr.* Mainz 1997 89 ff.). I prefer, however, to count Piankhy as well to the dynasty.

<sup>38</sup> For the building history of the temples of Napata, see Dunham 1970; more recently, see T. Kendall: Napatan Temples: A Case Study from Gebel Barkal. Unpubl. paper submitted at the *10th International Conference of Nubian Studies Rome September 9–14 2002*; Kendall n.d.a, n.d.b.

<sup>39</sup> For overviews, see Török 1997a 263 ff., 303 ff.; P. Paminger: Amun und Luxor – der Widder und das Kultbild. *BzS* 5 (1992) 93–140; E. Kormysheva: On the Origin and Evolution of the Amun Cult in Nubia. in: Kendall (ed.) 2004 109–133.

the New Kingdom conquest.<sup>40</sup> The first sanctuary of Amun of Napata was built by Thutmose III at Napata.<sup>41</sup> The “Egyptianisation” of the burials of the el Kurru chiefs indicates the presence of priests in the Napata region who were educated in Egyptian religion. Since there is no evidence for the continuity of the organized cult of the Egyptianized Amun of Napata after the end of the Egyptian domination, it seems, especially in view of Kashta’s Theban connection, that it was newly arrived Theban priests, architects and artisans who started the creation of an Egyptian-style religious and political centre and initiated the textual and visual translation of Kushite traditions of rulership into Egyptian and begun to establish a synthesis with contemporary Egyptian religion and kingship ideology.

With the establishment of the double kingdom, a large-scale building activity was started, which brought considerable numbers of Egyptian architects, sculptors and artisans to Nubia. Egyptian technologies as well as artifacts of Egyptian manufacture were imported. The apparently continuous construction, decoration and furnishing of monumental temples and palatial edifices starting under Kashta and spanning the next century required the organization of permanent local workshops, which were directed by Egyptian experts. Peculiarities of the iconographical programs of the temples and Kushite concepts occurring in the texts equally indicate, however, the emergence of Kushite experts in the reign of Piankhy.<sup>42</sup> The workshops educated their Kushite personnel: in the decades from Piankhy’s early reign to Taharqo’s (690–664 BC) early reign they created a special complex of iconographical types and a special grammar of the temple as well as a stylistic idiom that can be regarded as a Kushite counterpart of Egyptian archaizing.<sup>43</sup> Though we largely ignore the decoration of the New Kingdom temples at Napata, it is certain that at least three of them, namely, the great Amun temple B 500,<sup>44</sup> the hemispeos of Mut B 300,<sup>45</sup>

<sup>40</sup> [W.]V. Davies: Kurgus 2000: The Egyptian Inscriptions. *Sudan & Nubia* 5 (2001) 46–58.

<sup>41</sup> For his stela MFA 23.733 from Year 47, see *Urk.* IV 1227–1243,8; A. Klug: *Königliche Stelen in der Zeit von Ahmose bis Amenophis III (Monumenta Aegyptiaca VIII)*. Turnhout 2002 193 ff.; cf. D.B. Redford: *The Wars in Syria and Palestine of Thutmose III*. Leiden-Boston 2003 103 ff.

<sup>42</sup> In detail, see Török 2002a *passim*.

<sup>43</sup> Török 1997a 189 ff.

<sup>44</sup> Dunham 1970 41 ff.; with the more recent literature: Török 2002a 54 ff.

<sup>45</sup> Dunham 1970 12; with the more recent literature: Török 2002a 75 ff.

and the hemispeos of Hathor-Tefnut B 200<sup>46</sup> were restored by the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty to their original cults.<sup>47</sup> This also presupposes the study and interpretation of their reliefs and texts. Besides signs of the re-interpretation of the theology of the deities worshipped in these temples, we also find obvious correspondences between these deities' New Kingdom and Kushite iconography and epithets, suggesting that the "antiquarian" studies were also supported by religious traditions surviving among the local population.<sup>48</sup>

Piankhy's reliefs in the great Amun temple at Napata are characterized by the adoption of Egyptian iconographical types, the adaptation of iconographical models taken from Nubian New Kingdom temples, and by the creation of "realistic" iconographical types such as a Kushite ethnotype with exaggeratedly elongated limbs and round skull and a horse type based on the proportions of the Nubian breed which was also paleozoologically verified in the el Kurru horse burials.<sup>49</sup> The iconographical tradition of the representation of the Kushite ruler as a distinctly southern, not-Egyptian, ethnotype with a round, full face, a short nose with wide nostrils, full and thick lips, the idiosyncratic "Kushite fold", i.e., a strong furrow running from the nostrils to the corners of the mouth, already appears on Kashta's stela from Elephantine.<sup>50</sup> It was united shortly with a figure type modeled upon Old and Middle Kingdom prototypes. Though all individual elements of the resulting royal image had already existed in Egyptian art of earlier periods, its "realistic" tendency (to which was added a black skin colour not only in relief and painting but also on hardstone sculpture)<sup>51</sup> provided a lasting impetus for stylistic developments in Egyptian Late Period sculpture.<sup>52</sup> The iconography of the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty

<sup>46</sup> Dunham 1970 10 f.; PM VII 208 (as temple of Amun); for the actual cult see T. Kendall: The Gebel Barkal Temples 1989–90. A Progress Report on the Work of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Sudan Mission. Pre-print of paper submitted at the 7th International Conference for Nubian Studies. Geneva 1990 7; P. Wolf: *Die archäologischen Quellen der Taharqozeit im nubischen Niltal*. Unpubl. Ph.D. dissertation, Berlin 1990 81 ff. and see Török 2002a 73 ff.

<sup>47</sup> Cf. also Kendall n.d.a, n.d.b.

<sup>48</sup> Cf. Török 2002a 54 ff., 73 ff.

<sup>49</sup> S. Bökönyi: Two Horse Skeletons from the Cemetery of Kurru, Northern Sudan. *Acta Arch. Hung.* 45 (1993) 301–316; cf. L. Török: Iconography and Mentality: Three Remarks on the Kushite Way of Thinking. in: Davies (ed.) 1991 195–204.

<sup>50</sup> Cairo JE 41013, J. Leclant: Kashta, pharaon en Égypte. *ZÄS* 90 (1963) 74–81 fig. 1.

<sup>51</sup> Bonnet – Valbelle 2005 135 ff.

<sup>52</sup> For the issue, see *ESLP* xxxviii ff.; B.V. Bothmer: Egyptian Antecedents of Roman Republican Verism. *Quaderni de 'La ricerca scientifica'* 116 (1988) 47–65.

ruler, both as to the southern ethnotype and the composition of the regalia (i.e., crown, jewels,<sup>53</sup> costume),<sup>54</sup> clearly contradicts the current opinion according to which Kushite archaism was a consequence of the attempt, to legitimate the rule of the southern conquerors by masking them as traditional Egyptian Pharaohs. The iconography of the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty ruler was not merely a result of the adoption of current Egyptian types and their completion with Kushite regalia: it was shaped, evidently, as an organic part of political and ideological processes in the Nubian half of the double kingdom.

One of the major feats of Kushite archaizing was the return of hardstone<sup>55</sup> royal sculpture of large size. A detailed analysis of the hardstone sculpture from Napata,<sup>56</sup> Kawa<sup>57</sup> and Kerma-Dokki Gel<sup>58</sup> may considerably change the Egyptological commonplaces about Twenty-Fifth Dynasty and Napatan sculpture.<sup>59</sup> Statues of Taharqo, Tanwetamani (664–656 BC), Atlanersa (second half of the seventh century BC),<sup>60</sup> Senkamanisken (second half of the seventh century BC), Anlamani (late seventh century BC) and Aspelta (late seventh-early sixth century BC) were discovered both at Napata and Kerma-Dokki Gel. They embrace the Kushite sculpture of about 130 years. On the whole, they display a general process leading from the “naturalism” of the Kushite “portrait”<sup>61</sup> type created under the early Twenty-Fifth Dynasty (i.e., prior to Taharqo’s reign) toward an increasingly simplified and idealized rendering of the same type. This general trend is obvious, however, only from the hindsight, for the portraits of each individual ruler

<sup>53</sup> Cf. Russmann 1974; L. Török: *The Royal Crowns of Kush. A Study in Middle Nile Valley Regalia and Iconography in the 1st Millennium B.C. and A.D.* (Cambridge Monographs in African Archaeology 18). Oxford 1987; A. Leahy: Royal Iconography and Dynastic Change, 750–525 BC: The Blue and Cap Crowns. *JEA* 78 (1992) 223–240; Török 1997a 284 ff; E.R. Russmann: Kushite Headdress and ‘Kushite’ Style. *JEA* 81 (1995) 227–232.

<sup>54</sup> For the significance of the Kushite royal costume and especially the cord, see Török 1990; with a partly different interpretation of the individual costume elements: S. Wenig in: Hintze *et al.* 1993 (cf. Török 1997a 194 f., 288, 439 ff.).

<sup>55</sup> For the significance of hardstone, cf. J. Assmann: *Stein und Zeit. Mensch und Gesellschaft im alten Ägypten*. München 1991.

<sup>56</sup> Dunham 1970.

<sup>57</sup> Macadam 1955.

<sup>58</sup> Bonnet – Valbelle 2005.

<sup>59</sup> See recently Bonnet – Valbelle 2005; Török 2010.

<sup>60</sup> From Gebel Barkal temple B 700. Khartoum SNM 5209. Dunham 1970 33 no. 17; *PM* VII 214; Wenig 1975a No. 411; Wenig 1978 fig. 30.

<sup>61</sup> For the complex issue of “portrait” in Egyptian and Kushite sculpture, cf. Myśliwiec 1988 viii ff.

generation attest the concurrent existence of different stylistic traditions and display various combinations of features of ethnic realism and idealistic representation. Moreover, there are remarkable cases of traditionalism, such as the head of the statue of Aspelta from Gebel Barkal<sup>62</sup> modeled on the head of Taharqo's statue from the same temple, but at the same time also slightly exaggerating the ethnic features of the model.<sup>63</sup> A comparison of the finds from Napata and Dokki Gel may convince that an individual "portrait" type was created for each ruler and this type was followed in both workshops. Nevertheless, the individual portraits of the same ruler from the same temple usually display stylistic differences, which not only indicate that the portraits in question were carved and erected in different periods of the same regency, but also demonstrate that the temple workshops employed several masters of different qualities and stylistic backgrounds. Yet we also have to raise the question about the eventual conceptual considerations behind what we think, perhaps wrongly, to have been nothing else than the adherence of an individual sculptor to one or another form which he selected freely (?) from a polyphony of stylistic traditions.<sup>64</sup>

In the great Amun temple of Napata also a seated granite statue of King Aramatelqo<sup>65</sup> (first half of the sixth century BC) and a striding granite figure of King Akhratane<sup>66</sup> (mid-fourth century BC) were found, and among the unidentifiable small fragments of hardstone statues discovered in two cachettes and in the interior of the temple at Napata we may suspect remains from hardstone statues of earlier as well as later rulers. Aramatelqo's archaizing statue displays the influence of statues of Egyptian rulers erected in Nubia in the times of the Egyptian domination. Both statues indicate the activity of sculptors who possessed little information about the style of contemporary Egyptian royal statuary. They followed models, which they found in Nubia. But with their small-scale works they did not continue the tradition of the large or colossal-size royal statues of the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty and

<sup>62</sup> From Temple 500. MFA 23.730, Dunham 1970 Pls XI, XII.

<sup>63</sup> Khartoum SNM 1841, Dunham 1970 Pls VII, VIII; Török 2010 778.

<sup>64</sup> For the desired methods in the iconographical/stylistic analysis of Kushite art, cf. Josephson 1997; Stanwick 2002, 2004; Philipp 2004.

<sup>65</sup> Berlin 2249, K.-H. Priese: Die Statue des napatanischen Königs Aramatelqo (Amtelqo) Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum Inv.-Nr. 2249. in: *Festschrift zum 150 jährigen Bestehen des Berliner Ägyptischen Museums*. Berlin 1974 211–232.

<sup>66</sup> MFA 23.735, Dunham 1970 23, fig. 16.

Early Napatan periods, presumably because of the eclipse of the popular cult of the large-size hardstone statue of the living king as intermediary between men and the gods. In the Meroitic period colossal images of the Nubian gods Arensnuphis and Sebiameker were erected at temple gates: they fulfilled probably the same cult functions that were earlier associated with the royal colossi (cf. Chapter VI.2.2).

The sculptures, reliefs and inscriptions of the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty and Napatan temples were organized around a central theme, viz., the legitimization of the ruler and the ensuing fulfillment of his duties. As opposed to the Egyptian New Kingdom temples, the scenes and scene cycles of legitimization have an absolute priority over cult scenes and theological representations, on the one hand, and “historical” representations, on the other. The scene cycles and the individual scenes derive from Egyptian models. To the Egyptocentrist they may look imitative and stereotype. In reality they present such an exposition of the central theme, which, as to its actual contents, is largely independent from the Egyptian prototypes. The analysis of the preserved iconographical programs shows that their selection of the images of god-king relationship is not arbitrary and they are fitted into an iconographical structure, which articulates an independent discourse on Kushite kingship and its unity with the Amun cult.<sup>67</sup> Another important factor in the composition of the iconographical programs was the confrontation, comparison, and unification of indigenous deities with Egyptian deities. As an intellectual procedure, this is identical to what occurred in the creation of the royal iconography of the double kingdom. The central driving force of the creation of a syncretism in kingship ideology, royal iconography, and divine cults was the necessity of a mutually relevant interpretation, propagation, and practice of regency in the Nubian and Egyptian halves of the double kingdom. Within this context, the trend of archaism means in Egypt the revival of the imperial concepts of kingship, in Kush the integration of indigenous kingship traditions (e.g., the regalia) and cults into Egyptian kingship ideology. The preliminary conclusion may be suggested here that archaism in this sense was a normative procedure in Kush (just as in Egypt) in which the

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<sup>67</sup> Török 2002a 80–134.

historical past was mythologized and at the same time pragmatically included into the context of the historical present.<sup>68</sup>

It may be concluded that from the emergence of the kingdom of Kush in the tenth or ninth century BC to the onset of the Meroitic period Nubian culture was articulated and perpetuated in texts written in Egyptian and in visual discourses employing the expressive media of Egyptian art. The architectural framework into which the texts and images of Kushite culture were fitted was modeled on Egyptian prototypes. The media were thus Egyptian, but only very rarely without alterations that were determined by the messages they were intended to convey: for these were principally Kushite messages, which, again, were formulated in the conscience of the original messages connected to the media in question. What we have to address is not a curious *mélange* of borrowed concepts, forms and styles or a collection of “quotations” meant to assert an identity based on pretension. What we have to do with is a dialect of Egyptian art spoken by a different, autonomous society; a dialect whose continuously changing appearance was determined by the changes within this society *and*, at the same time, by its more or less continuous, always inspirative contact with the powerful neighbour, Egypt.

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<sup>68</sup> J. Assmann: *Ägypten. Eine Sinngeschichte*. München-Wien 1996 375 ff. and esp. 379. Cf. also E. Otto: *Die biographischen Inschriften der ägyptischen Spätzeit*. Leiden 1954 87 ff.; P. Der Manuelian: *Living in the Past. Studies in Archaism of the Egyptian Twenty-sixth Dynasty*. London-New York 1994 xxxv ff.; S. Neureiter: Eine neue Interpretation des Archaismus. SAK 21 (1994) 219–254; Török 1997a 189 ff.

## CHAPTER THREE

### AN ELUSIVE MODEL: IMAGES OF EGYPT'S MULTICULTURAL IDENTITY IN THE PTOLEMAIC AND ROMAN PERIODS

Insgesamt wird man jedoch sagen dürfen, dass Fremde und Ägypter eher aufeinander-zugegangen sind, als dass sie immer mehr auseinandergedriftet wären.<sup>1</sup>

#### 1. *The Arts of the Ptolemaic Period*

##### 1.1. *Cultural Apartheid or Cultural Symbiosis?*

Any overview of the Hellenistic imprint on Nubia has to be started by noting that Hellenistic concepts, forms, styles and objects arrived in Meroe exclusively from, or by the mediation of, Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt. Consequently, our image of Hellenistic Nubia greatly depends on how we see the culture of Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt.

In this chapter I shall raise the question: to what extent can we agree with either of the two current scholarly scenarios describing Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt in the terms of a “cultural apartheid” or a “cultural symbiosis”, respectively. On this question I shall give an eclectic answer based on such pieces of evidence as indicating an increasing cultural interaction between Egyptians and Greeks.<sup>2</sup> The evidence to be discussed in the following chapters is intended to present arguments against rather than for Jean Bingen’s conclusion, according to whom

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<sup>1</sup> H. Heinen: Ägypten in hellenistischer Zeit (332–30 v. Chr.). in: Beck – Bol – Bückling (eds) 2005 198–203 202.

<sup>2</sup> For the opposite view cf. A.W. Lawrence: Greek Sculpture in Ptolemaic Egypt. *JEA* 11 (1925) 179–190; B. Ashmole in: J.D. Beazley – B. Ashmole: *Greek Sculpture and Painting*. Oxford 1932 70; I. Noshy: *The Arts in Ptolemaic Egypt*. Oxford 1937 83 ff.; C. Préaux: *L'économie royale des Lagides*. Bruxelles 1939; J. Bingen: Économie grecque et société égyptienne au III<sup>e</sup> siècle. in: Maehler – Stročka (eds) 1978 211–219 (=Bingen 2007 215–228); Bianchi 1988, 1996, 2004b.



among the classic parameters of cultural interactions, language, education, literature, religion and the like, in most respects what prevailed was several centuries of relative opaqueness, impossibility or refusal of excessively visible cultural borrowings.<sup>3</sup>

At the same time, however, we shall keep in sight the fact too that this interaction could not lead to an absolute synthesis of the two cultures or to the creation of an all-embracing new system of representation that would blend the disparate Egyptian and Greek systems of visual representation, because it was determined by contradictory, difficult and uneven processes of political, social, and ethnic integration.

From the publication of Theodor Schreiber's first article on Alexandrian sculpture in 1885,<sup>4</sup> the scholarly image of Ptolemaic art was determined by the—usually extremist—answers given to three questions. The first: was there such a thing as a distinctive Alexandrian style?<sup>5</sup> The second: was there such a thing as a “mixed style” (*Mischstil*),<sup>6</sup> and if yes what was its significance. The third, more recently formulated, question is: should we describe,<sup>7</sup> as suggested by László Castiglione,<sup>8</sup> the artistic production of Ptolemaic Egypt in the terms of a *dualité du style* or should we rather try to trace in it processes of inventing “new idiom[s] that creatively combined disparate cultural elements”, as suggested by Paul Stanwick in his splendid book on the portraits of the Ptolemies.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>3</sup> Bingen 2007 251. (From the English translation of J. Bingen: L'Égypte gréco-romaine et la problématique des interactions culturelles. *Proceedings of the XVIth International Congress of Papyrology*. Chicago 1981 3–18.)

<sup>4</sup> Schreiber 1885.—For the “Alexandrian style” in Hellenistic sculpture, see also W. Amelung: Dell'arte alessandrina a proposito di due teste rivenute in Roma. *Buletino della Commissione archeologica comunale di Roma* 25 (1897) 110–142; A. Adriani: *Testimonianze e monumenti di scultura alessandrina*. Roma 1948.

<sup>5</sup> F. Poulsen: Gab es eine alexandrinische Kunst? *From the Collections of the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek* 2 (1939) 1–52; A. Stewart 1996 239.

<sup>6</sup> Recently, Paul Stanwick distinguishes the “hellenized style combining Egyptian and Greek ideas” from a “mezzo” style which “evinces a familiarity with Greek sculptures. Instead of duplicating the Greek visages, however, the ‘mezzo’ style takes an interpretative Egyptian approach to evoking them and incorporates more native ideas”. In his view, examples of the ‘mezzo’ style are known only from the Fayoum. Stanwick 2004 402, 406.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Riggs 2002; Riggs 2005 6 ff. and *passim*.

<sup>8</sup> Castiglione 1961.

<sup>9</sup> Stanwick 2002 88.

The last fifty years witnessed significant changes in almost all areas of the study of Ptolemaic and Roman Egyptian art.<sup>10</sup> New discoveries made in Alexandria,<sup>11</sup> especially underwater finds of pharaonic and pharaonic style<sup>12</sup> statuary and architectural elements have radically changed the composition of the evidence and induced a revision of the current image(s) of Alexandrian art and its relation to the art of the *chôra*, i.e., the Egyptian countryside.<sup>13</sup> Studies on architecture<sup>14</sup> and individual artistic genres such as royal portrait,<sup>15</sup> grotesque

<sup>10</sup> Without a claim to completeness: Castiglione 1961; Castiglione 1967; *ESLP*; Thompson 1973; Maehler – Strocka (eds) 1978; Himmelmann 1983; Lewis 1986; Bianchi *et al.* 1988 (cf. H. Maehler: Review of Bianchi *et al.* 1988. *BiOr* 49 [1992] 422–428); D.J. Thompson 1988; D. Kurth: *Der Sarg der Teüris: Eine Studie zum Totenglauben im römerzeitlichen Ägypten*. Mainz 1990; McKenzie 1990/2005; Pensabene 1993; B. Tkaczow: *Topography of Ancient Alexandria*. Warsaw 1993; Fischer 1994; Gans 1994; Török 1995; Borg 1996; McKenzie 1996; J. McKenzie: The Architectural Style of Roman and Byzantine Alexandria and Egypt. in: D.M. Bailey (ed.): *Archaeological Research in Roman Egypt*. Ann Arbor 1996 128–142; B.V. Bothmer: Hellenistic Elements in Egyptian Sculpture of the Ptolemaic Period. in: *Alexandria* 215–230 (=Bothmer 2004 465–493); A. Stewart: The Alexandrian Style: A Mirage? in: *Alexandria* 231–246; A.P. Kozloff: Is There an Alexandrian Style—What Is Egyptian about It? in: *Alexandria* 247–260; M.L. Bierbrier (ed.): *Portraits and Masks. Burial Customs in Roman Egypt*. London 1997; Frankfurter 1998; Fischer 1998; Grimm 1998; Pfrommer 1999; H. Felber – S. Pfisterer-Haas (eds): *Ägypter-Griechen-Römer*. Leipzig 1999; Kaplan 1999; R. Criboire: *Gymnastics of the Mind. Greek Education in Hellenistic and Roman Egypt*. Princeton – Oxford 2001; Ashton 2001; Stanwick 2002; Venit 2002; Riggs 2002; Stephens 2003; Stanwick 2004; Riggs 2005; McKenzie 2007.

<sup>11</sup> For recent archaeological discoveries in Alexandria, see N. Grimal – J.-Y. Empereur: *Les fouilles sous-marines sur le site du phare d'Alexandrie (Comptes-rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres)*. Paris 1997; Goddio *et al.* 1998; Gloire; J.-Y. Empereur: *Alexandria Rediscovered*. London 1998; *id.*: Alexandria Rising. in: Jacob – Polignac (eds) 2000 188–205; J.-P. Corteggiani: Les Aegyptiaka de la fouille sous-marine de Qait-bay. *BSFE* 142 (1998) 25–40; J.-Y. Empereur: Travaux récents dans la capitale des Ptolémées. in: *Alexandrie: Une mégapole cosmopolite. Actes du 9<sup>ème</sup> colloque de la Villa Kérylos à Beaulieu-sur-Mer les 2 & 3 octobre 1998*. Paris 1999 25–39; Pfrommer 1999 11 ff.; McKenzie 2003; F. Goddio – A. Bernand: *Sunken Egypt: Alexandria*. London 2004; F. Goddio – M. Clauss (eds): *Egypt's Sunken Treasures*. Berlin 2006; McKenzie 2007.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. Stanwick 2002 115 f. Cats C21–C27.

<sup>13</sup> Cf. G. Grimm: Orient und Okzident in der Kunst Alexandriens. in: N. Hinske (ed.): *Alexandrien. Kulturbeggnungen dreier Jahrtausende im Schmelztiegel einer mediterranen Großstadt*. Mainz 1981 13–25 18 ff.; and see now first of all McKenzie 2007. For arguments for the divide between Alexandria and the *chôra*, see S. Schmidt: *Katalog der ptolemäischen und kaiserzeitlichen Objekte aus Ägypten im Akademischen Kunstmuseum Bonn*. München 1997 9 f.; Schmidt 2005a 272 f.

<sup>14</sup> Lauter 1971; Lyttelton 1974; McKenzie 1990/2005; Pensabene 1993; Gans 1994; McKenzie 2007 etc.

<sup>15</sup> Kyrieleis 1975; E. Brunelle: *Die Bildnisse der Ptolemäerinnen*. Frankfurt 1976; K. Lembke: Eine Ptolemäergalerie aus Thmuis/Tell Timai. *JdI* 115 (2000) 113–146; Z. Kiss: *Études sur le portrait impérial romain en Égypte*. Varsovie 1984.

sculpture,<sup>16</sup> mosaic,<sup>17</sup> metalwork,<sup>18</sup> jewelry,<sup>19</sup> faience,<sup>20</sup> glass,<sup>21</sup> and decorated pottery<sup>22</sup> revived over and over again the debate about the existence of an Alexandrian style or rather Alexandrian styles in the plural and called for a renewed investigation of such basic notions as Egyptianizing and classicizing,<sup>23</sup> period style, local style, genre style.<sup>24</sup> Meanwhile, various preconceived views were put forward about the respective cultural performance of the native Egyptian and the immigrant Greek segments of the society and the forms and intensity of their interaction. Scholarly bias led sometimes to extreme conclusions. For instance, Robert Bianchi declared in an influential paper that Hellenistic Alexandria entirely lacked artistic creativity and exerted no influence at all on the culture of the Egyptian *Hinterland*:

[The] demonstrable lack of independent artistic initiative on the part of the Hellenistic Greek and the Crown in Alexandria stands in stark contrast to the innovations of the native Egyptian clerics during the same period... This creativity, which has neither parallels in nor interfaces with the artistic milieu of Hellenistic Alexandria, is the most glaring condemnation of any theory regarding foreign influence on the native arts of the period.<sup>25</sup>

As to the “demonstrable lack of independent artistic initiative”, also Stefan Schmidt tends to share Bianchi’s view.<sup>26</sup> One or two quotations

<sup>16</sup> A. Adriani: Appunti su alcuni aspetti del grottesco alessandrino. in: *Gli archeologi italiani in onore di Amadeo Maiuri a cura del Centro Studi Ciociaria*. Cava di Tirreni 1965 37–62; Himmelman 1983; Wrede 1988; cf. also C. Ewigleben – J. v. Grumbkow (eds): *Götter, Gräber und Grottesken. Tonfiguren aus dem Alltagsleben im römischen Ägypten. Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe Hamburg*. Hamburg 1991; Török 1995 20 ff. and *passim*; Fischer 1994, 1998.

<sup>17</sup> Daszewski 1985; cf. K.M.D. Dunbabin: *Mosaics of the Greek and Roman World*. Cambridge 1999 22 ff.

<sup>18</sup> For a seminal study, see Adriani 1972.—Cf. also C. Reinsberg: *Studien zur hellenistischen Toreutik. Die antiken Gipsabgüsse aus Memphis*. Hildesheim 1980.

<sup>19</sup> Pfrommer 1990; cf. Pfrommer 1999.

<sup>20</sup> Cf. recently Nenna – Seif el-Din 1993; 2000.

<sup>21</sup> Cf. C. Mahnke: *Alexandrinische Mosaikglaseinlagen. Die Typologie, Systematik und Herstellung von Gesichterdarstellungen in der ptolemäischen Glaskunst (Philippika. Marburger Altertumskundliche Abhandlungen 22)*. Wiesbaden 2008.

<sup>22</sup> Cf. Enklaar 1985, 1986; Mandel-Elzinga 1988; Schreiber 2003.

<sup>23</sup> Cf. A. Stewart 1996 240 ff.

<sup>24</sup> Cf. A. Stewart: *Attika: Studies in Athenian Sculpture of the Hellenistic Period*. London 1979 17 ff., 146 ff.; A. Stewart 1996 238, and see B.R. Brown: *Ptolemaic Paintings and Mosaics of the Alexandrian Style*. Cambridge, Mass. 1957; Kyrieleis 1975; Himmelman 1983; Daszewski 1985; Pfrommer 1987, 1990.

<sup>25</sup> Bianchi 1988 78.

<sup>26</sup> Schmidt 2004 511 ff.

may suffice to illustrate the scholarly postulates that underlie Bianchi's opinion. In Roger Bagnall's view,

[f]rom the belief in a mixed society and culture [...] scholars have moved to something approaching consensus that by and large Greeks and Egyptians led parallel rather than converging lives, that their cultures coexisted rather than blended.<sup>27</sup>

For the art historian, it would follow from this that

[t]he Macedonian Ptolemies and the native Egyptian priests understood the stylistic differences that distinguished Alexandrian, Classical art forms from pharaonic ones. As these two stylistically different art forms and the historical circumstances during which both were created clearly reveal, Greeks and Egyptians alike avoided creating works of art in what some earlier scholars have erroneously defined as a mixed style.<sup>28</sup>

Accordingly, we read in the standard *Oxford History of Ancient Egypt*<sup>29</sup> that

Ptolemaic Egypt is a tale of two cultures. Differing in ethos, focus, and aspiration, these cultures initially maintained a wary coexistence, in which convenience and balance of power generated a viable degree of cooperation usually sufficiently effective to mask their mutual distaste. From the end of the third century BC, even this collaboration was increasingly eroded by the divisive pressures exerted by dynastic schism, maladministration, economic crisis, and Egyptian resentments.<sup>30</sup>

In such a construction of social, political and cultural divergence there is no place for any combination of disparate cultural elements, unless it is imagined as a cultural manipulation carried out in an uncomplicated, down-to-earth manner. As Alan Lloyd, the author of the foregoing quotation indeed puts it:

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<sup>27</sup> Bagnall 1988 21.—The opposite view is represented, e.g., by Heinz Heinen (Heinen 2005 202, see the motto of this chapter).—In the same volume (i.e., Beck – Bol – Bückling [eds] 2005), Stefan Schmidt suggests, however, that “Auch für die materiellen Ausprägungen der alexandrinischen Kultur zeichnet sich [...] ab, dass zumindest in früh- und hochhellenistischer Zeit von einer regelrechten Auseinandersetzung mit Fremden kaum die Rede sein kann”, Schmidt 2005a 272.

<sup>28</sup> R.S. Bianchi: Pharaonic Egyptian Elements in the Decorative Arts of Alexandria during the Hellenistic and Roman Periods. in: *Alexandria* 191–202 194.

<sup>29</sup> Shaw (ed.) 2000.

<sup>30</sup> Lloyd 2000 395, where the author also adds, however, that “[n]ot the least fascinating aspect of this complex relationship is the fact that, despite all its inner tensions, Egypt of the Ptolemies was in many ways spectacularly successful, whether we consider the achievements of the Graeco-Macedonian elite or those of the Egyptian cultural milieu”.

[i]n all [Ptolemaic] activity at Alexandria, architectural and otherwise, the overwhelming cultural emphasis is on things Graeco-Macedonian, but the Ptolemies were strongly aware of the fascination that pharaonic civilization had long held for the Greek world and were far from averse to adding a touch of exotic spice drawn from that quarter. It is not surprising, therefore, to find evidence of the large-scale removal of Egyptian monuments to Alexandria or to identify examples in the city of colossal statues of Ptolemaic kings and queens represented in traditional Egyptian style.<sup>31</sup>

An apartheid, or, as less radical-minded authors have it, a cohabitation of two cultures<sup>32</sup> presupposes a deep and lasting divide in society. Jean Bingen's dark verbal image depicts

a largely unsuccessful state and society, one without enough imagination or inner strength to get beyond the crippling constraints put on it from the start by its dual Graeco-Macedonian and Egyptian antecedents, with their largely incompatible ways of operation. The Ptolemies... [did not] have any conception of uniting the two cultures into one[.]<sup>33</sup>

I am tempted to read such an overly pessimistic<sup>34</sup> characterization of the Ptolemaic government as an expression of the irritation one feels when beholding the absurdities of present-day intercultural relations. I find it far less convincing if I read it as a conclusion drawn from an enormously rich and varied corpus of textual, archaeological and art historical evidence; an evidence relating to a long and eventful history of failures and successes, conflicts and compromises, violence and cooperation, cultural arrogance and mutual curiosity. Another negative verdict of Bingen sounds equally biased:

[t]he Ptolemies neither figured out ways of running Egypt as an Egyptian monarchy, without the help of tens of thousands of Greeks, nor managed to draw the logical conclusion and make Egypt into a more consistently Greek state[.]<sup>35</sup>

Ironically, this description of a state that is neither Egyptian nor Greek, for it is both, may also be read as a praise of the political wisdom

<sup>31</sup> Lloyd 2000 407.

<sup>32</sup> Cf. Samuel 1989.—“Two rival cultures”: L. Corcoran: *Portrait Mummies from Roman Egypt*. Chicago 1995 2.

<sup>33</sup> Bagnall 2007 11 f.—For less critical views, see, e.g., F. Burkhalter: *The Home Front*. in: Jacob – Polignac (eds) 2000 163–174; Hölbl 2001 *passim*; Huss 2001 *passim*.

<sup>34</sup> See also the acute remarks of B. Boyaval, review of Bingen 2007, *BiOr* 61 (2009) 122–123.

<sup>35</sup> As summarized by Bagnall 2007 11.

that made the Ptolemies realize that any radical program of turning the land into purely Greek or purely Egyptian would be doomed to failure.<sup>36</sup>

The interaction between the Egyptian and Greek segments of society<sup>37</sup> resulted in differently proportioned social and cultural contexts in the cities (primarily in the three Greek *poleis*), in the regions inhabited mainly by Greeks and Hellenized natives (primarily the Fayoum), and in the Middle- and Upper Egyptian settlements inhabited mainly by Egyptians.<sup>38</sup> The hypothesis of the exclusive Greekness of Alexandrian culture is frequently argued for on the basis that Alexandria was a Greek *polis*. Indeed, the Egyptian population of the city was of a low status in the first century of Ptolemaic rule,<sup>39</sup> but after this we cannot ignore the extent and significance of the moving of wealthy Egyptians to Alexandria.<sup>40</sup>

The Ptolemies maintained from the very outset a close relationship with the Egyptian clergy.<sup>41</sup> The High Priests of Ptah of Memphis participated in the creation of the ideological bases of Ptolemaic legitimacy and played a leading part in the shaping of dynastic cult.<sup>42</sup> The

<sup>36</sup> Cf. C. Préaux: Esquisse d'une histoire des révolutions égyptiennes sous les Lagides. *CdÉ* 11 (1936) 522–552; W. Peremans: Les révolutions égyptiennes sous les Lagides. in: Maehler – Strocka (eds) 1978 39–50; Pestman 1995.

<sup>37</sup> Cf. Braunert 1964 29–110, esp. 99 ff.; W. Peremans: Égyptiens et étrangers dans le clergé, le notariat et les tribunaux de l'Égypte ptolémaïque. *Ancient Society* 4 (1973) 59–69; *id.*: Étrangers et égyptiens en Égypte sous le règne de Ptolémée Ier. *Ancient Society* 11–12 (1980–1981) 213–226; C.A. La'ada: *Foreign Ethnicity in Hellenistic Egypt (Prosopographia Ptolemaica 10/Studia Hellenistica 38)*. Leuven – Paris – Dudley 2002.—For the relationship between Greek and Egyptian law and law courts and the development of a sort of common law, see E.G. Huzar: Augustus, Heir of the Ptolemies. in: *ANRW* II.10.1 (1988) 343–382 359 f.—Cf. also Stephens 2003.

<sup>38</sup> J. Bingen: Les tensions structurelles de la société ptolémaïque. *Atti del XVII congresso internazionale di papirologia* III. Napoli 1984 921–937 (=Bingen 2007 189–205); Bowman 1986 122 ff.; Bagnall 1988; D.J. Thompson 1988 212–265.

<sup>39</sup> Cf. Fraser 1972 I 62 ff.; and cf. G. Zanker: *Realism in Alexandrian Poetry: A Literature and Its Audience*. London – Sydney – Wolfenboro 1987 20 ff.

<sup>40</sup> Braunert 1964 72 ff.; Fraser 1972 I 81 ff.; Schmidt 2005a 275. Cf. also W. Scheidel: Creating a Metropolis: A Comparative Demographic Perspective. in: Harris – Ruffini (eds) 2004 1–31.

<sup>41</sup> Baines 2004 45 ff.—For the second century BC limestone statues of Psenptais I, priest of Ptah of Memphis, erected in the Serapeum (Alexandria 17533, 17534), see E.A.E. Reymond: *From the Records of a Priestly Family from Memphis* I. Wiesbaden 1981 27 ff, 105 ff, Nos 13, 14.

<sup>42</sup> For the evidence, see D.J. Thompson 1988 106 ff., 138 ff.; D.J. Thompson: The High Priests of Memphis under Ptolemaic Rule. in: M. Beard *et al.* (eds): *Pagan Priests. Religion and Power in the Ancient World*. London 1990 95–116; Verhoeven 2005 and cf. R.R.R. Smith: Ptolemaic Portraits: Alexandrian Types, Egyptian Versions.

dynastic cult of the Ptolemies was a Hellenistic innovation, but it was integrated with traditional Egyptian royal cult.<sup>43</sup> Several High Priests of Ptah acted as advisers to Ptolemy V and Ptolemy VI while boy-kings as well as during the turbulent times of their later reigns. In the third and second centuries BC the members of the Egyptian higher priesthood attended annual synods at the court. The synods regulated matters of cults and temple administration and their resolutions were published in hieroglyphic, Demotic, and Greek texts inscribed on stelae and erected in the courts of the great temples of the land.<sup>44</sup>

Likewise, the use of the Greek language and the presence of Greeks and Hellenized Egyptians in the Egyptian temples were important means of ethnic and cultural integration.<sup>45</sup> Many native members of the provincial elite appeared as Greeks when acting as priests, bureaucrats or officers; as Egyptians in their private sphere and in their tombs.<sup>46</sup> The late first century BC-early AD first century high priests of Soknopaios (Sbk-nb-p3-jw, Sobek-Lord-of-the-Island) at Soknopaiou Nesos (Fayoum) bore Greek names, while in their temple they dedicated traditional style hardstone portrait statues of themselves.<sup>47</sup> Their double identity fitted in a general process in the course of which the ethnic barriers between Greeks and Egyptians became increasingly

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in: *Alexandria* 203–213 210; Stanwick 2002 67. The family of the High Priests of Ptah even seems to have intermarried with the royal family, cf. W. Huss: Die Herkunft der Kleopatra Philopator. *Aegyptus* 70 (1990) 191–203; Hölbl 2001 222.

<sup>43</sup> Koenen 1983; J. Quaegebeur: The Egyptian Clergy and the Cult of the Ptolemaic Dynasty. *Ancient Society* 20 (1989) 93–116; Huss 1994; R.B. Finnestad: Temples of the Ptolemaic and Roman Periods: Ancient Traditions in New Contexts. in: B.E. Shafer (ed.): *Temples of Ancient Egypt*. Ithaca – New York 185–237, 302–317 229.

<sup>44</sup> There is evidence for c. 15 synods, see W. Huss: Die in ptolemaischer Zeit verfassten Synodal-Dekrete der ägyptischen Priester. *ZPE* 88 (1991) 189–208. For the Canopus, Raphia, Rosetta, Philensis I and II decrees: Huss 1994; F. Hoffmann: *Ägypten. Kultur und Lebenswelt in griechisch-römischer Zeit. Eine Darstellung nach den demotischen Quellen*. Berlin 2000 153 ff.; Hölbl 2001 106 ff.

<sup>45</sup> Cf. G. Vittmann: Beobachtungen und Überlegungen zu Fremden und hellenisierten Ägyptern im Dienste ägyptischer Kulte. in: W. Clarysse – A. Schoors – H. Willems (eds): *Egyptian Religion. The Last Thousand Years. Studies Dedicated to the Memory of Jan Quaegebeur II* (OLA 85). Leuven 1998 1231–1250.

<sup>46</sup> See, e.g., Bagnall 1988; J. Quaegebeur: Greco – Egyptian Double Names as a Feature of a Bi-Cultural Society. in: Johnson (ed.) 1992 265–272; H. Heinen: Ein griechischer Funktionär des Ptolemäerstaates als Priester ägyptischer Kulte. in: B. Funck (ed.): *Hellenismus. Beiträge zur Erforschung von Akkulturation und politischer Ordnung in den Staaten des hellenistischen Zeitalters. Akten des Internationalen Hellenismus-Kolloquiums 9.–14. März 1994 in Berlin*. Berlin 1996 339–353; Heinen 2005 202 f.

<sup>47</sup> Lembke 1998; *Gloire* 278 f. Cats 219–221 (F. Burkhalter).

permeable. As a result, the governing and professional classes were ethnically thoroughly mixed by the end of the Ptolemaic period.<sup>48</sup>

Votaries of the “apartheid” model usually ignore the fact that there were no ethnically separated cemeteries in Alexandria, which similarly indicates a “mutable ethnicity [and a] fluidity of culture”:

Neither disposition of the dead, nor grave goods, nor topography helps discriminate ethnicity or cultural background in Alexandria, except in the case of certain foreigners and peoples who intentionally set themselves apart...and even some of these are difficult to identify with certainty.<sup>49</sup>

While the royal support of the cults, temples, and priesthood of the ancient Egyptian gods is intensely studied,<sup>50</sup> there remains much to be explored as regards the various, and variously interpreted, efforts made by the Egyptian priesthood at the establishment of correspondences between, or even syntheses of, Egyptian and Greek cults.<sup>51</sup> By all accounts, so much seems certain that concerted efforts were made at the textual and visual articulation of concepts and values that were supposed to bind together Egyptians and Greeks.<sup>52</sup> By way of example, Paul Stanwick suggests that the High Priests of Ptah of Memphis exerted a direct influence on the development of the hybrid royal portrait type combining traditional Egyptian hardstone, Egyptian statue types, and Egyptian royal insignia with Hellenistic elements such as exaggerated facial features, inlaid eyes, and/or Greek hair.<sup>53</sup> It is supposed that the

<sup>48</sup> Cf. W. Clarysse: Egyptian Estate-Holders in the Ptolemaic Period. in: E. Lipinski (ed.): *State and Temple Economy in the Ancient Near East*. Leuven 1979 731–743; Lewis 1986 88 ff.; K. Goudriaan: *Ethnicity in Ptolemaic Egypt*. Amsterdam 1988 58 ff.; W. Clarysse: Some Greeks in Egypt. in: Johnson (ed.) 1992 51–56; *id.*: Greeks in Ptolemaic Thebes. in: Vleeming (ed.) 1995 1–19; Bagnall 1997a, 1997b.

<sup>49</sup> Venit 2002 11.

<sup>50</sup> Huss 1994; Hölbl 2001 77 ff., 160 ff., 257 ff.; Huss 2001 237 ff., 317 ff., 376 ff., 457 f., 529 ff., all with further literature.

<sup>51</sup> Cf., e.g., the evidence discussed in Pfeiffer 2005.—For the Greek view of the Egyptian gods cf., e.g., Assmann 2000 31 ff.; Stephens 2003 20 ff.; Pfeiffer 2005 286 ff. For the *Ägyptenbild* in more general terms, see A. Dihle: Das Bild Ägyptens bei den Griechen archaisch-klassischer Zeit. in: Bol – Kaminski – Maderna (eds) 2004 19–29.

<sup>52</sup> Cf. Hölbl 2001 98 ff.—The visual imprint of the efforts made by the rulers and their Greek and Egyptian experts at the concurrent creation of an Egyptian ideology of the Macedonian king and a Hellenic ideology of the Ptolemaic *basileus* requires further investigation. Cf. Bergman 1968 66 ff.; E. Winter: Der Herrscherkult in den ägyptischen Ptolemäertempeln. in: Maehler – Stročka (eds) 1978 148–160; Koenen 1983; Hölbl 2001 90 ff.; Huss 1994 *passim*.

<sup>53</sup> Stanwick 2002 47 ff.—Bianchi 2004b 396 disregards the hybrid type when assumes that the royal images defined in the synodal decrees “were created in accordance with



types of the royal portrait, its inscription and the place where it was erected were defined in the course of consultations between the ruler and/or court dignitaries and the Egyptian priesthood, a practice that did not greatly differ from the manner in which Hellenistic rulers controlled the erection of portrait statues.<sup>54</sup>

In Stanwick's view the hybrid type did not emerge before Ptolemy V<sup>55</sup> when it was intended to address the Egyptian viewer in a critical political situation as a calculated manifestation of the Greek ruler's integration into Egyptian kingship. Indeed, the majority of the preserved hybrid type royal portraits date from the reigns of Ptolemy V and Ptolemy VI, a period of devastating native revolts and the loss of the eastern Mediterranean empire.<sup>56</sup> Yet we may find signs for Egyptian-Greek interaction that concern the present investigation already in the years following the Macedonian conquest.

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pharaonic Egyptian artistic tenets, indicating that the craftsmen could distinguish between a classical and an Egyptian style. On this basis of this evidence, one seriously questions whether one can speak of a mixed style".

<sup>54</sup> Smith 1988 17; Stanwick 2005 249.

<sup>55</sup> Some datings are problematic, however. E.g., the head New Haven, University Art Gallery 4.1.1953 is attributed by Bothmer 1996 223 to Ptolemy III (?), by Stanwick 2002 120 f. to Ptolemy X; the head Alexandria 3364 to Ptolemy IV by Bothmer 1996 221, to Ptolemy IX by Stanwick 2002 119.

<sup>56</sup> A recently discovered royal portrait seemed to raise the possibility that the hybrid type was created in a much earlier, and decidedly less sinister, period, which would lend a more positive accent to its political message too. It is a granite statue acquired recently by the Liebieghaus-Museum (Beck – Bol – Bückling [eds] 2005 563 f. Cat. 134 [P.C. Bol]; P.C. Bol: Die Frankfurter Alexanderstatue. Ein griechisches Werk in ägyptischer Tradition. in: Beck – Bol – Bückling [eds] 2005 15–19; cf. *id.*: Alexander der Grosse als Pharao im Liebieghaus in Frankfurt am Main. *Antike Welt* 32 [2001] 65–69; C. Reinsberg: Alexanderbild in Ägypten. Manifestation eines neuen Herrscherideals. in: Bol – Kaminski – Maderna [eds] 2004 319–339; *ead.*: Alexander-Porträts. in: Beck – Bol – Bückling [eds] 2005 216–234 231). Peter C. Bol identified it as either Alexander the Great, or Philip III Arrhidaios (323–316 BC), or Alexander IV (316–305 BC). Among other things, Bol as well as Reinsberg argued for the first of these attributions as the most likely on the basis of the facial features and what one may regard as a summary rendering of Alexander's *anastole*, i.e., his hair standing up from his forehead with an off-centre part (cf. Plutarchos, *Pompeius* 2.1 and see Smith 1988 47 f.; Stanwick 2002 37). The influence of Classical sculpture on the traditional Egyptian striding male figure is obvious in the posture of the legs, the tilt of the head, the asymmetry of the face (for asymmetry in pharaonic portraiture, see, however, Philipp 2004 296 f.) and the Greek hair.—Stanwick 2002 63 note 13 remarks that he is unable to form an opinion about its date from the photos published at the time when he was writing his book. In his more recent study on Egyptian statues of the Ptolemies he does not refer to the statue: see Stanwick 2005. For a late Ptolemaic-early Roman dating of the statue, see C. Knigge Salis: Die makedonischen Herrscher als ägyptische Könige – Zu zwei Statuen in Frankfurt am Main und Braunschweig. in: *Imago Aegypti* 2 (2007) 71–86.

The context is Alexander's Egyptian kingship, the Egyptian titulary he assumed,<sup>57</sup> and the place he occupied in Egyptian temple inscriptions and reliefs.<sup>58</sup> It is into *this* context that we have to fit a group of late fourth century art monuments. As the best-known example, I refer here to the reliefs from the Petosiris tomb at Hermopolis Magna.<sup>59</sup> The sculptors working there were equally versed in the Egyptian and early Hellenistic visual idioms and executed an iconographical program combining Egyptian and Greek concepts (for a detailed discussion, see Chapter III.3).

As opposed to the commonly held belief,<sup>60</sup> the masters of the Petosiris tomb and other teams working in a similar manner<sup>61</sup> did not come from the nothing. A pluralistic visual world including more than one system of representation already had begun to take shape during the Persian occupations in the fifth and fourth centuries BC.<sup>62</sup> This may be best illustrated with the splendid early Ptolemaic treasure belonging originally to a garrison sanctuary at Tukh el-Karamus in Lower Egypt.<sup>63</sup> Besides a rich collection of Hellenistic jewelry, Achaemenid style vessels, and silver plate with decorations combining Egyptian, Achaemenid and Greek elements, it contains amulets in the form of Egyptian deities,<sup>64</sup> and miniature insignia and jewelry from cult statuettes of Egyptian deities and/or deified Ptolemies represented as pharaohs. A miniature skullcap made of gold combines the Egyptian uraeus with the bull's horns of Dionysos, the divine ancestor of the dynasty.<sup>65</sup> It belonged to a representation of a deified Ptolemy<sup>66</sup> in which Egyptian and Greek concepts of kingship were organically

<sup>57</sup> For the problem of Alexander's investiture ("coronation") as pharaoh cf. Winter 2005 206 f. (*contra* Burstein 1991=Burstein 1995a 53–61).

<sup>58</sup> For the evidence from Karnak, Luxor, and Hermopolis Magna, see Winter 2005.

<sup>59</sup> Lefebvre 1924/2007; C-C-G.

<sup>60</sup> For the interpretation of the Petosiris tomb as a special case see, e.g., Baines – Riggs 2001 114.

<sup>61</sup> See Chapter III.2.

<sup>62</sup> Cf. Baines 2004 45 ff., where reference is made to L.M. Leahy: *Private Tomb Reliefs of the Late Period from Lower Egypt*. Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Oxford University 1988. See also Derchain 2000 32 f., 54 ff.; K. Parlasca: *Perserzeitliche Wurzeln der frühptolemäischen Kunst*. in: Beck – Bol – Bückling (eds) 2005 195–197.

<sup>63</sup> Pfrommer 1987 142 ff.; Pfrommer 1990 208 f.; Pfrommer 1996 171 ff.; Pfrommer 1999 30 ff.

<sup>64</sup> Pfrommer 1999 figs 73/a–c.

<sup>65</sup> Cairo 38125A, Pfrommer 1999 fig. 60.

<sup>66</sup> Cf. Pfrommer 1999 34.

united. Similarly to the Petosiris tomb reliefs, the Tukh el-Karamus treasure reveals the pre-Ptolemaic antecedents of the mind-set that shaped the visual world of the Ptolemaic period.

A now lost obelisk of Nectanebos (I or II?) brought by Ptolemy II some time between 275 and 246 BC<sup>67</sup> to Alexandria and reerected in the Arsinoeion (the temple dedicated to the cult of Arsinoe II) may have been one of the earliest (if not the earliest) cases of the transfer of a pharaonic monument to Alexandria.<sup>68</sup> Yet pharaonic statuary was not only brought there for secondary use from other places. High quality Egyptian style statues were also newly carved for royally sponsored monumental buildings such as the lighthouse Pharos of Ptolemy II<sup>69</sup> and the Serapeum of Ptolemy III.<sup>70</sup> A case in point is also the Egyptian style granite triad representing the god Amun (?), Ptolemy II and Arsinoe II from Anfoushy (Alexandria).<sup>71</sup>

It stands to reason that the indigenous elite<sup>72</sup> moving to Alexandria would combine Egyptian and Greek elements in their visual display of identity.<sup>73</sup> Discussing the early Ptolemaic sphinxes from the Serapeum,<sup>74</sup> Sally-Ann Ashton suggests that

[i]t is unlikely that a non-Egyptian would recognize the subtleties of the sphinxes, or indeed be capable of interpreting the Egyptian iconography that distinguishes the images as royal. During the building of the

<sup>67</sup> Pliny, *NH* 36.67–69; cf. McKenzie 2007 51.

<sup>68</sup> M. Pfrommer: Arsinoe II und ihr magnetischer Tempel. in: Bol – Kaminski – Maderna (eds) 2004 455–461 455.

<sup>69</sup> For the statuary associated with the Pharos, see J.-Y. Empereur: *Alexandrie (Égypte)*. *BCH* 120 (1996) 959–970; Stanwick 2002 17 f.

<sup>70</sup> For the Serapeum: McKenzie 2007 55; cf. J.S. McKenzie – S. Gibson – A.T. Reyes: Reconstructing the Serapeum in Alexandria from the Archaeological Evidence. *JRS* 94 (2004) 73–114; M. Sabottka: *Das Serapeum in Alexandria. Untersuchungen zur Architektur und Baugeschichte des Heiligtums von der frühen ptolemäischen Zeit bis zur Zerstörung 391 n. Chr. (Études alexandrines 15)*. Le Caire 2008.

<sup>71</sup> Alexandria 11261, Stanwick 2002 Cat. A 10; Stanwick 2005 246, fig. 3.

<sup>72</sup> Derchain 2000 22 ff., 44 ff.; A.B. Lloyd: The Egyptian Elite in the Early Ptolemaic Period: Some Hieroglyphic Evidence. in: D. Ogden (ed.): *The Hellenistic World: New Perspectives*. Swansea 2002 117–136; Baines 2004. See also W. Peremans: Les Lagides, les élites indigènes et la monarchie bicéphale. in: E. Lévy (ed.): *Le système palatial en Orient, en Grèce et à Rome*. Leiden 1987 327–343.

<sup>73</sup> Cf. Schmidt 2005a 275.

<sup>74</sup> For the late fourth-early third century BC red granite sphinxes, see Ashton 2001 82 Nos 1, 2; for the Egyptian elements in the Serapeum, see J. Yoyotte: *Pharaonica*. in: Goddio *et al.* 1998 199–219.—Without offering further arguments, Schmidt 2005a 274 f. suggests that the sphinxes did not belong to the early (Ptolemy III Euergetes I) Serapeum building.

Sarapieion [...] the sphinxes may simply have served to enhance the Egyptian ambience of the sanctuary.<sup>75</sup>

It seems unlikely to me; however, that the priests of the temple would have been ignorant to such an extent that they were unable to explain to the non-Egyptian visitor the meaning of what s/he has seen in the temple precinct. Extremist opinions denying the influence of Alexandria on native Egyptian art or of native Egyptian art on Alexandria regularly undervalue the significance of “Egyptianizing” in the architecture of Alexandria’s elite tombs;<sup>76</sup> ignore Alexandrian palace architecture as we know it through the impact it made on Hellenistic and Roman architecture and painting outside Egypt.<sup>77</sup> Reference to special architectural types known from literary texts such as, e.g., Libanius’s description of the Tychaion<sup>78</sup> or Callixenus’s passages on the festival tent of Ptolemy II and the palace boat of Ptolemy IV<sup>79</sup> is also usually omitted.

### 1.2. *How Hellenistic Was Hellenistic Art in Egypt?*

Alexandrian tombs combine elements from two mutually exclusive cultural aesthetics and two religious systems to create a new vision, which is richer and more profound than either could have been alone.<sup>80</sup>

According to Stefan Schmidt, the court and elite of the early and middle Ptolemaic periods sponsored and valued works of art that followed famous models, created the illusion of reality, and conveyed concepts that lie behind the visual reality.<sup>81</sup> While Schmidt’s characteristics

<sup>75</sup> Ashton 2001 24.

<sup>76</sup> H. Thiersch: *Zwei antike Grabanlagen bei Alexandria*. Berlin 1904; R. Pagenstecher: *Nekropolis—Untersuchungen über Gestalt und Entwicklung der alexandrinischen Grabanlagen und ihrer Malerei*. Leipzig 1919; A. Adriani: *Annuaire du Musée Gréco-Romain (1933–34–1934–35). La Nécropole de Moustafa Pacha*. Alexandrie 1936; Adriani 1940; *id.*: *Annuaire du Musée Gréco-Romain 1940–1950*. Alexandrie 1952; Adriani 1966; Pensabene 1993; Venit 2002.

<sup>77</sup> McKenzie 2007 80 ff.; cf. G. Pesce: *Il ‘Palazzo delle Colonne’ in Tolemaide di Cirenaica*. Roma 1950; Lauter 1971; Lyttelton 1974; McKenzie 1990/2005.

<sup>78</sup> [Libanius], *Progymnasmata, Descriptiones* 25.

<sup>79</sup> Athen., *Deipn.* 5.196a–203b (trans. C.B. Gulick, London – Cambridge, Mass. 1961); Pfrommer 1999 69 ff., 93 ff.

<sup>80</sup> Venit 2002 2.

<sup>81</sup> Schmidt 2004.

present a useful description of classical art from Alexandria as it stands before us in the literary evidence and in the form of preserved monuments, the special question appearing in the title of this chapter has still to be posed, the more so that these characteristics were not unique to Alexandrian Hellenism.<sup>82</sup> For an answer, let us go back to J.J. Pollitt's *Art in the Hellenistic Age*,<sup>83</sup> where five attitudes or mind-sets are identified that shaped Hellenistic art.<sup>84</sup>

The first is an innate instability in the governmental systems of the Hellenistic kingdoms, which led to “an obsession with fortune”. It would be imprudent to suggest that governmental instability characterized the Ptolemaic state from the beginning to the end and that it would be this instability, which alone brought about an obsession with fortune. The notion of fortune was nevertheless central to the cults of Agathos Daimon, the snake-bodied Good Spirit of Alexandria, also associated with Sarapis,<sup>85</sup> and the similarly snake-bodied Isis-Agathe Tyche, the Good Fortune, and, above all, Alexander the Great<sup>86</sup> and

<sup>82</sup> Cf. Robertson 1993 74 ff.

<sup>83</sup> Pollitt 1986; cf. J.J. Pollitt: Response [to Robertson 1993]. in: Green (ed.) 1993 90–103.

<sup>84</sup> Cf. also A. Stewart 2006 159 ff. who identifies twenty-four innovations in Hellenistic art, viz., “the arts of power” (Alexander’s iconography), palace architecture, processions, city architecture, temple architecture in urban context, the Hellenistic urban house, libraries, clubhouses, the colonnaded two-storied façade, the exterior Corinthian order, the vault, “baroque” architectural forms, “rococo” iconographical types mainly of Dionysiac themes, “realism”, the grotesque, the hermaphrodite, neoclassicism, continuous narrative, the tessellated mosaic, polychrome jewelry, the cameo, the open hoop earring, art collecting, and art history.

<sup>85</sup> F. Dunand: Agathodaimon. *LIMC* I (1981) 281–282. Cf. Fraser 1972 II 349 f., 356 f. note 164; P.M. Fraser: A Plaster Anguiform Sarapis. in: *Alessandria e il mondo ellenistico-romano. Studi in onore di Achille Adriani* II. Roma 1984 348–351; G. Clerc – J. Leclant: Sarapis. *LIMC* VII (1994) 666–692; Bailey 2007 266 ff.—For arguments against the traditional thesis according to which “Serapis was invented with the object of giving a greater degree of political and religious unity [of Greeks and Egyptians]” (D. Peacock: The Roman Period [30 BC–AD 311]. in: Shaw [ed.] 2000 422–445 438, cf. J.E. Stambaugh: *Sarapis under the Early Ptolemies*. Leiden 1972 9 f., 88, 95 f., 101; G. Hölbl: *Sarapis*. *LÄ* V [1984] 870–874 etc.), see recently Huss 1994 65 f.; Huss 2001 241 ff.; Schmidt 2005b 293 ff. Cf. also P.M. Fraser: Current Problems Concerning the Early History of the Cult of Sarapis. *Opuscula Atheniensia* 7 (1965) 23–45; D.J. Thompson 1988 116.

<sup>86</sup> For the Tychaion in Alexandria with Alexander’s statue in its centre, see [Libanius], *Progymnasmata, Descriptiones* 25, cf. Fraser 1972 II 392 f. note 417; H. Lauter: *Die Architektur des Hellenismus*. Darmstadt 1986 179; M. Pfrommer: *Alexander der Grosse. Auf den Spuren eines Mythos*. Mainz 2001 99 f.; McKenzie 2007 244. About the source value of Libanius cf. Schmidt 2004 513 f.—In Andrew Stewart’s view, the statue type representing Alexander wearing an aegis, carrying a scepter and holding the Palladion (the cult image of Athena, protector of Troy) was based on the cult

the deified Ptolemaic and Roman rulers.<sup>87</sup> The iconography of these cults reflects a wide range of Egyptian-Greek interaction.

According to Pollitt, the obsession with fortune gave birth to a *theatrical mentality*,<sup>88</sup> which nurtured the popularity of dramatic portraits, narrative representations and images from the theater. It also contributed to the formation of a “Hellenistic baroque” style in architecture. Ever since the early Ptolemaic period Alexandrian monumental tombs were theatrically constructed as spaces for the performance of funerary rites, and their architecture employed illusionistic effects. Such effects range from painted wall decorations<sup>89</sup> to manipulated architectural elements such as distorted doorjambs,<sup>90</sup> architraves,<sup>91</sup> and niche frames,<sup>92</sup> all faking a perspective in the manner of stage sceneries, where these elements derived from representations of royal palace architecture.<sup>93</sup> By the second century BC illusionistic architectures also included Egyptian elements and even placed them in the visual centre of burial chambers in the quality of symbolic scenes for the deification of the dead.<sup>94</sup>

The baroque style of Hellenistic architecture is characterized by “the use of structural members as surface decoration and the use of new forms of pediments and entablatures”.<sup>95</sup> Here, too, we may speak about illusionistic *representation* rather than *architecture* in the narrower sense of the word.<sup>96</sup> The earliest baroque structural forms such as broken and segmental pediments and curved entablatures appeared

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image erected by Ptolemy I Soter at the Sema between 311 and 285 BC, A. Stewart 1996 242. See also Reinsberg 2005 226 ff.

<sup>87</sup> Cf. H. Kyrieleis: Die Porträtmünzen Ptolemaios’s V. und seiner Eltern. *JdI* 88 (1973) 213–246; Kyrieleis 1975; H.P. Laubscher: Hellenistische Herrscher und Pan. *AM* 100 (1985) 333–353; *id.*: Triptolemos und die Ptolemäer. *JbKuGewHamb* 6–7 (1988) 11–40.

<sup>88</sup> Cf. also A.A. Long: Hellenistic Ethics and Philosophical Power. in: Green (ed.) 1993 138–162 153.

<sup>89</sup> Venit 2002 34 ff.

<sup>90</sup> E.g., Anfushy Tomb II, Venit 2002 fig. 63.

<sup>91</sup> E.g., Mustapha Pasha Tomb I, right-hand doorway, south façade of the courtyard, Venit 2002 fig. 41.

<sup>92</sup> E.g., Mustapha Pasha Tomb I, Chamber 4, north wall, A. Adriani: *La nécropole de Moustafa Pacha. Annuaire du Musée gréco-romain* 2 (1933/34–1934/35). *Alexandrie* 1936 figs 13, 14.

<sup>93</sup> Venit 2002 66 f., cf. Vitruvius, *De architectura* 5.6.8–9.

<sup>94</sup> Cf. Pensabene 1983; Schmidt 2003 27 ff. See, e.g., Anfushy Tomb V, loculus closing slab in the form of an Egyptian naos, Venit 2002 fig. 74.

<sup>95</sup> McKenzie 2007 93.

<sup>96</sup> Cf. M. Bergmann: Perspektivische Malerei in Stein. Einige alexandrinische Architekturmotive. in: *Bathron. Beiträge zur Architektur und verwandten Künsten. Für H.*

in Alexandria in the second century BC.<sup>97</sup> Judith McKenzie has convincingly shown that they were created under the influence of traditional Egyptian forms<sup>98</sup> with special religious connotations, such as the broken lintel.<sup>99</sup> The insertion of Egyptian elements<sup>100</sup> into Alexandrian types of the Corinthian capital<sup>101</sup> is explained by the religious symbolism of the pharaonic palm, papyrus, and lotus columns. In a less meaningful manner, the Corinthian type also exerted an influence on the development of the traditional Egyptian capital<sup>102</sup> (Pl. 2).<sup>103</sup> Most significantly, the frontality and axiality of the pharaonic temple was adopted in classical sanctuaries such as, e.g., the temple of Ptolemy III at Hermopolis Magna.<sup>104</sup>

According to Pollitt, social instability in the Hellenistic world determined a distinctive mind-set of *individualism*. Individualism plays a role in the depiction of personality, the stages of human life,<sup>105</sup> and the various states of consciousness such as drunkenness, fear, pain,

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*Drerup zu seinem 80. Geburtstag*. Saarbrücken 1988 59–77; McKenzie 1996; Török 2005 115 ff.

<sup>97</sup> McKenzie 2007 figs 145, 146, 147, 150, 158.

<sup>98</sup> Pensabene 1983; McKenzie 2007 92 ff. See also J. Onians: *From the Double Crown to the Double Pediment*. in: *Alexandria* 127–140 134; for the broken lintel cf. Arnold 1999 303 f.

<sup>99</sup> Unpublished PhD dissertation of D.W. Larkin: *The Broken-Lintel Doorway of Ancient Egypt and its Decoration*. New York University, Institute of Fine Arts 1994, referred to by Venit 2002 94. For the Egyptian antecedents, see, e.g., Arnold 1999 fig. 117, Edfu, façade of the *wabet* of the temple of Ptolemy III for Horus.

<sup>100</sup> E.g., McKenzie 2007 fig. 191.

<sup>101</sup> For a typology, see McKenzie 2007 86 ff. For Macedonian/Italic elements appearing on 3rd century BC capitals cf. Pfrommer 1982 188 f.

<sup>102</sup> For the types: McKenzie 2007 figs 203, 204.—Variants: Egyptian capital with acanthus leaves and bead and reel, *ibid.* fig. 236; with vines, *ibid.* fig. 237; with acanthus leaves and helices, *ibid.* fig. 238. All in the West Colonnade at Philae (decorated under Tiberius, AD 41–54).

<sup>103</sup> Hybrid capital, Alexandria 3860, drawing, T. Schreiber: *Die Necropole von Kom esch-Schukafa*. Leipzig 1908 fig. 206.

<sup>104</sup> A.J.B. Wace et al.: *Hermopolis Magna, Ashmunein. The Ptolemaic Sanctuary and the Basilica*. Alexandria 1959; F. Rumscheid: *Untersuchungen zur kleinasiatischen Bauornamentik des Hellenismus I*. Mainz 1994 53 f.; McKenzie 2007 fig. 75.

<sup>105</sup> Speaking about Hellenistic individualism, we cannot fail to notice the lack of Greek style non-royal portraiture—but in this respect Alexandria does not differ from Antioch or Pergamon. For the phenomenon and its possible social background, see A. Stewart 1996 240 f.—For private portraiture in Egyptian style, see *ESLP*; R.S. Bianchi: *The Striding Male Draped Figure of Ptolemaic Egypt*. Unpubl. Ph.D. dissertation, New York 1976; Bianchi 1988; R.S. Bianchi: *The Cultural Transformation of Egypt as Suggested by a Group of Enthroned Male Figures from the Faiyum*. in: Johnson (ed.) 1992 14–26; K. Lembke: *Dimeh. Römische Repräsentationskunst im Fayyum*. *Jdl* 113 (1998) 109–137; W. Kaiser: *Zur Datierung realistischer Rundbildnisse ptolemäisch-römischer Zeit*. *MDAIK* 55 (1999) 237–263.

and erotic excitement. Individualism also played a role in the representation of religious emotions and their persiflage. The depictions of states of consciousness or of various “street types” engaged in religious activities combined Hellenistic and Egyptian features in iconography as well as in style.<sup>106</sup> In representations of old men, peasants and Alexandrian street types (Pl. 3),<sup>107</sup> “realistically” rendered rustic features were borrowed from the repertory of Late Period Egyptian sculpture, viz., from among the visual topoi of mature age, experience, strength, energy, wisdom, and disdain.<sup>108</sup>

Still according to Pollitt, individualism and the conscience of being part of the Greek *oikumene* resulted together a *cosmopolitan outlook*. Among other themes, in Ptolemaic Egypt this is manifested in an interest for the landscape, ethnotype(s), fauna and flora of Egypt’s southern neighbour. The range of the complexity and quality of the Nubian themes is exemplified on the one side by the Nubian sections of the Palestrina mosaic or by fine sculptures in bronze and clay representing more or less idealized Nubian types. On the other side, it is exemplified by a great variety of cheap terracottas representing Nubian cult attendants, servants, beggars and other street types.<sup>109</sup>

Let me introduce an example for the first category from the collection of the Budapest Museum of Fine Arts. It is a fine clay vessel in the form of a draped female figure in kneeling posture (Pl. 4).<sup>110</sup> It may be dated to the second third of the second century BC.<sup>111</sup> Material and style indicate an Alexandrian provenance. Its model may be identified in a popular terracotta type representing girls performing a libation offering created probably in the Boiotian Tanagra and imitated in Myrina in Asia Minor<sup>112</sup> as well as in other workshops in the

<sup>106</sup> For the issue, see B.V. Bothmer: *Egyptian Antecedents of Roman Republican Verism*. *Quaderni de ‘La ricerca scientifica’* 116 (1988) 47–65 (=Bothmer 2004 407–431); Bothmer 1996 (=Bothmer 2004 465–493).

<sup>107</sup> Török 1995 Cat. 163.

<sup>108</sup> Cf. *ESLP passim*.

<sup>109</sup> Cf. P.G.P. Meyboom: *The Nile Mosaic of Palestrina. Early Evidence of Egyptian Religion in Italy*. Leiden – New York – Köln 1995; Snowden 1970; J. Vercoutter *et al.*: *L’image du noir dans l’art occidental*. Fribourg 1976; N. Bonasca: *Realismo ed eclettismo nell’arte alessandrina*. in: Harris – Ruffini (eds) 2004 87–98.

<sup>110</sup> Budapest T 534, Török 1995 190 f. Cat. 145.

<sup>111</sup> For the dating cf. H. Philipp: *Terrakotten aus Ägypten*. Berlin 1972 20 ff. Nos. 6, 7, 9, 10; Himmelmann 1983 42 ff.; J. Fischer 1994 39 ff.

<sup>112</sup> *Tanagra. Mythe et archéologie*. Musée du Louvre, Paris 15 septembre 2003–5 janvier 2004. Musée des beaux-arts de Montréal 5 février–9 mai 2004. Paris 2003 178 ff. Cat. 122, 325–250 BC, from Myrina, “Tomb A”. Cf. also S. Mollard-Besques:



eastern Mediterranean. The Budapest terracotta represents a Nubian attendant of Isis of Philae<sup>113</sup> performing a Greek-type mortuary wine libation.<sup>114</sup> The association of the cult of Isis with a Greek rite may be viewed as part of the Ptolemaic policy aimed at a rapprochement of traditional Egyptian and Hellenistic Greek religiosity after the great revolts of the second century BC.<sup>115</sup> In the small figure three different ethnic, and at the same time cultural, aspects were combined and emphasized: Nubian, Greek, and Egyptian. Namely, the *Nubian* ethno-type was united with the *Hellenized* cult of Isis, one of the most generally revered<sup>116</sup> ancient *Egyptian* deities, and associated with *Philae*, a “*national*” sanctuary<sup>117</sup> which was developed since the Twenty-Sixth Dynasty as a southern pendant of the ancient northern sanctuaries of Isis at Mendes, Sais, and Sebennytyos.<sup>118</sup> The Nubian figure also alluded to the Nubian origin of the annual Nile inundation.<sup>119</sup>

Let us now turn to the final item in Pollitt’s classification of Hellenistic art. As its fifth characteristic feature, Pollitt names the mind-set of *scholarly mentality* growing out from intellectual centres such as the Alexandrian Library and Mouseion. According to him, it is

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Musée National du Louvre. *Catalogue raisonné des figurines et reliefs en terre-cuite grecs, étrousques et romains* II. *Myrina*. Paris 1963 113 Cat. MYR 232(3), Pl. 135/a.

<sup>113</sup> For the “wrong” direction of the draping of the fringed edge of the garment (usually it passes over the right shoulder), see, e.g., F. Dunand: *Terres cuites gréco-romaines d’Égypte. Département des antiquités égyptiennes*. Paris 1990 Cat. 397–401 (Isis), 495 (priestess).

<sup>114</sup> Cf. E. Simon: Libation. in: *Thesaurus Cultus et Rituum Antiquorum* I. *Processions. Sacrifices. Libations. Fumigations. Dedications*. Los Angeles 2004 237–253 245.

<sup>115</sup> Cf. Huss 1994 98 ff.; Verhoeven 2005; Pfeiffer 2005.

<sup>116</sup> Herodotus 2.42 notes the nationwide unity of the cults of Osiris and Isis; cf. also Bergman 1968 293 f.

<sup>117</sup> For the Isis temple, see G. Bénédict: *Le temple de Philae*. Paris 1893–1895; H.G. Lyons: *A Report on the Island and Temples of Philae*. London 1896; H. Junker: *Der grosse Pylon des Tempels der Isis in Philae*. Wien 1958; A. Giammarusti – A. Roccati: *File. Storia e vita di un santuario egizio*. Novara 1980; E. Winter: *Philae. LÄ IV* (1982) 1022–1027; G. Haeny: *A Short Architectural History of Philae. BIFAO* 85 (1985) 197–233; L.V. Žabkar: *Hymns to Isis in Her Temple at Philae*. Hanover – London 1988; Vassilika 1989; Dijkstra 2008; Zaki 2009.

<sup>118</sup> Cf. H. de Meulenaere: *Mendes. LÄ IV* (1981) 43–45; J. Malek: *Sais. LÄ V* (1983) 355–357; C.C. Edgar – G. Roeder: *Der Isistempe von Behbet. RecTrav* 35 (1913) 89–116; G. Steindorff: *Reliefs from the Temples of Sebennytyos and Iseion in American Collections. Journal of the Walters Art Gallery* 1944–1945 39–59.

<sup>119</sup> Worshippers of the goddess in the Greek and Roman world usually connected the Nile water used for libations with the First Cataract region, but for many of them it was also obvious that the water used in the sanctuaries of Isis comes actually from “hot Meroe beyond Elephantine”: Juvenal, *Satires* 6.526–528.

this mentality that explains the attraction towards learned allegories,<sup>120</sup> allegorical tableaux, and visual narratives such as Ptolemy Philadelphos's famous grand procession.<sup>121</sup> At least partly, it also may explain the revival of earlier artistic styles. It is not unlikely that, in combination with a strong political motivation, the transfer of pharaonic Egyptian statuary to Alexandria was also motivated by an antiquarian interest of this kind. Serious and sensitive depictions of Nubians in bronze<sup>122</sup> or terracotta (Pl. 5)<sup>123</sup> reflect the Utopian image of the Aithiopian race reemphasized in Hellenistic ethnographical literature<sup>124</sup> in a period of intense contacts between Ptolemaic Egypt and her southern neighbour.<sup>125</sup>

The quest for a specifically Alexandrian contribution to Hellenistic art frequently collides with the preconceptions surveyed in the previous chapters. It may also run against the thesis formulated by Martin Robertson, according to whom

much of what happened in art in the Hellenistic period is development inherent in the art itself (...) one cannot (...) say that these developments would inevitably have happened whatever the historical circumstances, but (...) one can say that for them simply to take place did not need the special conditions of the Hellenistic world.<sup>126</sup>

In the terms of this thesis, distinctive features of Hellenistic art, which were not there in the art of the Classical period may be explained as developments inherent in art itself. Robertson means features such as the breach with frontality, a new approach to the third dimension, the liking for the grotesque and un-ideal, the placing of statuary in dramatic settings, the interest for reclining and fallen figures, and the exploration of the female nude.<sup>127</sup> To these we may add a further one,

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<sup>120</sup> For allegory, symbol, and metaphor, see also J. Onians: *Art and Thought in the Hellenistic Age*. London 1979; A. Stewart 1996 241 f.

<sup>121</sup> Cf. Rice 1983; Pfrommer 1999 62 ff.

<sup>122</sup> E.g., the statuette of a Nubian musician in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, Havelock 1981 No. 99; head vessel, BM 1955-10-8-1, D.E.L. Haynes: *Bronze Bust of a Young Negress*. *The British Museum Quarterly* 21 (1957) 19–20; bust of Nubian boy, Firenze, Museo Archeologico 2288, Snowden 1970 fig. 62.

<sup>123</sup> Budapest T 252, Török 1995 148 Cat. 222.

<sup>124</sup> Cf. Dihle 1961; A. Dihle: *Die Griechen und die Fremden*. München 1994.

<sup>125</sup> Cf. Burstein 1993 38–54; Burstein 1995; Török: 1997a 383 ff., 409 ff.; Török 2006.

<sup>126</sup> Robertson 1993 86.

<sup>127</sup> Cf. Robertson 1993 81.

which is usually omitted in general surveys of Hellenistic art,<sup>128</sup> but which is especially material in the case of Egypt, namely, the combination of Hellenistic and not-Hellenistic elements.

So far, I have tried to illustrate Pollitt's Hellenistic mind-sets with such examples from Egypt as permit us to argue for the existence of an Alexandrian art and support a greater confidence in the *historical* explanation of what may seem to be "purely artistic" phenomena. Prudence in generalization is particularly recommended when dealing with actual genres, regions, and periods. As to the emergence of the grotesque and un-ideal as a development inherent in Hellenistic art itself, a caveat is provided by Egyptian grotesquerie. Earlier it was interpreted as a peculiar manifestation of "Alexandrian realism" and then successively as a local genre of the "social realism" present everywhere in the Hellenistic *oikumene*, then as a genre of caricature present all over the Hellenistic world,<sup>129</sup> and finally as an expression of Greek contempt towards the Egyptian lower classes and their religious habits.<sup>130</sup> These options should not obscure, however, two special and complementary features of the genre. Firstly, the meaning of Egyptian grotesquery cannot be seized without realizing that its roots were in the pre-Ptolemaic Egyptian cults of Ptah-Sokaris-Osiris of Memphis, of Harpocrates, and Bes.<sup>131</sup> Secondly, Egyptian grotesquery cannot be understood without considering its connections with the Dionysiac aspect of Ptolemaic ruler cult.<sup>132</sup> In more general terms, Ptolemaic (and Roman) period terracottas representing Egyptian (and Hellenized

<sup>128</sup> Cf. Robertson 1993 69 ff.

<sup>129</sup> L. Giuliani: Die seligen Krüppel. Zur Deutung von Missgestalten in der hellenistischen Kleinkunst. *AA* 1987 701–721, and see recently Schmidt 2004 512, 2005a 270 f., whose view is, however, fairly partial.—Fischer 1998 329 warns, however, that the iconographical types of cult attendants and dwarfs are restricted to Egypt, while figures of female handicapped were found only in Smyrna.

<sup>130</sup> Cf. H.P. Laubscher: *Fischer und Landleute. Studien zur Hellenistischen Genreplastik*. Mainz 1982; Himmelmann 1983.

<sup>131</sup> Cf. G.T. Martin: *The Sacred Animal Necropolis at North Saqqara. The Southern Dependencies of the Main Temple Complex*. London 1981 27 ff.; P. Derchain: Observations sur les erotica. *Ibid.* 166–170; Török 1995 20, 143 ff.; Fischer 1994 51 ff.; Fischer 1998; cf. also Boutantin 2006 330 ff.

<sup>132</sup> J. Tondriau: La dynastie ptolémaïque et la religion dionysiaque. *CdÉ* 25 (1950) 283–316; Hölbl 2001 96 ff.—For the find from Mahdia, see Wrede 1988, cf. also S. Pfisterer-Haas: Die bronzenen Zwergetänzer. in: *Das Wrack. Der antike Schiffsfund von Mahdia*. Köln 1994 483–504. For bronze and terracotta statuettes representing dancing dwarfs, male and female, cf. A. Adriani: Microasiatici o Alessandrini i grotteschi di Mahdià? *RM* 70 (1963) 80–92; Himmelmann 1983 71 ff.; Török 1995 159.

Egyptian) deities may be brought into connection with Egyptian cult temples and their festivals.<sup>133</sup>

Although the evidence mentioned in this chapter and the previous one was meant to present arguments against the scenario of cultural apartheid, I did not want to reduce the matter to a simple choice between two conflicting definitions. In reality, we have to do with a multitude of complex processes in time and in geographical and social space. We also have to deal with a wide variety of political, social, cultural and artistic interferences. We are in search for a vantage point from where one can see a large part of Ptolemaic Egypt and not only a pre-selected chronological, geographical, social or artistic segment. Once such a vantage point is found, we shall probably see that there is only one history of Ptolemaic Egyptian culture and not two separate and exclusive histories, one Egyptian, one Greek.<sup>134</sup> We also shall have a better chance to avoid the mistake of projecting our modern disappointments on a bygone world.

### 1.3. *A Dualist Model: The Petosiris Tomb*

The principles of the “dualism” in the depiction of the worlds of the living and the dead were elaborated to perfection by the late fourth century BC when the splendid Late Period and Hellenizing style reliefs from the tomb of Petosiris, high priest of Thoth of Hermopolis and royal scribe, were conceived and executed.<sup>135</sup>

The tomb was built as temple of the mortuary cult of Petosiris, his father Nes-Shu, and his brother Djed-Thoth-ef-Ankh in the cemetery of Tuna el-Gebel.<sup>136</sup> It contains a pronaos, a naos and an undecorated subterranean burial chamber. The pronaos is built in the form of a columnar fore-hall (Egyptian *hntj*). The front of the screen walls

<sup>133</sup> See first of all G. Nachtergaeel: *Le chameau, l'âne et le mulet en Égypte gréco-romaine. Le témoignage des terres cuites*. *CdÉ* 64 (1989) 326–336; *id.*: *Terres cuites de l'Égypte romaine. A propos de quatre catalogues récents*. *CdÉ* 70 (1995) 254–294; G. Nachtergaeel: review of Török 1995, *CdÉ* 72 (1997) 371–376. Cf. also Budde – Sandri – Verhoeven (eds) 2003; Sandri 2004, 2006, 2007.

<sup>134</sup> E.g., in Gay Robins's excellent history of Egyptian art from the Early Dynastic to the Ptolemaic period no mention at all is made of not-pharaonic style monuments, except for a brief passage on the Petosiris tomb. Cf. Robins 1997 231 ff.

<sup>135</sup> Lefebvre 1924/2007; B. Menu: *Le tombeau de Petosiris 1–4*. *BIFAO* 94 (1994) 311–327, 95 (1995) 281–295, 96 (1996) 343–357, 98 (1998) 247–262; C-C-G.

<sup>136</sup> Lefebvre 1924/2007 1 ff.

between the columns of its façade is decorated with Egyptian reliefs representing Petosiris offering to various deities.<sup>137</sup> The back of the screen walls (i.e., the N wall of the pronaos) and the side (E and W) walls of the pronaos<sup>138</sup> are decorated with Hellenizing scenes from the life on the sacred estate of Thoth (workshop scenes; harvesting of grapes and winemaking; agricultural and pastoral scenes). The upper relief register of the main (S) wall of the pronaos is Egyptian and depicts the adoration of the deceased Petosiris and his wife by their daughters,<sup>139</sup> son, and grandson,<sup>140</sup> while the base register of the same wall<sup>141</sup> bears Hellenizing representations of Greek funerary rites (see below).

The base and upper registers of the back (N) wall of the naos are decorated with Egyptian scenes (base register: marsh scenes,<sup>142</sup> upper registers, W half: Djed-Thoth-ef-Ankh receives mortuary offerings; Petosiris adores Djed-Thoth-ef-Ankh;<sup>143</sup> E half: Petosiris' deceased parents Nes-Shu and Nofretrenpet receive water from Nut, Petosiris adores his father).<sup>144</sup> The side (E and W) walls depict Egyptian scenes in the upper registers (W: Djed-Thoth-ef-Ankh adores Osiris, is conducted by Horus and Ma'at into Osiris' presence, presents offerings to various deities;<sup>145</sup> appears before the tribunals of various gods;<sup>146</sup> E: Petosiris' grandson Teos sprinkles with water the mummy of his great-grandfather Nes-Shu in front of his tomb,<sup>147</sup> the funerary rites of Nes-Shu).<sup>148</sup> The base registers of the same walls depict processions of offering bearers in a Hellenizing style.<sup>149</sup> Finally the main (S) naos wall bears exclusively Egyptian scenes in both the base register (marsh

<sup>137</sup> C-C-G 13–27, scenes 12–26.

<sup>138</sup> C-C-G 32–77.

<sup>139</sup> C-C-G 83. For Petosiris' three daughters, see P. Derchain: *L'entourage féminin de Pétosiris*. *CdÉ* 77 (2002) 65–72.

<sup>140</sup> C-C-G 83, 90.

<sup>141</sup> C-C-G 85–88, 91–94.

<sup>142</sup> C-C-G 103.

<sup>143</sup> C-C-G 102.

<sup>144</sup> C-C-G 105.

<sup>145</sup> C-C-G 107–109.

<sup>146</sup> C-C-G 110–112.

<sup>147</sup> C-C-G 129.

<sup>148</sup> C-C-G 130–135.—The great biographical inscription of Petosiris is on this wall, Lefebvre 1924/2007 136 ff.

<sup>149</sup> C-C-G 113–127 (west wall, 25 figures), 136–147 (east wall, 28 figures).

scenes;<sup>150</sup> priests offering water to the *ba* of the deceased)<sup>151</sup> and the upper registers (in the E nave: Petosiris' father Nes-Shu adores nine spirits; Djed-Thoth-ef-Ankh adores his father Nes-Shu;<sup>152</sup> in the W nave: Djed-Thoth-ef-Ankh adores nine spirits; Petosiris adores Djed-Thoth-ef-Ankh;<sup>153</sup> in the central nave the main scene represents the protection of the solar scarab by Nekhbet, Wadjet, Isis, and the *ba*;<sup>154</sup> above the main scene Nes-Shu adores Osiris and Isis [east half] and Djed-Thoth-ef-Ankh adores Osiris and Nephthys).<sup>155</sup>

As he records in his autobiography, Petosiris as High Priest (λεσωνις) of Thoth of Hermopolis Magna was responsible for construction and restoration works in the Thoth temple and in other temples at Hermopolis.<sup>156</sup> Moreover, he was also responsible for construction works outside Hermopolis at Hirour (temple of Khnum-Re) and Neferusi (temple of Hathor).<sup>157</sup> There may be little doubt that his responsibility was not limited to organization and financing. Relying on the temple archives, he also directed the preparation of the iconographical program and the composition of the texts of these sanctuaries (as well as of his tomb) in the same manner as the learned high priests of the New Kingdom period.<sup>158</sup> This is hinted at in his biography inscribed on the E half of the S pronaos wall, where it stands about the "sanctuary of the goddesses", which he constructed in the interior of the Khnum temple at Hermopolis that "it is called 'pavilion of the goddesses' *in accordance with the sacred book*".<sup>159</sup> The builders and artists working at Petosiris' tomb were also active at other works supervised by him, as it seems to be indicated by the Hellenizing decoration of the roof blocks from the porticus of the Thoth temple at Hermopolis dating from the nominal reign of Philip III Arrhidaios (323–316 BC).<sup>160</sup>

<sup>150</sup> C-C-G 150.

<sup>151</sup> C-C-G 156.

<sup>152</sup> C-C-G 149.

<sup>153</sup> C-C-G 159.

<sup>154</sup> C-C-G 155.

<sup>155</sup> C-C-G 153.

<sup>156</sup> Lefebvre 1924/2007 100 ff., 138 ff.

<sup>157</sup> Lefebvre 1924/2007 101 f.

<sup>158</sup> He may of course have consulted other priestly experts as well as he has done when he organized the ceremonies performed in the restored temple of Heket at Hermopolis. See Lefebvre 1924/2007 105, 142 f.

<sup>159</sup> Lefebvre 1924/2007 102.—My Italics.

<sup>160</sup> According to his biography, during Petosiris' seven-year tenure as *lesonis* of the Thoth temple foreigners arrived to rule over Egypt. Lefebvre 1924/2007 10 note 4 and 80, 82 denies that the phrase *ndtj hr Kmt* referring to the foreign rulers (*hꜥꜥ hꜥꜥwt*)

The Hellenizing reliefs on the back (N) and side (E and W) walls of the pronaos depict a perennial theme of Egyptian elite tomb reliefs, viz., the thriving life on the estates owned or governed by the deceased. Petosiris is depicted receiving the report of his intendants in Hellenizing scenes on each sidewall. In these scenes he is shown wearing a traditional Late Period tripartite garment.<sup>161</sup> On the main (S) pronaos wall Petosiris appears in Egyptian scenes depicting the adoration of his son, grandson (east half), and daughters (west half) before him and his wife. Beneath the scene with the adoration of Petosiris' three daughters there are three classical scenes depicting Greek funerary rites, viz., 1 the adornment of the sacrificial bull, 2 its killing, and 3 the family of the deceased in front of the tomb. In scenes 1 and 2 there appear the daughters of Petosiris, in scene 3 his son, grandson and daughters (Pl. 6).<sup>162</sup> All of them are dressed in the Greek fashion and the daughters are sporting an early Hellenistic *Melonenfrisur*.<sup>163</sup> Beneath the adoration of Petosiris' son and grandson there is scene 4, which depicts a Hellenizing procession of offering bearers walking towards a female figure, who is standing under a tree (Pl. 7).<sup>164</sup> She wears a *himation* drawn over her head but leaving her breasts uncovered. According to Lefebvre, she is Petosiris' wife.<sup>165</sup> It is more likely, however, that this figure, who takes over the funerary offerings from the family of Petosiris, is either a priestess or a Greek goddess.

The pronaos program is centred on Petosiris. The case of the naos is different. The naos is divided into three naves by two rows of pillars

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would mean "protector of Egypt" and gives the translation "des hommes venus des pays étrangers gouvernaient (alors) l'Égypte" and the like. Huss 1994 116 f. suggests, however, that the phrase refers to Philip III Arrhidaios as protector of Egypt and is to be understood as a demonstration of Petosiris' loyalty towards the conquerors. For the relief blocks, see K. Parlasca: "Verschränkte Kreise" bei Decken und Mosaiken: Zur Dekoration der grossen Portikus des Thot-Tempels von Hermopolis Magna. in: M. Krause – S. Schaten (eds): *ΘΕΜΕΛΙΑ. Spätantike und koptologische Studien Peter Grossmann zum 65. Geburtstag*. Wiesbaden 1998 267–271. For the porticus, see S. Snape – D. Bailey: *The Great Portico at Hermopolis Magna: Present State and Past Prospects*. London 1988; for the inscription dating it to the reign of Philip III Arrhidaios, see *Urk.* II 1, 9 No. 6.

<sup>161</sup> C-C-G 56, 75.— For the form and significance of the tripartite costume and its individual elements cf. Winter 1978 153; Bianchi 1978; Török 1990 162 ff.; Baines 2004 50 ff.; for its origins, see Leahy 1988.

<sup>162</sup> Lefebvre 1924/2007 Pl. XIX.

<sup>163</sup> Cf. I. Linfert-Reich: *Musen- und Dichterinnenfiguren des vierten und frühen dritten Jahrhunderts*. Köln 1971 71 ff.

<sup>164</sup> Lefebvre 1924/2007 Pl. XX, bottom.

<sup>165</sup> Lefebvre 1924/2007 107.

and half-pillars. The pillars and half-pillars are decorated with Egyptian texts and traditional scenes showing Nes-Shu (E row) and Djed-Thoth-ef-Ankh (W row) before the spirits of Pharbaitos and various deities.<sup>166</sup> The program of the east nave is dedicated to the mortuary cult of Petosiris' father Nes-Shu, that of the west nave to the mortuary cult of his brother Djed-Thoth-ef-Ankh.<sup>167</sup> The base registers of the E and W walls depict two processions containing altogether 53 persons (25 on the W, 28 on the E wall, not counting the children carried by or accompanying their mothers/fathers). They are individualized with the help of an astonishingly rich visual vocabulary describing different ethnicities, professions, ages, states of mind, emotions, postures, attires, hair fashions, headdresses etc. The figures carry a not less varied array of offerings. Each procession is divided into sections. There are symmetrical correspondences between figures on the opposite walls. Each procession is led by a nude (?) youth carrying a calf. Each youth is followed by a female figure. After these first two figures, the general system on both walls is man followed by woman followed by man. This rule is broken once on the east wall<sup>168</sup> in order to divide the procession into two halves. In the first half there are Egyptian offering bearers (nos 1–15). This half is closer to the main (S) naos wall. In the second half there are attendants of southern origin (nos 16–28). As to the symmetrical correspondences, the woman no. 8 of the W procession<sup>169</sup> looks across the room at no. 8 of the E procession,<sup>170</sup> a woman who looks very much like herself. No. 18 in the W procession, a Nubian woman carrying her child (Pl. 8),<sup>171</sup> corresponds to no. 18, a Nubian man in the E one (Pl. 9).<sup>172</sup> The Nubians nos 21–22 in the W procession<sup>173</sup> correspond to the Nubians nos 20–21 in the E procession: as another indication of the ethnicity of the latter group, an elephant accompanies no. 20.<sup>174</sup> At the end of both processions foreigners are

<sup>166</sup> Lefebvre 1924/2007 153 ff.

<sup>167</sup> Petosiris is present with his long biography inscribed on the east wall: Lefebvre 1924/2007 136 ff.

<sup>168</sup> C-C-G 138 nos 11–13, three males; 139 nos 15, 16, two males; 145 f. nos 25, 26, two males.

<sup>169</sup> C-C-G 117 no. 8.

<sup>170</sup> C-C-G 138 no. 8.

<sup>171</sup> C-C-G 123, bottom, centre.

<sup>172</sup> C-C-G 140, bottom, second figure from the right.

<sup>173</sup> C-C-G 124 nos 21–22.

<sup>174</sup> C-C-G 143 nos 20–21.



walking: Greeks in the W procession,<sup>175</sup> southerners in the E procession.<sup>176</sup> The symmetrical correspondences and groupings are familiar elements of the traditional Egyptian “grammar of the temple”.<sup>177</sup>

The cavalcade of the individualized figures radiates health, energy, and harmony. The happy offering bearers and the exotic variety of the offerings present a visual hymn on human existence in a world abounding in the gifts of nature and brought to perfection by skilful activity. The warm humanity of the reliefs is especially nuanced in scenes that depict gestures of tender love exchanged between parents and their children.<sup>178</sup> To an extent, the processions correspond to the traditional base register types representing processions of sacrificial animals and/or fecundity (“Nile”) figures and known from New Kingdom and Late Period temples.<sup>179</sup> At the same time they are forerunners of Ptolemaic base registers with processions of cattle interspersed with pastoral scenes.<sup>180</sup> Their most significant feature is that they reduce the corresponding traditional base register theme to its earthly aspect: the presentation of (mortuary) offerings does not contain any open hint at its sacral contents. The “secularization” of the naos base register becomes especially obvious if we compare them to the traditional Egyptian scenes with “Nile” figures and offerings represented in the base register of the tomb façade.<sup>181</sup>

Such a “secularization” is of course not out of place in the case of the greater part of the Hellenizing reliefs from the pronaos. The workshop and agricultural scenes as well as the offering procession beneath

<sup>175</sup> C-C-G 126 nos 23, 24.

<sup>176</sup> C-C-G 146 nos 26–28.

<sup>177</sup> For the literature, see Török 2002a 42 f. note 6; for the grammar of the Nubian temples of the Napatan and Meroitic periods: *ibid.* 40–258; of the Middle and New Kingdom periods: Török 2009 209–262.

<sup>178</sup> W procession C-C-G 113 no. 3: father and son; 118 no. 12, 122 no. 16: mother and son; E procession C-C-G 136 nos 6–7: father and son.

<sup>179</sup> Cf. Baines 1985.

<sup>180</sup> See, e.g., the base register of the naos of the Thoth temple at Dakka in Lower Nubia, S. Curto: *Nubia. Storia di una civiltà favolosa*. Novara 1966 Pls 127, 128. The building of the temple was started by Ptolemy IV (221–204 BC), continued during the Upper Egyptian revolt (207/6–186 BC) by the Meroitic king Arqamani, and completed around 172–170 BC by Ptolemy VI. Cf. G. Roeder: *Der Tempel von Dakke*. Kairo 1930 133, 149 and Pls 54, 73, 102; H. Jacquet-Gordon: *Pnubs. LÄ IV* (1982) 1067–1068.—The base register relief of the Apedemak temple at Musawwarat es Sufra (cf. Chapter V) follows models of this latter type. For a later cattle relief from Meroe City: Temple M 70, Török 1997b Pl. 3.

<sup>181</sup> C-C-G 23, scene 18; 27, scene 26.

the adoration of Petosiris and his wife by their son and grandson conform to the traditional Egyptian iconography, which remains on the side of the “real” world in these particular contexts.

The three Hellenizing units of the tomb decoration, viz., Unit 1: *the presentation of Petosiris’ status in life by depicting the activities on the sacred estate governed by him*, Unit 2: *the four Greek mortuary cult scenes*, and Unit 3: *the processions of offering bearers in the naos*,<sup>182</sup> have different functions. Unit 1 gives a pictorial account about Petosiris’ identity and social role in a language that is easily understandable for both Greeks and Egyptians. Unit 2 presents the Greek viewer with a completely clear, familiar definition of the building as a tomb and place of mortuary cult. For the Egyptian viewer this unit was probably incomprehensible and superfluous. Unit 3 was still addressed to the Greek viewer, though the Egyptian viewer may also have been aware of its affinity to the traditional base register type. S/he also may have noticed that above the central portion of the east procession there is a traditional representation of offering bearers walking in the funerary procession of Nes-Shu.<sup>183</sup> In conclusion, all Hellenizing reliefs from the Petosiris tomb were meant for the Greek visitor: it was s/he and not the Egyptian visitor who was intended to receive a “lesson of acculturation” when standing in front of them. Similar lessons could be received in the late fourth and early third century BC at more places than believed so far.<sup>184</sup> In this respect, the title (and of course the contents) of Stefan Schmidt’s paper is highly relevant: *Sarapis – ein neuer Gott für die Griechen in Ägypten*<sup>185</sup> (cf. Chapter III.3).

<sup>182</sup> It was suggested that the pronaos is somewhat later than the naos, W. Guglielmi: *Reden, Rufe und Lieder auf altägyptischen Darstellungen der Landwirtschaft, Viehzucht, des Fisch- und Vogelfangs vom Mittleren Reich bis zur Spätzeit*. Tübingen 1973 218 ff.

<sup>183</sup> C-C-G 133, scene 92, 3; cf. 128.

<sup>184</sup> The relevant evidence is far from being assessed. Cf. the Hellenizing relief Berlin 2214, Parlasca 2005 fig. 3.

<sup>185</sup> Schmidt 2005b 293 ff.—For arguments against the traditional thesis according to which “Serapis was invented with the object of giving a greater degree of political and religious unity [of Greeks and Egyptians]” (D. Peacock: *The Roman Period* [30 BC–AD 311]. in: I. Shaw [ed.]: *The Oxford History of Ancient Egypt*. Oxford 2000 422–445 438, cf. J.E. Stambaugh: *Sarapis under the Early Ptolemies*. Leiden 1972 9 f., 88, 95 f., 101; G. Hölbl: *Sarapis*. *LÄ V* [1984] 870–874 etc.), see recently Huss 1994 65 f.; Huss 2001 241 ff. Cf. also P.M. Fraser: *Current Problems Concerning the Early History of the Cult of Sarapis*. *Opuscula Atheniensia* 7 (1965) 23–45; D.J. Thompson 1988 116.

The form and degree of Hellenizing is not identical in the three units. The idiosyncratic non-idealizing “polygonal” head type current in the workshop and also frequently appearing in the agricultural scenes and in the scenes of the wine harvest and the presentation of the wine to Petosiris<sup>186</sup> is indebted to Late Period portraiture.<sup>187</sup> The most conspicuous Hellenizing elements in the workshop scenes are the artifacts produced by the artisans and the costumes they are wearing. In two of the workshop scenes, however,<sup>188</sup> spatial relations are also indicated in a quasi-classical fashion by the smaller size of the figures in the background. In a scene one of the smaller figures stands behind a chest or table, which covers the lower part of his body.<sup>189</sup> In the same scene the body and the costume of another figure are shown in frontal view. There occur also more subtle indications of space in the rendering of certain postures.<sup>190</sup> The participation of sculptors possessing a more advanced knowledge of the Greek system of representation in the execution of the workshop scenes is also signaled by the extremely small head and the elongated body of a figure in scene 36<sup>191</sup> indicating the influence of the Unit 2 scene showing Petosiris’ family in front of his tomb.

Some agricultural scenes are Hellenizing similarly by means of the rendering of the costumes,<sup>192</sup> but we also find not-Egyptian stances such as that of the intendant in the bottom register on the east pronaos wall.<sup>193</sup> In a part of the agricultural scenes<sup>194</sup> the sculptor(s) also made attempts at a more naturalistic depiction of spatial relations.<sup>195</sup> In these latter reliefs Greek iconographical types too are inserted.<sup>196</sup> With the exception of the tripartite scene on the W pronaos wall, the agricultural scenes are characterized by unusually large empty (or inscription-filled)

<sup>186</sup> C-C-G 61, Scene 56 c and 56, Scene 56 a.

<sup>187</sup> Cf. Bianchi 1988 57 f.

<sup>188</sup> C-C-G 36 scene 34, 47 scene 47.

<sup>189</sup> *Ibid.* 36 scene 34.

<sup>190</sup> E.g., C-C-G 36 scene 35, right; 47 scene 47: legs and arms of squatting men.

<sup>191</sup> C-C-G 38 scene 36, centre.

<sup>192</sup> C-C-G 53–55 scenes 54–55.

<sup>193</sup> C-C-G 75 scene 60 a.

<sup>194</sup> C-C-G 65–73 scenes 58–59.

<sup>195</sup> See, e.g., the draperies in C-C-G 68 scene 58 b; 71 scene 58 d; 72 scene 59 b.

<sup>196</sup> Curly-haired, bearded old peasant wearing the Macedonian *pilos* (cf. early Hellenistic representations of old slaves, peasants and proletarians): C-C-G 65 scene 58 a, without *pilos*: 68 scene 58 b; standing Greek intendant in profile view: *ibid.* 75 scene 60 a; standing figure of sower in Greek costume, in  $\frac{3}{4}$  view: *ibid.* 77 scene 60 c.

surfaces around the figures. The great tripartite scene representing the grape harvest, the pressing of the grapes, and the presentation of the wine to Petosiris is close in the manner and degree of its Hellenizing to the workshop and agricultural scenes, but it is somewhat inferior in quality. Its sculptor(s) also inserted the traditional Egyptian type of the fuzzy-haired, emaciated slave.<sup>197</sup>

The four scenes showing episodes of Greek funerary rites represent the work of at least two differently educated masters. The scenes depicting the adorning and the killing of the sacrificial bull and the family before the tomb are Greek in every sense, except for a small detail revealing the knowledge and valuing of traditional Egyptian motifs, viz., in the scene of the killing the sacrificial bull one of Petosiris' daughter offers a pair of birds rendered in a stylizing manner that also occurs in the naos reliefs (see below).<sup>198</sup> Iconographically as well as stylistically the pronaos offering-bearers stand close to the naos processions, but they display a wider and more confident knowledge of the Greek system of representation and of Greek iconography. This is also indicated by small details such as the mother lifting her little son in the air and kissing his mouth:<sup>199</sup> a related motif would reappear on a first century BC tomb relief from Terenuthis (?).<sup>200</sup> The pronaos procession differs from the naos reliefs also on account of its extremely low rendering of the relief (a more plastical rendering occurs, characteristically, in the en face represented head of the female offering bearer in the centre of the procession and the head of the goddess or priestess receiving the offerings).<sup>201</sup>

The Hellenizing naos processions are set in space: behind the rows of the men and women walking towards the interior of the naos there are moving flocks of cattle, goats and geese and various birds can be seen flying above the processions. Some figures turn towards the spectator (or rather the procession on the opposite wall).<sup>202</sup> A woman in the east

<sup>197</sup> C-C-G 56, 57, scene 56 a; 61, 63, scene 56 c. See also 76, scene 60 b.

<sup>198</sup> C-C-G 86, scene 68 b.

<sup>199</sup> C-C-G 122, scene 88 no. 16.

<sup>200</sup> Schmidt 2003 49 f., fig. 47. For a late Ptolemaic dating of the early reliefs from Terenuthis, see *ibid.* 45 ff.

<sup>201</sup> C-C-G 91, bottom; 94, top, respectively. The head of the offering bearer and the figures of the goddess or priestess and the boy standing in front of her may have been carved by the sculptor of the sacrifice and tomb scenes, cf. *ibid.* 88, top.

<sup>202</sup> C-C-G 113 no. 3, 115 no. 8 (west procession). I refer to the numbering of the offering bearers according to C-C-G.

procession turns back to the offering-bearer behind her,<sup>203</sup> similarly to a child in the west procession, who looks back towards another child carried on the shoulder of a man, probably their father.<sup>204</sup>

The individual figures follow each other in equal distances in the monotonous manner of Egyptian representations. Their body is represented according to the Egyptian canon, and the left leg is advanced more in the case of the male than the female figures. This monotony is alleviated by the variety of the postures of the arms and above all by the extremely fresh, free and ornamental treatment of the various offerings. Yet the superimposed layers of figures, the plasticity of the relief, the variations in the postures, and the ornamental rendering of the offerings that are filling the spaces between the offering bearers give a Hellenizing impression without a consequent adoption of classical means of creating spatial interrelationships between figures placed in a relief.

In sum, the particularly fine processions of offering bearers on the east and west sidewalls of the naos represent the work of a sculptor who was equally skilled in the Greek and Egyptian systems of representation. He also had a remarkable knowledge of post-Persian vegetal motifs<sup>205</sup> and the decorative three-dimensional scrolls of Italic inspiration occurring in early Ptolemaic art.<sup>206</sup> The Egyptian roots of his art may be spotted in the circle of some splendid Thirtieth Dynasty Heliopolitan reliefs<sup>207</sup> among which we find close iconographical and stylistic predecessors.<sup>208</sup> The composition of his processions with the tightly-spaced offering-bearers and the background filled with the offerings as well as the subtle rendering of the faces and bodies that draws on the tradition of Twenty-Sixth Dynasty sculpture recalls, e.g., the procession of offering-bearers from the tomb chapel of Tjanefer.<sup>209</sup> The Nubians in the procession recall the Nubian lady musician on the

<sup>203</sup> C-C-G 138 no. 10.

<sup>204</sup> C-C-G 113 nos 2, 3.

<sup>205</sup> *ESLP* 110, cf., e.g., C-C-G 138, scene 93, nos 11–13, 140, scene 93, nos 17–19.

<sup>206</sup> C-C-G 91, bottom; 93, bottom. For the models cf. Pfrommer 1982 175 ff. and 180.

<sup>207</sup> Frequently called “neo-Memphite”, now an obsolete term, cf. *ESLP* 110.

<sup>208</sup> See also S. Nakaten: Petosiris. *LÄ* IV (1982) 995–998.

<sup>209</sup> Alexandria 380, F.W. v. Bissing: *Denkmäler ägyptischer Sculptur*. München 1914 101; Robins 1997 fig. 296.

relief lintel from Hap-*iu*'s tomb chapel;<sup>210</sup> the flower and bird offerings an unprovenanced relief in Baltimore.<sup>211</sup>

## 2. *The Arts of the Roman Period*

Our ancestral gods continually assist us, granting us health and safety.<sup>212</sup>

The Roman conquest of Alexandria on August 1 30 BC was followed by the suicide of Queen Cleopatra VII Philopator (51–30 BC) and the murder of Ptolemy XV Caesarion, the last Ptolemaic ruler. August 31, the Egyptian New Year, was declared Day 1 of Year 1 of the reign of Autocrator Kaisaros, i.e., Octavian (who would change his name to Augustus in January 27 BC) as king of Egypt. From now on, a viceregal governor with the title of Prefect of Alexandria and Egypt (*praefectus Alexandriae et Aegypti*) governed Egypt.<sup>213</sup> On account of his comprehensive administrative, military, juridical and religious authority the power of the *praefectus Aegypti* was greater than that of any governor of senatorial rank: according to Strabo (17.1.12) and Tacitus (*Hist.* 1.11), “he occupied the place of the king”. The land continued to be divided into nomes similarly to the Ptolemaic structure. The nomes were governed by *strategoï* who were subordinate to four *epistrategoï*. The adherence to traditions of the Ptolemaic administration was a pragmatic decision.<sup>214</sup>

<sup>210</sup> Cleveland 199.14, *ESLP* No. 82.

<sup>211</sup> Baltimore 22.97, *ESLP* No. 87. Cf. also Hildesheim, Pelizaeus-Museum 2244, Bianchi *et al.* 1988 Cat. 128.

<sup>212</sup> From an AD 3rd century Greek letter, about a domestic altar. P.Oxy. VI. 935, 8–12, trans. Frankfurter 1998 142.

<sup>213</sup> A. Stein: *Die Präfecten von Ägypten in der römischen Kaiserzeit*. Bern 1950; R. Katzoff: Sources of Law in Roman Egypt: The Role of the Prefect. in: *ANRW* II.13. Berlin – New York 1980 810–819; G. Geraci: Ἐπαρχία δὲ νῦν ἐστὶ. La concezione augustea del governo d'Egitto. *ANRW* II.10.1 (1988) 383–411; O. Montevecchi: L'amministrazione dell'Egitto sotto i Giulio-Claudi. *ibid.* 412–471; L. Capponi: *Augustan Egypt*. New York – London 2005; A. Jördens: *Statthalterliche Verwaltung in der römischen Kaiserzeit. Studien zum praefectus Aegypti*. Stuttgart 2009.

<sup>214</sup> E.G. Huzar: Augustus, Heir of the Ptolemies. in: *ANRW* II.10.1 (1988) 343–382. For the continuities between the Ptolemaic and Roman administration of the land, see recently Haensch 2008, *contra* N. Lewis: Greco-Roman Egypt: Fact or Fiction? in: *Proceedings of the XII International Congress of Papyrology*. Toronto 1970 3–14; Lewis 1984; cf. also J.F. Oates: The Quality of Life in Roman Egypt. in: *ANRW* II.10.1 (1988) 799–806. For the government of Ptolemaic and Roman Lower Nubia, see Török 2009 400 ff., 435 ff.

The Prefect of Egypt was appointed by, and always responsible to, the emperor. Although he inhabited the palace of the Ptolemies in Alexandria, the prefect and his staff did not replace a ruler and his court. The prefects were usually outsiders<sup>215</sup> and served rather short tenures (three or four years), yet they were experts in Roman administration and controlled a hierarchy of officials who were trained in the Egyptian structure.<sup>216</sup> The Roman administration of other eastern provinces adopted political structures developed in Hellenistic city-states. The complex governmental structure found by the Roman conqueror in Egypt was based on different traditions and it was not Romanized in the radical manner as the scholarly *communis opinio* has it.<sup>217</sup> Citizenship in the Greek cities, i.e., Alexandria,<sup>218</sup> Naukratis, and Ptolemais, to which Antinoopolis, the creation of Hadrian,<sup>219</sup> was added in AD 130, secured similar hereditary privileges as in the Ptolemaic period.<sup>220</sup> The process in which the identity of the bouleutic class (*boule*: town council) was increasingly determined by status and culture rather than ethnicity<sup>221</sup> continued in the first centuries of Roman rule and also

<sup>215</sup> With exceptions such as, e.g., Tiberius Julius Alexander (66–70). He originated from a wealthy Alexandrian Jewish family, which also included the philosopher Philo. Cf. A. Barzanò: Tiberio Giulio Alessandro, Prefetto d'Egitto (66/70). in: *ANRW II.10.1* (1988) 518–580.

<sup>216</sup> Bowman 1986 66 ff.

<sup>217</sup> Cf. first of all A. Stein: *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte und Verwaltung Ägyptens unter römischer Herrschaft*. Stuttgart 1915 80, 123 ff.; G. Geraci: Ἐπαρχία δὲ νῦν ἐστὶ. La concezione augustea del governo d'Egitto. in: *ANRW II.10.1* (1988) 383–411 398 ff.; F. Millar: *Rome, the Greek World, and the East*. Ed. H.M. Cotton – G.M. Rogers. Chapel Hill-London 2002 271–291.—Continuity over change is stressed by C. Préaux: Les continuités dans l'Égypte gréco-romaine. *Actes du X<sup>e</sup> Congrès international de Papyrologues*. Varsovie 1961 231–248. For the continuities between Ptolemaic and Roman administration, see now Rudolf Haensch's important article, Haensch 2008.

<sup>218</sup> It is worth noting that the *boule* of Alexandria was abolished by Augustus and reestablished only by Septimius Severus (A.K. Bowman: *The Town Councils of Roman Egypt*. Toronto 1971 13 f.). For the government of Alexandria, see E.G. Huzar: Alexandria ad Aegyptum in the Julio-Claudian Age. in: *ANRW II.10.1* (1988) 619–668 656 ff.

<sup>219</sup> M. Zahrnt: Antinoopolis in Ägypten: Die hadrianische Gründung und ihre Privilegien in der neueren Forschung. in: *ANRW II.10.1* (1988) 669–706.

<sup>220</sup> It is worth noting that the *boule* of Alexandria was abolished by Augustus and reestablished only by Septimius Severus (A.K. Bowman: *The Town Councils of Roman Egypt*. Toronto 1971 13 f.). For the government of Alexandria, see E.G. Huzar: Alexandria ad Aegyptum in the Julio-Claudian Age. in: *ANRW II.10.1* (1988) 619–668 656 ff.

<sup>221</sup> For ethnicity as socially constructed and for the differentiation between culture and ethnicity in Egypt, see Bagnall 1988, 1997a, 1997b; Venit 2002 68 ff., and cf. K. Goudriaan: *Ethnicity in Ptolemaic Egypt*. Amsterdam 1988; *id.*: Ethnic Strategies in

embraced the mixed Greek/Egyptian and Hellenized Egyptian propertied class of the nome capitals.

In the government records everybody who was not Roman or a citizen of one of the three, later four, *poleis* was registered as an *Egyptian*.<sup>222</sup> Roman citizenship, which secured a number of privileges, was granted to increasingly wide circles of Egyptians, until the *Constitutio Antoniniana* introduced by Caracalla in AD 212 granted it finally to all free subjects of the Empire.<sup>223</sup> With the spread of Roman citizenship the contours of the Greek/Egyptian dichotomy became even more blurred. The individual status groups within the upper and lower classes, i.e., the *honestiores* ("The More Honourable") and the *humiliores* ("The More Lowly"), respectively, were defined increasingly in terms of birth, (inherited) occupation, and wealth.<sup>224</sup>

Judith McKenzie convincingly argues that in the Roman period there was no substantial difference between the classical architecture of Alexandria and the *chôra*.<sup>225</sup> Alexandria and the cities and towns of the *Hinterland* received colonnaded main streets with monumental arches, tetrastyla (four tall columns at the major intersections) and fountain houses.<sup>226</sup> Similarly to other regions of the Roman East, their urban infrastructure was enriched with public baths, theatres, amphitheatres, racecourses, market buildings as well as classical style temples and various buildings associated with the temples such as, e.g., *komasteria*, buildings in which the processions formed.<sup>227</sup> All these building types have distinctive functional and stylistic features, which connect the architecture of the Egyptian *Hinterland* to Alexandria but are not found outside Egypt, except for regions/genres/buildings influenced by Alexandrian "baroque" architecture (Chapter III.1.2).

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Graeco-Roman Egypt. in: *Ethnicity in Hellenistic Egypt*. Aarhus 1992 74–99; S. Jones: *The Archaeology of Ethnicity. Constructing Identities in the Past and Present*. London – New York 1997.

<sup>222</sup> Lewis 1983/1999 31 ff.

<sup>223</sup> For the *Constitutio* cf. G. Alföldy: *Römische Sozialgeschichte*. 3rd edn. Wiesbaden 1984 92 f.

<sup>224</sup> Bowman 1986 128 f.

<sup>225</sup> McKenzie 2007 148 ff.

<sup>226</sup> Lukaszewicz 1986.

<sup>227</sup> For the *komasterion* in Hermopolis Magna, see D.M. Bailey: A Building of the Antonine Period. in: A.J. Spencer – D.M. Bailey – W.V. Davies: *Ashmunein 1983. British Museum Expedition to Middle Egypt (British Museum Occasional Paper No. 53)*. London 1984 29–48 42 ff.; A.J. Spencer: *The Temple Area. Excavations at el-Ashmunein 2*. London 1989 92, Pl. 3.



Egyptian style edifices or architectural elements and pharaonic or pharaonic style monumental statuary continued to be present in the cityscape of Alexandria.<sup>228</sup> As in the past, there were no ethnically separated necropoleis in the Roman city (cf. Chapter III.1.1). As a continuation of the process described in Chapter III.1.2 Egyptian religious representations and architectural forms pervaded the monumental tombs by the early first century BC. The integration of Egyptian mortuary iconography and architectural forms so that they preserved their original religious meaning was part of a general process of adopting Egyptian mortuary religion.<sup>229</sup> AD first and second century coins and bone tokens bear abbreviated depictions of traditional Egyptian style temples in Alexandria and its environs (e.g., temple of Isis, Alexandria;<sup>230</sup> temple of Osiris, Canopus/Abukir<sup>231</sup>) and of sanctuaries in a composite style (e.g., Nemesis temple outside the city with Egyptian columns supporting a segmental pediment).<sup>232</sup> Temples for Egyptian gods were also built in classical style (e.g., temple of Osiris, Isis, and Harpocrates at Ras el-Soda).<sup>233</sup>

The Alexandrian Corinthian order coexisted with the Corinthian order generally used in the Roman Empire in Alexandria as well as in the urban centres of the countryside.<sup>234</sup> Besides a rich papyrological evidence,<sup>235</sup> more or less completely preserved edifices (such as, e.g., the fountain houses at Dendera)<sup>236</sup> as well as fine capitals and other architectural members from sites in Middle and Upper Egypt<sup>237</sup> attest to monumental construction works in the first through third centuries

<sup>228</sup> Cf. Goddio *et al.* 1998.

<sup>229</sup> Kaplan 1999 7 ff.; Venit 2002 68 ff.; Riggs 2005 245 ff.; McKenzie 2007 192 ff.—For the tomb stelae from Terenuthis, see Schmidt 2003 59 ff.

<sup>230</sup> The temple of Isis was founded by Alexander according to Arr., *An.* 3.1.5; Ps.-Callisthenes, *Alexander Romance* 1.31, McKenzie 2007 383 note 18, the coin: *ibid.* fig. 39.

<sup>231</sup> Founded by Ptolemaios III Euergetes I and Berenice, McKenzie 2007 58 ff., for its depiction in the Palestrina mosaic, see *ibid.* fig. 82 and cf. P.G.P. Meyboom: *The Nile Mosaic of Palestrina. Early Evidence of Egyptian Religion in Italy.* Leiden – New York – Köln 1995.

<sup>232</sup> McKenzie 2007 185 ff.—For the type, see also, e.g., the coin reverses *Gloire* 248 Cat. 188, 189, Hadrianus; 249 Cat. 192, Antoninus Pius (M. Amandry).

<sup>233</sup> Adriani 1966 100 f.; McKenzie 2007 187.

<sup>234</sup> Pensabene 1993; McKenzie 2007 221 ff.

<sup>235</sup> Lukaszewicz 1986.

<sup>236</sup> G. Castel – F. Daumas – J.-C. Golvin: *Le temple de Dendara. Les fontaines de la porte nord.* Le Caire 1984.

<sup>237</sup> Pensabene 1993.

AD in both the architectural tradition of Ptolemaic Alexandria and the contemporary Roman style. Statuary in classical style, viz., statues of emperors and other monumental statuary erected on places and in public buildings<sup>238</sup> were conspicuous elements of the visual world in which the inhabitants of Alexandria and the cities of the *chôra* lived. The imperial portraits and the politically charged images on the coins were familiar to the broadest circles of the population, similarly to the mass-produced classical style terracottas representing deities, cult attendants, sacrificial animals and objects connected to the cults (see below). A wide range of objects of daily use—vessels, lamps, decorated textiles etc.—contributed to the shaping of a material environment that was more classical than Egyptian.

The cityscape of Alexandria, Arsinoe (Medinet el Fayoum), Oxyrhynchos (el Bahnasa), Antinoopolis (el-Sheikh 'Ibada), Hermopolis Magna (Ashmunein) and Panopolis (Akhmim) was defined primarily by classical architecture.<sup>239</sup> Monumental Egyptian temples dominated most of the urban centres, however. The building of many of these sanctuaries was started in the Ptolemaic period and continued under the Roman emperors.<sup>240</sup> Between the reigns of Augustus and Marcus Aurelius about forty smaller Egyptian style temples, chapels, and kiosks were erected in the *chôra* for the cult of Egyptian deities<sup>241</sup> alongside a great number of classical style shrines built for non-Egyptian deities.<sup>242</sup> The Egyptian style sacral buildings of the Hellenistic and Roman periods constitute a distinct, and in many respects remarkably innovative, chapter in the history of Egyptian temple architecture.<sup>243</sup>

The state kept a tight grip on priestly organization, office, authority, and lifestyle as well as on temple economy,<sup>244</sup> supporting rather than restraining the maintenance of Egyptian religious thinking, literature, and iconography<sup>245</sup> and securing the continuity of the structuring role

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<sup>238</sup> P. Graindor: *Bustes et statues-portraits d'Égypte romaine*. Cairo n.d. [1936]; Adriani 1961; Z. Kiss: *Études sur le portrait impérial romain en Égypte*. Varsovie 1984. On the dedication of statues of emperors and philosophers in Alexandria in the AD 2nd century: Cassius Dio 78.7, 22–23; McKenzie 2007 206.

<sup>239</sup> Bailey 1990; McKenzie 2007 151 ff.

<sup>240</sup> Arnold 1999 143 ff.

<sup>241</sup> Arnold 1999 225–273.

<sup>242</sup> Pensabene 1993 6 ff.

<sup>243</sup> For an overview, see Arnold 1999.

<sup>244</sup> Otto 1905–1908; Lewis 1983/1999 73 f., 90 ff.

<sup>245</sup> For the rich evidence see, e.g., D. Kurth: *Der Sarg der Teüris. Eine Studie zum Totenglauben im römerzeitlichen Ägypten*. Mainz 1990; L. Pantalacci – C. Traunecker:

played in the society by the temples and their learned priesthood.<sup>246</sup> Maintaining fertility rituals, healing cults, temple festivals, oracles and mortuary cult,<sup>247</sup> the local temples were deeply involved in the life of the communities, which increasingly supported them in the period of the Empire's economic decline starting in the third century.<sup>248</sup>

The Egyptian deities delivered oracles in Demotic as well as in Greek.<sup>249</sup> On the whole,

Greek very quickly became almost the only written language of Roman Egypt. The temples, those bastions of Egyptian identity, operated mainly in Greek, at least so far as written documentation is concerned, although they preserved much literature in Demotic for many decades.<sup>250</sup>

Fertility rituals, healing cults, temple festivals, and funerary religion were associated with a visual world that combined traditional Egyptian with Greek/Roman concepts, iconography and style. Within this world the Ptolemaic and Roman period terracottas representing Egyptian or Hellenized Egyptian deities, attendants of their cults, and animals offered to them constitute a special class, for they are almost entirely classical in form and style.<sup>251</sup> This is also true for the figurine types connected to the ritual passage from childhood to adulthood and from life to the afterlife or associated with love, marriage, conception, pregnancy, childbirth, etc.<sup>252</sup> Two crucial questions emerge here.

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*Le temple d'el-Qal'a. Relevés des scènes et des textes* I. Le Caire 1990; Borg 1996; C. Traunecker: Lessons from the Upper Egyptian Temple of el-Qal'a. in: S. Quirke (ed.): *The Temple in Ancient Egypt. New Discoveries and Recent Research*. London 1997 168–178; J. Baines: Temples as Symbols, Guarantors, and Participants in Egyptian Civilization. *Ibid.* 216–241 227 ff.; Hölbl 2001 *passim* (with further literature); see also H.-J. Thissen: Graeco-ägyptische Literatur. *LÄ* II (1972) 873–878; W.J. Tait: Demotic Literature: Forms and Genres. in: A. Loprieno (ed.): *Ancient Egyptian Literature. History and Forms*. Leiden – New York – Köln 1996 175–187.

<sup>246</sup> Cf. Frankfurter 1998 37 ff.

<sup>247</sup> Cf. D. Devauchelle: Notes sur l'administration funéraire égyptien à l'époque gréco-romaine. *BIFAO* 87 (1987) 141–165.

<sup>248</sup> Frankfurter 1998 37 ff.

<sup>249</sup> Cf. Ray 1976; L. Kákossy: Orakel. *LÄ* IV (1982) 600–606; Lewis 1983/1999 97 ff.; Frankfurter 1998 153 ff.

<sup>250</sup> Bagnall 1997a 9.

<sup>251</sup> The face and the body of Harpocrates are rendered in a classical style also in the terracottas representing the frontally enthroned child god wearing the Double Crown and a traditional kilt.

<sup>252</sup> For the types, see Weber 1914; Perdrizet 1921; E. Breccia: *Terrecotte figurate greche e greco-egizie del Museo di Alessandria (Monuments de l'Égypte Gréco-romaine II. 1)*. Bergamo 1930; Breccia 1934; Philipp 1972; Dunand 1979; Bayer-Niemeier 1988; Dunand 1990; Ewigleben – Grumbkow (eds) 1991; Fischer 1994; Török 1995; P. Bal-

Firstly: why were no, or hardly any, terracottas made in traditional Egyptian form and style, while bronze statuettes of Egyptian deities were available both in Egyptian and Greek/Roman form,<sup>253</sup> and could be offered side by side as votives in the temples of Egyptian gods or worshipped side by side in domestic shrines (as demonstrated, e.g., by an AD first-second century assemblage from Sais [Sa el Haggar]).<sup>254</sup> The second question is: who were the classical style figurines of Egyptian gods made for?

Before trying to provide answers to these questions in Chapter III.3, I have to deal with a related problem. Namely, from the viewpoint of this study the most significant feature of the classical style terracotta figurines is that the greater part of them was associated with Egyptian cults, Egyptian temples and Egyptian festivals in their quality as devotional objects kept in domestic shrines,<sup>255</sup> or votives offered in temples, or placed as amulets in burials. Though the provenance of most of the terracottas is not known, depots of terracottas discovered at the temples of Ras el-Soda,<sup>256</sup> Edfu<sup>257</sup> and Coptos<sup>258</sup> as well as the phallic figurines from Memphis<sup>259</sup> strongly support the assumption that the classical style terracotta images of Egyptian deities were associated with actual local cult temples, even if there are no iconographical features that would distinguish from each other the individual local forms of the same deity.

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let: Terres cuites d'Alexandrie et de la chôra. Essai d'étude comparative de quelques ateliers. Thèmes et techniques. *BCH Suppl.* 33 (1998) 217–343; H. Szymanska: *Terres cuites d'Athribis*. Turnhout 2005; Bailey 2008.

<sup>253</sup> Cf. G. Daressy: *Statues de divinités. Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire, Nos 38.001–39.384*. Le Caire 1905–1906.

<sup>254</sup> M.-F. Boussac – M. Seif el Din: Le trésor de Tanta. in: *Gloire* 166 ff., Cats 113–118.

<sup>255</sup> Cf. G. Nachtergaele: Les terres cuites “du Fayoum” dans les maisons de l'Égypte romaine. *CdÉ* 60 (1985) 223–229.—For the giving of bronze (or, less frequently, silver) statuettes of Aphrodite in dowries, doubtless as fertility amulets, see A. Bülow-Jacobsen – J.E.G. Whitehorne (eds): *The Oxyrhynchos Papyri* XLIX. London 1982 P.Oxy. 3491; F. Burkhalter: Les statuettes en bronze d'Aphrodite en Égypte romaine d'après les documents papyrologiques. *RA* 1990 51–60. For Ptolemaic and Roman terracottas of Aphrodite: Török 1995 Cat. 4.

<sup>256</sup> A. Adriani: *Annuario del Museo Greco-Romano, 1940–1950*. Alexandria 1952 28 ff.

<sup>257</sup> H. Szymanska: Les terres cuites d'Edfou. in: *Tell Edfou soixante ans après. Actes du colloque franco-polonais, Le Caire 15 octobre 1996. Fouilles franco-polonaises* 4 (1999) 73–82.

<sup>258</sup> Ballet 2002.

<sup>259</sup> Cf. Boutantin 2006.

The combination of the cult of an Egyptian deity with Hellenizing iconographical types and with the classical system of representation is especially interesting in the case of Horus-the-Child (Egyptian Ḥr-pꜣ-ḥrd) and the other child gods<sup>260</sup> whose terracotta images the literature identifies traditionally, and in many cases certainly wrongly, as Ḥr-pꜣ-ḥrd, Ἀποχράτης, Harpocrates. Horus-the-Child and the other child gods were worshipped all over the country in Egyptian sanctuaries and were represented on their walls *only* in traditional Egyptian fashion.<sup>261</sup> Yet the believers offered *only* classical style terracotta votives in the same temples and could bring back home from their festivals *only* classical style clay figurines of deities to be placed in their domestic shrines or meant for other religious uses. As to the actual significance of the festivals, David Frankfurter's remark is worth quoting here:

[T]he festivals were...moments of interaction between the religious symbols preserved within the temples and a populace without, in need of the concrete power of those symbols and accustomed to the traditional social interaction of the festival.<sup>262</sup>

Would this mean that a pilgrim returning home from the festival of an Egyptian deity and bringing back with him/her a classical style figurine of this deity did not make any essential difference between the Egyptian and the classical images of the native deities or between the Egyptian and the classical renderings of the themes associated with their cult? It may seem that for an explanation we could turn to the particularly rich visual evidence of funerary religion, where classical style representations were increasingly combined with Egyptian texts and mortuary cult scenes in the course of the Ptolemaic and Roman periods. Yet this is not so. In the visual world of funerary religion classical iconography and the classical system of representation are limited on the depiction of the world in which the deceased lived. Passing the boundary of the netherworld, the deceased entered the world of traditional Egyptian mortuary religion, iconography, and system of representation. Nevertheless, the way to an (however tentative) explanation

<sup>260</sup> For the evidence, see E. Laskowska-Kusztal: Deux aspects du culte du Dieu-Enfant dans l'Égypte ptolémaïque et romaine. *ÉtTrav* 8 (1975) 125–133; Budde – Sandri – Verhoeven (eds) 2003; Budde 2005; Sandri 2004, 2005, 2006, 2007, all with further literature.

<sup>261</sup> For an overview, see Sandri 2004.

<sup>262</sup> Frankfurter 1998 56.—Cf. C.J. Bleeker: *Egyptian Festivals. Enactments of Religious Renewal*. Leiden 1967 esp. 23 ff.

can by no means completely avoid the mortuary evidence. Before we would turn to monuments of high art, let us first briefly consider the production of the mortuary stela workshop(s) at Terenuthis (Kom Abou Billou) in the Western Delta.

The majority of the Terenuthis stelae<sup>263</sup> are decorated with a raised or sunk relief representation of the deceased. There are also stelae commemorating two or more members of the same family. Most of the stelae bear a short mortuary inscription in Greek. Although the majority of the names occurring in the stela inscriptions are Greek, there are numerous Egyptian names too. The Greek names may, however, have belonged to persons of Egyptian origin. There are also Demotic inscriptions commemorating persons with Egyptian names. The reliefs of these particular stelae do not differ iconographically from types inscribed in Greek for persons with Greek names. The stelae were inserted in niches in the front of the mud-brick tomb superstructures. Several tomb superstructures were covered with plaster or whitewash and decorated with classical style polychrome figural and ornamental paintings.<sup>264</sup> The painted decoration of the tomb superstructure fronts, the stelae in the niches, and the Egyptian-type mortuary offering tables placed in front of the tombs indicate that the burials were regarded as shrines of the mortuary cult of the deceased.

For lack of excavation records, the context and the dating of the individual Terenuthis stelae remain obscure. The earliest examples, which date probably from the first century BC, display the impact of second-first century BC Alexandrian tomb reliefs.<sup>265</sup> While coin finds indicate that the necropolis itself continued to be in use in the AD fourth century, the latest stelae are hardly later than the middle decades of the AD third century. Among the late monuments from Terenuthis

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<sup>263</sup> Hooper 1961; Parlasca 1970; Shafik Farid: Preliminary Report on the Excavations of the Antiquities Department at Kôm Abû Billo. *ASAE* 61 (1973) 21–26; S.A.A. el-Nassery – G. Wagner: Nouvelles stèles de Kom Abu Bellou. *BIFAO* 78 (1978) 231–258; Abd el-Al – Grenier – Wagner 1985; A. Abdalla: *Graeco-Roman Funerary Stelae from Upper Egypt*. Liverpool 1992; R.V. McCleary: Ancestor Cults at Terenouthis in Lower Egypt: A Case for Greco-Egyptian Oecumenism. in: Johnson (ed.) 1992 221–229; J.K. Winnicki: Demotische Stelen aus Terenuthis. *Ibid.* 351–360; J. Pelsmaekers: Studies on the Funerary Stelae from Kom Abu Billou. *Bulletin de l'Institut Historique Belge de Rome* 65 (1995) 5–12; Schmidt 2003 44 ff.; L. Török: *After the Pharaohs. Treasures of Coptic Art from Egyptian Collections*. Budapest 2005 41 ff., all with further literature.

<sup>264</sup> Hooper 1961 Pl. 3/b; Schmidt 2003 57 ff.

<sup>265</sup> Schmidt 2003 47 f.

we find a stela commemorating a couple where the husband sports the beard and hairstyle of the Emperor Caracalla (198–217), while the coiffure of his wife imitates that of Caracalla's wife Plautilla.<sup>266</sup>

The typological range of the stela reliefs is fairly limited and the individual iconographic types underwent little change in the course of the long period between the first century BC and the AD third century. There are three principal types: the deceased may be represented standing with raised arms or performing a sacrifice; reclining on a funerary bed and receiving mortuary offerings; asymmetrically squatting. All three types may occur on the same stela commemorating members of the same family. The quality range is far larger. At the top of the quality scale are a stela in the Coptic Museum and a stela in the Alexandria National Museum. The first<sup>267</sup> commemorates Hephaistas, an *ex-agoranomos* (magistrate in charge of the operation of the public markets) and *ex-gymnasiarch* (head of a gymnasium). He was doubtless a leading citizen of Terenuthis. The second, uninscribed, stela<sup>268</sup> represents a lady wearing a coiffure that was fashionable around the middle of the second century. She is shown reclining on a couch, which is framed by a niche-architecture with an Alexandrian-type conch and Alexandrian-type column capitals. The two fine reliefs stand out from the mass of the mediocre or poor-quality carvings from Terenuthis and were obviously individually commissioned. By contrast, most of the stelae of inferior quality were "pre-fabricated" and acquired from the stores of the sculptors' workshops. They were connected to individual persons only through their added inscriptions.

On a great number of stelae the deceased appears between the Horus falcon and the jackal form of Anubis, the Egyptian god of embalming and guardian of the cemeteries, or between two jackal-form gods, viz., Anubis and Wepwawet; or before Anubis. The posture of the deceased with his/her arms raised may be interpreted on the basis of Chapter 125 of the Egyptian Book of the Dead as the joyful posture of the dead when s/he successfully passes the trial of the weighing of his/her heart before the tribunal of the gods and is accepted by Osiris in the

<sup>266</sup> Wien, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Antikensammlung I 262, W. Seipel (ed.): *Bilder aus dem Wüstensand. Mumienportraits aus dem Ägyptischen Museum Kairo*. Wien 1998 219 no. 141.

<sup>267</sup> Coptic Museum TS 1430, Abd el-Al – Grenier – Wagner 1985 32 f. no. 142, Pl. 36.

<sup>268</sup> Formerly Cairo JE 67848, H. Riad: *Funerary Stelae from Kom Abou-Bellou (Terenuthis)*. *BSAA* 44 (1991) 169–200 175 f., fig. 16.

afterlife.<sup>269</sup> The squatting figures derive from the traditional Egyptian iconography of children and child gods. By contrast, the iconographic type of the reclining deceased is of Hellenic origin, yet it is Egyptianized by the addition of the Egyptian deities and mortuary offerings.

Similarly to the iconography, the system of representation combines Egyptian and classical features. The figures are shown frontally in a classical contrapposto, yet—especially on earlier stelae—the lower half of the body may also be shown in side view according to the Egyptian tradition of relief representation. On better-quality stelae the rendering of the body forms under the drapery reflects the influence of classical sculpture. The modeling of the draperies indicates, however, that the average artisan working at Terenuthis was trained in the traditional Egyptian style and only the most skilled sculptors possessed a somewhat better knowledge of the classical system of representation.<sup>270</sup> Egyptian and Greek/Roman elements appear within the same composition, but while the combination of features borrowed from the Egyptian and the classical systems is rather haphazard in the figure of the deceased and his/her family members, the Egyptian deities are represented, as a rule, in the Egyptian fashion.

### 3. *Greek Images of Egyptian Deities: For Whom?*

As Christina Riggs argues in her magisterial book on *The Beautiful Burial in Roman Egypt*,

[n]aturalistic representations of the dead were ultimately the product of the Eastern Mediterranean's portrait-oriented culture, which brought Greek forms of self-presentation into contemporary artistic discourse. Like their sculptural counterparts, painted portraits could function as cult objects and were thus well-suited to funerary ritual use... But naturalistic portraits rarely stood alone. They were incorporated into a physical Egyptian context... and into an established Egyptian way of thinking

<sup>269</sup> Abd el-Al – Grenier – Wagner 1985 82 ff.; cf. D. Meeks – C. Favard-Meeks: *Daily Life of the Egyptian Gods*. London 1996 145 ff.; J. Assmann: *Tod und Jenseits im Alten Ägypten*. München 2001 100 ff.

<sup>270</sup> This is also obvious if we consider the traditional rendering of the faces on one of the finest early (Augustan?) stelae formerly in the Berman collection, Rome, see Parlasca 1970 Pl. LXII/a; L. Török: Notes on Prae-Coptic and Coptic Art (Romano-Egyptian and Coptic Antiquities in a Private Collection I.). *Acta Arch. Hung.* 29 (1977) 125–153 130 ff.



about death and the dead. The portraits capture the liminality of dying by showing the deceased “as in life” in contrast to the traditional Egyptian forms that were retained for the gods and, often, for the deceased as transfigured in the afterlife.<sup>271</sup> ... Features of the Egyptian funerary portraits, like tunics, mantles, and beards, would have been read in keeping with the societal predilection for cultivating Greek language, education, and values... The fact that Greek identity could be framed within the traditional Egyptian sphere of Egyptian mortuary practices indicates the extent to which Greekness had become a desirable model for the self.<sup>272</sup>

The identical main wall decoration of the two chambers called “Persephone Tombs” (AD first or second century) in the “Hall of Caracalla” at Kom el-Shoqafa presents in two superimposed registers an Egyptian and a Greek rendering of the theme of death and resurrection. In the upper register the mummification of the dead by Anubis is depicted in traditional Egyptian style, while in the lower register the abduction of Persephone is shown in a Hellenizing style.<sup>273</sup> The upper scene is a mortuary cult scene *sensu stricto* representing the preparation of the owner of the tomb for afterlife by the gods. By contrast, the lower one is hardly more than a visual metaphor.

The particular conceptional and iconographical scheme employed in the Persephone Tombs and elsewhere<sup>274</sup> presents only one possible form of the Egyptian-Greek/Roman dialogue in the visual articulation of religious concepts. In funerary religion there existed many different types and degrees as well as different local traditions of the combination of Egyptian and Greek/Roman religious and social conceptions and visual forms. The spectrum is wide. It includes the “Main Tomb” of the Great Catacomb at Kom el-Shoqafa, Alexandria,<sup>275</sup> where the architecture and the sculpted relief decoration depicting Egyptian ritual scenes and deities present a unique integration of Egyptian and Greek/Roman concepts, forms and styles. It also includes statue-like

<sup>271</sup> Riggs 2005 174.

<sup>272</sup> *Ibid.* 251 f.—Cf. also Lieven 2004.

<sup>273</sup> For the now badly damaged paintings, see A.-M. Guimier-Sorbets – M. Seif el-Din: Les deux tombes de Perséphone dans la nécropole de Kom el-Chougafa à Alexandrie. *BCH* 121 (1997) 355–410; Venit 2002 145 f.—Persephone and Hades at Tuna el-Gebel, Tomb 3: Gabra – Drioton 1954 Pl. 14.

<sup>274</sup> For a tomb relief of unknown context from Terenuthis (Kom Abu Billou) with the figures of Persephone and Hades in the left, of Anubis in the right half of the relief field, see Z. Aly: Some Funerary Stelae from Kom Abu Bellou. *BSAA* 38 (1949) 53–88 Pl. 6/a (discussed as stela: also Kaplan 1999 Pl. 11/b; Lieven 2004 312).

<sup>275</sup> Venit 2002 126 ff., AD 1st century.

coffins;<sup>276</sup> naturalistic mummy portraits inserted in Egyptian mummy cases,<sup>277</sup> depictions of the deceased in a classical fashion but inserted in Egyptian mortuary cult scenes referring to rites preceding the entrance of the dead into afterlife.<sup>278</sup> It includes furthermore classical representations of the deceased on Egyptian-type stelae.<sup>279</sup> We have discussed above (Chapter III.2) the Terenuthis stelae (and related stelae from other sites) uniting mortuary scene types of Eastern Greek origins with elements of Egyptian funerary religion.<sup>280</sup> But there are also tombs, coffins, mummy cases, masks and shrouds, which display no Greek/Roman conceptual and visual elements at all.<sup>281</sup> Christina Riggs illustrates a pair of shrouds from the same site and painted probably by the same artist, one with the depiction of a male deceased in the form of Osiris, the other with the naturalistic portrait of a lady. According to Riggs, the two shrouds demonstrate that the choice between an Egyptian and a Greek “portrait” was determined by personal preferences rather than ethnicity or chronology.<sup>282</sup>

Let us return here to our starting point, viz., the terracottas representing Egyptian deities and attendants of their cults and the clay figurines associated with personal religion. The lessons drawn so far from the visual aspect of the Egyptian-Greek dialogue in funerary religion render the question even more acute: why was there such a small room (which disappeared then completely with the times) in the case of the terracottas for a choice between an Egyptian and a classical depiction of an Egyptian deity? Why could the believer—who, for some (in most cases certainly financial) reason, would not or could not acquire a traditional style bronze image—get access only to an *interpretatio Graeca* of his/her god?

<sup>276</sup> E.g., Berlin 17127, Riggs 2005 fig. 70.

<sup>277</sup> Cf. Borg 1996.

<sup>278</sup> E.g., Tuna el-Gebel, House 21, AD 1st century, Gabra – Drioton 1954 Pls 25–29; Riggs 2005 129 ff.

<sup>279</sup> E.g., Alexandria 3215, Pensabene 1983 95 No. 9.

<sup>280</sup> Schmidt 2003 57 ff.

<sup>281</sup> See, e.g., the burial assemblages of the Soter family from Western Thebes, Riggs 2005 182 ff.; cf. L. Kákosy: The Soter Tomb in Thebes. in: Vleeming (ed.) 1995 61–68. Note that several objects from the Soter burials were inscribed in Greek, see K. Van Landuyt: The Soter Family: Genealogy and Onomastics. in: Vleeming (ed.) 1995 69–82.

<sup>282</sup> Riggs 2005 252 ff., figs 125, 126, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 25.184.20 and 26.5, respectively.

We must start with the observation that the Egyptian pantheon is remarkably underrepresented among the terracottas produced during the Ptolemaic and Roman periods,<sup>283</sup> even if we take it for granted that the image of an Egyptian god or goddess could also be considered to enclose the representation of a great number of local forms of the same deity. Taking together the Ptolemaic and Roman periods, the material contains less than twenty deities who can be given an individual name (even if this name summarizes many local forms of the same deity). The terracotta material includes figures of Antaios (=the Egyptian falcon god Nemtiwy/Antiwy of Antaiopolis),<sup>284</sup> Anubis, Apis, Bes, Harpocrates (and the various unidentified local child gods represented according to his iconography), Hathor, Horus, Isis, the “Naked Goddess” (variously identified as Aphrodite, Aphrodite-Hathor, Isis-Hathor),<sup>285</sup> Nile, Osiris, and Thoth. I prefer to list Sarapis, Agathos Daimon, the snake-bodied Good Spirit of Alexandria associated with Sarapis,<sup>286</sup> and the similarly snake-bodied Isis-Agathe Tyche, the Good Fortune, with the Greek/Roman deities.

We do not find terracotta images of such major gods as Amun, Amun-Re, Khnum, Khonsu, Montu, Mut, Ptah, or Re-Harakhte, while the Greek/Roman pantheon worshipped in Egypt,<sup>287</sup> as a whole, is doubtless more completely represented. The limited number of Egyptian deities calls for explanation the more so that in the meantime the ancient major gods of the land, their local hypostases, and an infinite number of minor deities continued to be worshipped in the great “national” temples as well as in smaller sanctuaries and in neighbourhood chapels standing everywhere in the urban centres and villages of

<sup>283</sup> Cf. Bailey 2008 7.

<sup>284</sup> Bailey 2008 20 f.

<sup>285</sup> Cf. Bailey 2008 7 ff.

<sup>286</sup> F. Dunand: Agathodaimon. *LIMC* I (1981) 281–282. Cf. Fraser 1972 II 349 f., 356 f. note 164; P.M. Fraser: A Plaster Anguiform Sarapis. in: *Alessandria e il mondo ellenistico-romano. Studi in onore di Achille Adriani* II. Roma 1984 348–351; G. Clerc – J. Leclant: Sarapis. *LIMC* VII (1994) 666–692; D.M. Bailey: A Snake-legged Dionysos from Egypt, and Other Divine Snakes. *JEA* 93 (2007) 263–270 266 ff.

<sup>287</sup> For Agathos Daimon, Aphrodite, Apollo, Ares, Artemis, Athena, Demeter, Dionysos, the Dioscuri, Eros, Hephaistos, Hera, Heracles, Hermes, Pan, Priapos, Sarapis, Tyche, and Zeus cf. the evidence presented in Weber 1914; Perdrizet 1921; Breccia 1930, 1934; Philipp 1972; Bayer – Niemeier 1988; Dunand 1990; Ewigleben – Grumbkow (eds) 1991; S. Besques: *Musée National du Louvre. Catalogue raisonné des figurines et reliefs en terre-cuite grecs, étrusques et romains* IV, II. *Époques hellénistique et romaine, Cyrénaïque, Égypte ptolémaïque et romaine, Afrique du Nord et Proche-Orient*. Paris 1992; Fischer 1994; Török 1995; Bailey 2008.

Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt.<sup>288</sup> From Alexander the Great to Cleopatra, the Macedonian rulers of Egypt invested on a grand scale in the building, extension and restoration of temples dedicated to Egyptian deities.<sup>289</sup> The evidence for private donations is also imposing.<sup>290</sup> And, as we have seen, the building and restoration of sanctuaries of Egyptian gods and goddesses continued under Roman rule.

There were numerous temples all over the country the divine inhabitants of which attracted pilgrims from distant parts of the land such as Buchis at Hermonthis (Armant), Bes delivering oracles in the temple of Osiris at Abydos,<sup>291</sup> Imhotep/Imouthes/Asklepios, the great healing god, at Ptolemaic Memphis,<sup>292</sup> Min at Panopolis (Akhmim),<sup>293</sup> Mandulis (also delivering oracles) at the remote Kalabsha in Lower Nubia,<sup>294</sup> Sobek at Soknopaiou Nesos (Dimeh) in the Fayoum,<sup>295</sup> Taweret at Oxyrhynchos,<sup>296</sup> Tutu (also delivering oracles) at Shenhur<sup>297</sup> etc. At Soknopaiou Nesos several seven to nineteen day festivals, totaling about 150 days in the year, were held to celebrate Sobek's birthday, Isis' wedding day, the anniversary of the foundation of the temple etc.<sup>298</sup> As it seems, terracottas were not specially associated with these cult places and with their festivals, unless they are hidden in the unprovenanced mass of clay statuettes of Bes and of phallic figures, or among the crocodile figures without special divine attributes but possibly associated (at least partly) with Soknopaiou Nesos.<sup>299</sup> Figures of cult attendants cannot always be associated with a concrete deity or festival, either. No terracotta figures of Mandulis or Tutu are known, while both gods

<sup>288</sup> For the religious topography of a region, and a town, respectively, see Rübsam 1974; Krüger 1990.

<sup>289</sup> D.J. Thompson 1988 114 ff.; Huss 1994 27–39.

<sup>290</sup> Otto 1905–1908 I 398 f.; Huss 1994 21 ff.

<sup>291</sup> For the evidence, see Frankfurter 1998 169 ff.

<sup>292</sup> For the Ptolemaic and Roman cult of Imhotep, see D. Wildung: *Imhotep und Amenhotep. Gottwerdung im alten Ägypten*. München-Berlin 1977 88 ff.; D.J. Thompson 1988 209 ff.

<sup>293</sup> Frankfurter 1998 107.

<sup>294</sup> Cf. Török 2009 444 ff.

<sup>295</sup> Cf. Frankfurter 1998 98 ff.; Lembke 1998.

<sup>296</sup> Krüger 1990 101 f.; J. Whitehorne: The Pagan Cults of Roman Oxyrhynchos. in: ANRW II.18.5 (1995) 3050–3091 3080 ff.

<sup>297</sup> C. Traunecker: Schanhur. LÄ V (1984) 528–531; J. Quaegebeur: L'appel au divin: le bonheur des hommes mis dans la main des dieux. in: J.-G. Heintz (ed.): *Oracles et prophéties dans l'antiquité: Actes du colloque de Strasbourg 15–17 juin 1995*. Paris 1997 15–34.

<sup>298</sup> Lewis 1983/1999 91.

<sup>299</sup> Philipp 1972 No. 8; Dunand 1990 Nos 885–888; Bailey 2008 No. 3267.

have a well-developed iconography.<sup>300</sup> This void dramatically contrasts with the picture presented by traditional style votives of more expensive kinds: abundantly produced carved and painted stelae, statuettes in stone, silver, bronze, wood, faience, plaster were associated with almost all of these deities and with their principal cult places, which were visited from all over the country on account of their famous festivals, oracles, or the healing power they possessed.

The chronology of the emergence of the Egyptian deities' classical images is intrinsic to our investigation, as is also the life span of the individual types. In the first place, it must be realized that the offering of clay statuettes of deities as votives in temples and/or the keeping of clay figurines of gods in domestic shrines was not a native Egyptian tradition: it was a *Greek* tradition. There are special cases, however: the "Nude Goddess" seems to be the "translation" of pharaonic fertility figurines, and the production of figurines of Bes, a beneficent demon associated with women, sexuality, married life, childbirth, magic, etc. seems to have been continuous from pharaonic times.<sup>301</sup>

Returning to the individual types, Antaios, though represented on wall paintings and reliefs, occurs in the published terracotta material extremely rarely, only in a classical style, and, as it seems, only in the AD second century.<sup>302</sup> Terracottas representing the god Nile are limited similarly to the Roman period and all are classical in style.<sup>303</sup> In spite of the importance of his cult (and cult places such as, e.g., the Anubieion at Memphis), terracotta figures of Anubis are also very rare.<sup>304</sup>

By contrast, figurines (standing or couchant,<sup>305</sup> full figure or in relief in a shrine) of Apis are frequent throughout the Ptolemaic and Roman periods, similarly to protomes of the Apis Bull. The latter depict the mummy of the god, which is also represented being carried by priests in a procession.<sup>306</sup> Exemplars of all types were found in some quantity at Memphis, while they are less markedly present in assemblages

<sup>300</sup> J. Quaegebeur: Tithoes. *LÄ VI* (1986) 602–606; H. Gauthier: *Le temple de Kalabchah I–II*. Le Caire 1911.

<sup>301</sup> Cf. B.J. Kemp: How Religious Were the Ancient Egyptians? *CAJ* 5 (1995) 25–54; G. Pinch: *Votive Offerings to Hathor*. Oxford 1993; L. Meskell: *Archaeologies of Social Life. Age, Sex, Class et cetera in Ancient Egypt*. Oxford-Malden 1999 100 ff., 169 ff.

<sup>302</sup> Bailey 2008 No. 3111.

<sup>303</sup> Weber 1914 No. 210; Dunand 1990 Nos 424, 425, from the same mould.

<sup>304</sup> Dunand 1990 No. 1.—For bronze statuettes cf., e.g., Beck – Bol – Bückling (eds) 2005 Nos 193, 194.

<sup>305</sup> E.g., Breccia 1934 No. 396, Pl. CXI/637; Dunand 1990 Nos 915, 916, 926.

<sup>306</sup> Bailey 2008 No. 3148.

from other sites.<sup>307</sup> It is thus likely that the various terracotta Apis Bull images were connected to the Memphite cult of the living Apis Bull, a great god closely associated with Sarapis, an incarnation of Ptah, the principal god of Memphis, and of the dead Apis, worshipped in death as Osorapis,<sup>308</sup> lord of the necropolis of Memphis, god of fertility and the Netherworld. The Apis sanctuary was a “national” shrine drawing pilgrims from the entire country. Apis delivered oracles<sup>309</sup> and one could consult expert interpreters of dreams in and around his sanctuary.<sup>310</sup> The death of the Apis Bull was announced nationwide<sup>311</sup> and the temples of the entire land contributed materials for its mummification.<sup>312</sup>

The couchant or standing Apis Bull or the Apis bust was not classicized. The Roman types follow Ptolemaic types, which, in turn, are indebted to Late Period sculptural models. The Apis Bull also appears, however, in Hellenizing compositions representing his nursing by Isis<sup>313</sup> or the funerary procession of the Apis mummy. Isis was regarded the mother of Apis by the Late Period. In Memphis a temple was dedicated to “Isis, Mother of Apis”.<sup>314</sup> She was represented throughout the Ptolemaic and Roman periods in this quality in cult statues showing the goddess offering her breast to the bull. The nursing of Apis by Isis had a wide range of connotations, also including chthonic ones.<sup>315</sup> Giving suck to the new Apis, Isis also legitimated the successor of the deceased Apis Bull.<sup>316</sup> Besides the succession of the Apis Bull, the type may also be associated with the concept of royal legitimacy.

Terracotta figures of Horus are limited to the earlier Ptolemaic period. They represent the enthroned god in a traditional Egyptian style.<sup>317</sup> The Hellenized image of the falcon-headed god appears only in

<sup>307</sup> Cf. Boutantin 2006 315.

<sup>308</sup> Cf. D.J. Thompson 1988 198 ff.

<sup>309</sup> D.J. Thompson 1988 254, 274.

<sup>310</sup> Ray 1976 130 ff.

<sup>311</sup> Herodotus, III 27 ff.

<sup>312</sup> Plut., *de Is.* 20.

<sup>313</sup> E.g., Breccia 1934 No. 40, Pl. X/37; Ewigleben – Grumbkow (eds) 1991 fig. 34; Török 1995 Cat. 106.

<sup>314</sup> Dunand 1979 61 note 105 with reference to the recently discovered archaeological evidence for the Nectanebos II temple; for its earlier origins see D.J. Thompson 1988 9, 10, 30 f., 194.

<sup>315</sup> Cf. Török 1995 30.

<sup>316</sup> Dunand 1979 61 f.

<sup>317</sup> Cf. Dunand 1990 No. 326.

other genres, first of all among bronze statuettes produced in the Ptolemaic and Roman periods.<sup>318</sup> The eclipse of the production of Egyptian style (human-headed or falcon-headed) Horus terracottas may perhaps be brought into connection with the emergence of terracotta types representing (first?) the youthful and (then?) the child Horus. Several fine terracotta statuettes representing the youthful Horus indicate that it was the Egyptian-type statue representing the enthroned Ptolemy V Epiphanes as youthful Horus and erected in Memphis at his coronation that set forth this development.<sup>319</sup> Some iconographical details of the lost monumental statue may be inferred from small calcite,<sup>320</sup> terracotta<sup>321</sup> and faience heads.<sup>322</sup> A remarkable terracotta statuette in the Louvre may also have been based on the lost cult statue. It represents an attempt at the Hellenizing of the traditional type:<sup>323</sup> while the enthroned youthful god wears the Double Crown, his multilayered Ptolemaic costume is draped in a classical fashion.

The beneficent Bes, a powerful apotropaic and protective demon, and his consort Beset occur in many types and in enormous quantities. Bes' appearance preserves significant features of his pharaonic iconography, such as the frontality of most types and the rendering of the face. But it is Hellenized early in the Ptolemaic period as to postures (various fighting Bes types) and attributes (e.g., the Macedonian armour of the armed type).<sup>324</sup> The overwhelming majority of the Bes and Beset terracottas date to the Ptolemaic period, and, as Bailey notes,<sup>325</sup> no Bes or Beset terracotta was found at the Roman

<sup>318</sup> E.g., Paris E.16.256, Kákosy 1995 fig. 8; Beck – Bol – Bückling (eds) 2005 Nos 197, 198.

<sup>319</sup> Cf. the Rosetta Decree, *Urk.* II.2 192.

<sup>320</sup> Kyrieleis 1975 54, 172 f- Nos E 1, E 2. The material was formerly known as Egyptian alabaster; according to a recent suggestion it should be defined as travertine, cf. B.G. Aston – J.A. Harrell – I. Shaw: Stone. in: P.T. Nicholson – I. Shaw (eds): *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Technology*. Cambridge 2000 59 f.; T. de Putter: Aperçu de la géologie de l'Égypte et des régions limitrophes. in: C. Karlshausen – T. de Putter (eds): *Pierres égyptiennes chefs-d'œuvre pour l'éternité*. Mons 2000 15–24; J. Baines – C. Riggs: Archaism and Kingship: A Late Royal Statue and Its Early Dynastic Model. *JEA* 87 (2001) 103–118 104 f.

<sup>321</sup> Kyrieleis 1975 173 E 5.

<sup>322</sup> *Ibid.* E 3.

<sup>323</sup> Dunand 1990 No. 220.

<sup>324</sup> Török 1995 35; Bailey 2008 18 f.

<sup>325</sup> Bailey 2008 18.

period settlement of Karanis.<sup>326</sup> The god's association with Memphis is articulated in an early Ptolemaic type in which his feathered crown is surmounted by a naos of the Apis Bull.<sup>327</sup>

In the manifold iconography of Harpocrates there are only one or two traditional Egyptian types, viz., the frontally enthroned Harpocrates<sup>328</sup> and the vessel in the form of a Harpocrates bust.<sup>329</sup> They date to the early Ptolemaic period. It seems that it was the emergence of the Hellenizing Harpocrates types associated with Ptolemaic royal cult that eclipsed these types alongside their subtypes. By the early Ptolemaic period Harpocrates was closely associated with the cult of Ptah-Sokaris-Osiris and thus with mortuary cult. From this association a phallic type of the child god emerged.<sup>330</sup> For a long period the phallic child god remained a guarantor of afterlife. His cult also constituted an organic part of the official cult of Sarapis, his consort Isis and his son Harpocrates established by the early Ptolemies.<sup>331</sup> Harpocrates son of Sarapis continued to possess the features of Horus, son and heir of Osiris and he played, accordingly, a significant role in the popular ideology of the Ptolemies' royal legitimacy in both Greek and Egyptian contexts.<sup>332</sup>

The Greek iconography of Horus-the-Child was shaped by the relationship between the royal house and the divine family of Sarapis, Isis and Harpocrates, which is given clear expression in a series of third century BC dedications<sup>333</sup> and also indicated by the identification of Ptolemaic rulers with the young Horus<sup>334</sup> or representations of crown

<sup>326</sup> Cf. M.L. Allen: *The Terracotta Figurines from Karanis: A Study of Technique, Style and Chronology in Fayoumic Coroplastics I*. Ph.D. dissertation, Univ. of Michigan 1985. University Microfilms, Ann Arbor 1987.

<sup>327</sup> Breccia 1934 No. 192, Pl. L/246; Bailey 2008 No. 3100 EA. Beset with Apis shrine in front of her feather crown: Fischer 1994 No. 558.

<sup>328</sup> E.g., Breccia 1934 Nos 48, 49, Pl. XXXVIII/184, 183, respectively; Dunand 1990 Nos 220–225; Török 1995 Cat. 56; Bailey 2008 Nos 3034–3038.

<sup>329</sup> E.g., Török 1995 Cat. 55.

<sup>330</sup> Cf. Fischer 1994; Török 1995 20 ff.; Fischer 1998.

<sup>331</sup> J.E. Stambaugh: *Sarapis under the Early Ptolemies*. Leiden 1972; Huss 1994 58 ff.; G. Clerc – J. Leclant: Sarapis. *LIMC VII* (1994) 666–692; Hölbl 2001 98 ff.; Schmidt 2005b 292 ff.

<sup>332</sup> For the Serapeum of Memphis, see D.J. Thompson 1988 212 ff.

<sup>333</sup> Fraser 1973 I 263 f.

<sup>334</sup> For Ptolemy V, see the evidence in H.P. Laubscher: Triptolemos und die Ptolemäer, *JbKuGewHamb* 6/7 (1988) 11–40 37 note 63.



princes as Harpocrates.<sup>335</sup> It is also attested to by the iconographical programs of the *mammisi*, i.e., birth-houses (cf. Chapter VI.2.1) erected as sanctuaries of the birth of the child-god and associated with the birth of a Ptolemaic crown prince (e.g., Coptos and Armant).<sup>336</sup> It may have been his role in the royal cult that promoted Harpocrates' development into an increasingly important god of the domestic cult.<sup>337</sup> Another aspect of Harpocrates' association with royal cult is similarly significant. From the early Ptolemaic period the phallic aspect of the Dionysiac circle and Priapos also reinforced the phallic aspect of the child god and his attendants.<sup>338</sup> Dionysos (equated with Osiris) was the divine ancestor of the Ptolemies. Any Harpocrates image could equally accompany the dead to the grave and protect the living as *ex voto* or domestic cult statue.

According to most authors, "Nude Goddess" figurines were produced over the entire Ptolemaic and Roman periods.<sup>339</sup> Their rigid frontality indicates origins in the iconography of pharaonic goddesses of fertility and/or fertility figures termed "death-brides". It seems that their production started early in the Ptolemaic period. While it is uncertain that finds from Roman sites at the Mons Claudianus are indeed fragments of "Nude Goddess" figures, it seems certain that, as opposed to the excavators' descriptions, the complete figures found by Petrie at Tanis and Gayet at Antinoopolis do not come from Roman contexts.<sup>340</sup> Thus the (stylistically rather probable) possibility cannot be excluded that no exemplar postdates the (early) first century AD.

<sup>335</sup> M.-L. Vollenweider: Portraits d'enfants en miniature de la dynastie des Ptolémées. in: *Alessandria e il mondo ellenistico-romano. Studi in onore di Achille Adriani* II. Roma 1984 363–377 376 f.

<sup>336</sup> D. Meeks: Harpocrates. *LÄ II* (1977) 1003–1011 1005.

<sup>337</sup> For the Roman period, see Frankfurter 1998 133 ff. On *Harpocrateia*, festivals of local Harpocrates gods, cf. F. Perpillou-Thomas: *Fêtes d'Égypte ptolémaïque et romaine d'après la documentation papyrologique grecque* (*Studia Hellenistica* 31). Louvain 1993 88 f.

<sup>338</sup> Cf. the terracotta finds from Athribis, which K. Myśliwiec considers to have been votives offered in a local temple of Dionysos/Osiris, K. Myśliwiec: Ägyptisches und Griechisches im Werk der Künstler von Athribis. in: Bol – Kaminski – Maderna (eds) 2004 463–486; and cf. H. Szymanska: The Dionysian Thiasos at Athribis in the Early 3rd Cent. BC in: *L'Egitto in Italia dall'Antichità al Medioevo. Atti del III Congresso Internazionale Italo-Egiziano Roma CNR – Pompei, 13–19 November 1995*. Roma 1998 673–678.

<sup>339</sup> Cf. Fischer 1994 75 ff.; Bailey 2008 8 f.

<sup>340</sup> For the pre-Roman settlement and temple site(s) at Antinoopolis, see A. Gayet: *L'exploration des ruines d'Antinoë et la découverte d'un temple de Ramsès II enclos dans l'enceinte de ville d'Hadrien*. Paris 1897; S. Donadoni: *Antinoe (1965–1968)*. Roma

The Isis figurines are classical in form and style from the beginning of their production, i.e., from the early Ptolemaic period. The cult of the goddess “of 10,000 names” spread to the Greek world in the early Hellenistic period.<sup>341</sup> As a consequence of changes in their cult,<sup>342</sup> from the late third century BC onward the iconography of the Ptolemaic queens was influenced by the iconography of the goddess Isis<sup>343</sup> and vice versa. The association of Isis with Ptolemaic royal cult is well known<sup>344</sup> and it played a role in the creation of types such as, e.g., the enthroned goddess nursing the Apis bull.

In terracottas Osiris appears in the form of Osiris-Hydreios (Osiris-in-a-jar; Osiris Canopus) probably after the foundation of the Osiris temple at Canopus (Abukir) by Ptolemy III Euergetes and copies its cult statue.<sup>345</sup> With a slight formal alteration (the canopus vessel is first more bulbous, by the AD first century tall and less bulbous), the terracotta type continues into the Roman period. On early exemplars<sup>346</sup> the face of the god follows the style of third-second century BC Egyptian portraiture, but the face of the late Ptolemaic and Roman Osiris Canopus terracottas is always classical.

The baboon figure of Thoth was only superficially Hellenized. The popularity of figurines of the Thoth baboon<sup>347</sup> followed from the importance of the lunar god of healing and magic, protector of the dead, whose feast on Thoth 19 was one of the principal festivals of mortuary cult. Terracotta lamps in the form of the Egyptian Thoth were probably

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1974 fig. 13; F. Calament: *La révélation d'Antinoé par Albert Gayet. Histoire, archéologie, muséographie* (Bibliothèque d'Études Coptes 18/1) I. Le Caire 2005 51 ff. For the fragments from Mons Claudianus, see Bailey 2008 9.

<sup>341</sup> Cf. L. Vidman: *Isis und Sarapis bei den Griechen und Römern*. Berlin 1970; R.E. Witt: *Isis in the Graeco-Roman World*. London 1971; F. Dunand: *Isis, mère des dieux*. Paris 2000. For the chronology (no evidence from before the 270s BC), see recently L. Bricault: *La diffusion isiaque: une esquisse*. in: Bol – Kaminski – Maderna (eds) 2004 548–556.

<sup>342</sup> Cf. Bergman 1968.

<sup>343</sup> Cf. S. Albersmeier: *Die Statuen der Ptolemäerinnen*. in: Beck – Bol – Bückling (eds) 2005 252–257 254.

<sup>344</sup> Cf. J. Quaegebeur: *Reines ptolémaïques et traditions égyptiennes*. in: Maehler – Strocka (eds) 1978 245–262; *id.*: *Cleopatra VII and the Cults of the Ptolemaic Queens*. in: Bianchi (ed.) 1988 41–54.

<sup>345</sup> For the temple, which is depicted on the Palestrina mosaic and on coins as an Egyptian-type sanctuary, see McKenzie 2007 58 ff.

<sup>346</sup> Török 1995 Cat. 109 (with a too late dating).

<sup>347</sup> Cf. Adriani 1940 Pl. XLII/1; Breccia 1934 Nos 401, 402, Pl. CXI/642, 643; Bayer – Niemeier 1988 Nos 579, 580; Dunand 1990 No. 911; Török 1995 Cats 130, 131.

associated with this festival.<sup>348</sup> The Hellenized anthropomorphic form of Thoth appears in the early Ptolemaic period, mostly in the form of Hermes-Thoth. The popularity of the Hellenized Hermes-Thoth was greatly influenced by representations of Ptolemy II, Ptolemy III and Ptolemy IV as Hermes-Thoth-Triptolemos.<sup>349</sup>

Finally, two significant classes of terracottas deserve mention in the context of chronology. Various phallic figurines<sup>350</sup> copy Late Period types and do not continue beyond the later third century BC. They were votives dedicated to Ptah-Sokaris-Osiris, Bes, Harpocrates or other deities associated specially with fertility and/or afterlife, they are not representations of deities.<sup>351</sup> The chronology and context of the plaques with the representation of frontally standing traditional style nude female figures<sup>352</sup> seems to have been similar. Their dedicatee was probably Hathor. The phallic figures and the votives offered to Hathor are connected with each other through the musical instruments upon which many of the figures are shown playing; music served the soothing and pacification of deities.<sup>353</sup>

Let us sum up here our chronological observations. The principal types of Apis (Apis standing or couchant; Apis bust) are only slightly classicized in the course of the Ptolemaic and Roman periods. Apis appears, however, in a classicizing context from the early Ptolemaic period in terracottas, which represent his nursing by Isis or the funerary procession of the Apis Bull. The case of Thoth in the form of a baboon is similar: the Egyptian image is only slightly classicized, while there emerges a classical style Hermes-Thoth in the early Ptolemaic period. Horus appears only in Egyptian form, and it seems that there are no later exemplars than the early Ptolemaic period. It was suggested that the eclipse of the Egyptian Horus figure was brought about by the emergence of the classical style Harpocrates types. Egyptian Harpocrates figures are rare and limited to the early Ptolemaic period. The Hellenistic image of the child god emerged in the course of the

<sup>348</sup> Rübsam 1974 37 f.

<sup>349</sup> Cf. H.P. Laubscher: Triptolemos und die Ptolemäer, *JbKuGewHamb* 6/7 (1988) 11–40.

<sup>350</sup> P. Derchain: Observations sur les erotica, in: G.T. Martin: *The Sacred Animal Necropolis at North Saqqara. The Southern Dependencies of the Main Temple Complex*. London 1981 166–170; Török 1995 52 ff.; Fischer 1998; Bailey 2008 69 ff.

<sup>351</sup> Bailey 2008 69 ff.

<sup>352</sup> E.g., Török 1995 Cats 204–209.

<sup>353</sup> Cf. Bailey 2008 69 f.

third century BC. Several Harpocrates types continued to be produced in the Roman period.

The Egyptian Bes figure was increasingly Hellenized in the course of the Ptolemaic period. It is rather unlikely that the production of Bes and Beset terracottas would have continued into the Roman period, in spite of Bes' great popularity. The ultimate iconographical origin of the "Naked Goddess" is obviously pharaonic, yet the type emerged in a fully Hellenized form in the late fourth-early third century BC. The latest exemplars seem to be early Roman. Osiris-Hydreios preserved his Egyptian-type face until the middle-late Ptolemaic period. Osiris Hydreios terracottas with Hellenized face continued to be produced in Roman times. From the very outset, i.e., the early Ptolemaic period, Isis appears only in Hellenistic types, many of which remained popular in the Roman period. Finally there are two divinities, Antaios and the Nile, who appear in the terracotta production only in the Roman period, and only in classical forms.

It would thus seem that, except for types of Apis and of Thoth in the form of a baboon, the production of Egyptian style terracotta images of Egyptian deities, phallic figures and Hathor votives is limited to the early Ptolemaic period (for the exceptions, see below). In temple decoration, monumental statuary and small-size statuary in stone, metal, and faience the temples not only preserved, but also creatively developed the traditional images of the Egyptian deities and renewed the visual world of the religious conceptions associated with them. Concurrently, the general trend in the production of terracottas, an industry associated with the same temples, was the creation of Hellenistic or Hellenizing images.

What we have seen of the rapid and seemingly concerted Hellenization of the terracotta types brought us closer to the answer on our repeatedly asked questions, namely: 1. For whom were made the more expensive *Egyptian style* statuettes of Egyptian deities in stone and metal? 2. For whom were made the more expensive *classical style* stone and metal statuettes of Egyptian deities? 3. For whom were made the Egyptian style terracotta figurines of Egyptian deities? 4. Who were the customers of the classical style terracottas representing Egyptian gods? And finally: 5. Do the eclipse of Egyptian style terracottas and the emergence of the classical types describe the Hellenization of the native population's taste?

The answer on the first question is rather simple: the more expensive Egyptian style stone and metal statuettes were made for the native

elite, at least initially: for by the early first century BC the style lost its ethnic/cultural significance. On the second question one may perhaps answer that the more expensive classical style images were acquired by Hellenized members of the native elite as well as by Greeks. The third, fourth, and fifth questions address the same problem and may be answered as follows.

Egyptian style terracottas were produced for Egyptians, but only for a rather short period of time. The traditional types of the Apis Bull, the Apis bust, and the baboon Thoth were exceptions. As to other cults, Egyptian style terracottas were produced only for a short period of time, and by the end of the third century BC there were only classical style representations of the same subjects available. The large-scale production of classical style terracotta statuettes of deities and cult attendants and of fertility figurines such as the “Naked Goddess” starting in the early Ptolemaic period was *intended for Greeks*, for whom terracotta statuettes of gods and goddesses were familiar objects of personal religiosity. But at the same time, among other, political/ideological and visual factors, the easily available terracottas associated with the Egyptian deities and their festivals as well as the Hellenized fertility figures contributed significantly to the “acculturation” of the masses of the native population and to the formation of a predominantly Hellenized/Romanized visual world.

According to Susan Stephens’ important study on Alexandrian poetry,

[w]hat made Hellenistic life in cities like Alexandria qualitatively different from the experience of the “other” in the classical Greek past was living in an alien culture, surrounded by alien people, without the defining structures of Greek civic identity. New foci for that identity were necessary, hence the interest in cultic formations and in cultic behavior[.]<sup>354</sup>

The creation of a community from the heterogeneous groups of Greek immigrants was the less difficult task for Alexander and his heirs. The more complicated one was the creation of some sort of community from the Greek minority and the Egyptian majority. The Greek cults and festivals promoted the formation of the common Hellenic identity of the diverse groups of Greek immigrants. To make them at home in Egypt, they had to be shown a way to the gods of the land. The construction of an Egyptian Hellenic identity begins with the estab-

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<sup>354</sup> Stephens 2003 251.

lishment of their political/social/economic organization and continues with the creation of Greek religious and cultural institutions, the *interpretatio Graeca* of the native gods and their functions, and the establishing of links between their festivals and the Greek traditions.

The blending of Greek and Egyptian elements in major religious events is already apparent in the records relating Alexander's conquest of Egypt. According to Arrian, on entering Memphis Alexander sacrificed to "the other gods and to Apis and held musical and gymnastics contests". It is not unlikely that his sacrifice to Apis was also part of his investiture as pharaoh of Egypt.<sup>355</sup> After his journey to Siwa, where he was proclaimed son of Zeus-Ammon, Alexander sacrificed to Zeus Basileus in Memphis and held again musical and gymnastic performances.<sup>356</sup> Athletic contests would also be part of the Ptolemaic festival of Zeus, i.e., the Basilea held in Alexandria and in the metropoleis of the *chôra*, at which also royal legitimacy was celebrated according to the Egyptian conception of the simultaneity of royal birthday and coronation.<sup>357</sup>

But the roots of the *interpretatio Graeca* of Egyptian gods and cults go still deeper. From the early Ptolemaic period the visitor of the Sarapieion of Memphis—within which lay the burial chambers of the Apis Bulls, the temple of Apis, and shrines of other related cults—was received by Hellenistic statues of philosophers and Dionysiac figures (cf. Chapter V.2.5 and Pl. 63). The images of the philosophers presented a symbol of Greek wisdom meeting the wisdom of Egypt, while the Dionysiac figures provided Greek clues for the comprehension of the chthonic aspects of Osiris-Apis, Ws̄ir-ḥp, known as Sarapis to the Greeks.<sup>358</sup> Yet already long before the erection of these statues, Carian and Ionian mercenaries (the Caromemphites and the Hellenomemphites)<sup>359</sup> settled by Amasis at Memphis were devotees of Apis and offered him inscribed bronze votives.<sup>360</sup> When around the

<sup>355</sup> For the debate around Alexander's "coronation", see Burstein 1991; Winter 2005 206 f.

<sup>356</sup> Arrian, *Anabasis* 3.1.4, 3.5.2.

<sup>357</sup> Cf. L. Koenen: *Eine agonistische Inschrift aus Ägypten und frühptolemäische Königsfeste* (*Beiträge zur klassischen Philologie* 56). Meisenheim am Glan 1977.

<sup>358</sup> Cf. recently P. Borgeaud – Y. Volukhine: La formation de la légende de Sarapis: Une approche transculturelle. *Archiv für Religionsgeschichte* 2 (2000) 37–76.

<sup>359</sup> Cf. D.J. Thompson 1988 82 ff.

<sup>360</sup> Schmidt 2005b 292.—For the thousands of bronze votive statuettes found beneath the stone paving of the dromos connecting Nectanebos II's temple with the Apis vaults cf. D.J. Thompson 1988 28.

turn of the fourth century BC the Memphite Osiris-Apis was brought to Alexandria<sup>361</sup> under the name Sarapis, he obtained a new, Hellenistic image in human form, which gave expression to his new function as the tutelary god of the newly founded Greek polis.<sup>362</sup>

The “new” god Sarapis was created for Greeks. The native deity incorporated by Sarapis was worshipped by Greeks already long before alongside Zeus, Hades, Asklepios and Helios. The creation of Sarapis and the building of his shrines in Alexandria and all over the country was part of the same conception as the erection of the statues of philosophers and Dionysiac figures along the processional way of the Sarapieion. And it was part of the same trend in which the production of classical style terracotta figurines of Sarapis,<sup>363</sup> Bes, Harpocrates, Isis, Hermes-Thoth, or the “Naked Goddess” also started.

Yet Greek interest towards the gods of Egypt was selective, as also clearly indicated by the circle of deities appearing in the terracotta material. The interest towards certain gods and the disinterest towards others were determined by a variety of factors and took different forms.<sup>364</sup> The Memphite cult of Osiris-Apis had a tradition among the Greeks living in Egypt in the centuries preceding Alexander’s conquest. This old connection may also explain the preservation of the Egyptian types of the Apis terracottas throughout the Ptolemaic period. In turn, the popularity of Horus and Harpocrates was influenced by the cult of the Ptolemaic dynasty as well as by a combination of Egyptian and Greek conceptions of fertility. The Greek cults of Isis or Hermes-Thoth were similarly promoted by Ptolemaic ruler cult, while the beneficent demons Bes and Beset or the “Naked Goddess” were adopted on account of their power in matters of everyday life

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<sup>361</sup> The classical tradition (Tacitus, Plutarch), according to which Ptolemy I received the order in a dream, to take the statue of Sarapis from Sinope at the Black Sea to Alexandria, rests probably on the erroneous association of Sarapis’ name Σινωπίτης with Sinope. The god in Soter’s dream referred probably to Σινώπιον, i.e., the name of the hill on which the Osiris-Apis sanctuary was situated: J.G. Griffiths: *Plutarch’s De Iside et Osiride*. Cambridge 1970 516; D.J. Thompson 1988 116 note 57; Schmidt 2005b 294.

<sup>362</sup> Schmidt 2005b 293 ff.

<sup>363</sup> For the time being, the appearance of the canonical early Ptolemaic cult statue cannot be reconstructed, thus its relationship to the terracotta types emerging in the 3rd century BC also remains unknown. Cf. Schmidt 2005b 300 ff.

<sup>364</sup> Cf. T.A. Brady: *The Reception of the Egyptian Cults by the Greeks 330–30 BC* (*The University of Missouri Studies* 10.1). Columbia 1935; Kákósy 1995 2962 ff.

and death. Osiris-Hydreios owed his great popularity probably to the important cult centre at Canopus.

The Greek discourse on the identity of Egypt's gods, i.e., their comparison with and "translation into" Greek deities<sup>365</sup> started in the sixth century BC, as is indicated by a Greek dedication to "Zeus of Thebes",<sup>366</sup> i.e., to Amun of Thebes, who would also be identified with Zeus by Pindar.<sup>367</sup> According to Herodotus, the names of most Greek gods came from Egypt and the first altars, divine images, and temples were erected in Egypt.<sup>368</sup> At the same time, he equates Isis with Demeter, Amun with Zeus, Horus with Apollo, Osiris with Dionysos, Bubastis with Artemis, Mendes with Pan and Apis with Epaphos.<sup>369</sup> Stefan Pfeiffer resolves this contradiction by supposing that in Herodotus' view it was the distinction of individual deities according to their special competences that occurred first in Egypt.<sup>370</sup> In the course of the Ptolemaic and Roman periods the number of "translations" constantly increased, yet, as Pfeiffer points out, the Egyptian gods whose names were "translated" into Greek still remained Egyptian deities in the eyes of the Greeks and Romans too. According to Bagnall, the Greek deities appearing in the theophoric personal names from the Fayoum refer to the Egyptian equivalents of these deities. Greek divinities, which had no local equivalents, do not appear in the names.<sup>371</sup>

The transformation of a pluralistic visual world including two different systems of representation and their combinations into a visual world which is homogeneous insofar as new buildings, works of art and artefacts are created only in classical style, was greatly promoted by visual "translations" such as the terracottas which represented Egyptian gods but in appearance did not differ from the images of Greek/Roman gods. It was also greatly promoted by the representation of the gods of the Egyptian *nomoi* in the form of Hellenistic deities on the nome coins issued in the Roman period.<sup>372</sup>

<sup>365</sup> Cf. Assmann 2000 88; Pfeiffer 2005 286 ff.

<sup>366</sup> SEG 27, 1106.

<sup>367</sup> Pindar, *Paean fr.* 36. Cf. also L. Kákosy: Zeus in Egypt. in: *Alexandrian Studies in Memoriam Daoud Abdu Daoud* (BSAA 45). Alexandria 1993 173–176.

<sup>368</sup> Herodotus II.50.1 f. and II.4.3, respectively.

<sup>369</sup> For the places in Book II, see Pfeiffer 2005 287.

<sup>370</sup> Pfeiffer 2005 287.

<sup>371</sup> Bagnall 1997a 9 ff.

<sup>372</sup> A. Geissen – M. Weber: Untersuchungen zu den ägyptischen Nomenprägungen I–IV. ZPE 144 (2003) 277–300, 149 (2004) 259–280, 283–306, 151 (2005) 279–305.



Pfeiffer's conclusions are highly relevant if we relate them to the evidence of the terracottas:

Für die Frage des Zusammenlebens besonders der griechisch-makedonischen Zuwanderer mit den einheimischen Ägyptern ist die Möglichkeit der "Übersetzung" von Götternamen von zentraler Bedeutung, da sie eine Annäherung zwischen den beiden Kulturen auf dem Gebiet der Religion denkbar zu machen scheint...<sup>373</sup> Mochten die hellenistischen Zuwanderer in Ägypten auch ihre griechische Lebensweise beibehalten, [...] so hatten sie doch einen "gemeinsamen Nenner" mit der unterworfenen Bevölkerung: die Möglichkeit der Gleichsetzung ihrer jeweiligen Götter... Der gemeinsame Nenner... konnte in einem zweiten Schritt dazu führen, dass Griechen neben ihrem herkömmlichen den ägyptischen Kult übernahmen und sich soweit in die ägyptische Religion inkludierten, dass sie ägyptische Götter verehrten.<sup>374</sup>

It should be added that the Caromemphites and Hellenomemphites took the second step already long before Alexander's conquest. On the other hand, the role of the "official" religious policy of the Ptolemies and the Roman emperors in the "translation" of Egyptian cults cannot be left out of consideration, either.

And a final point. As it was argued earlier in this chapter, the offering of clay statuettes of deities and/or their keeping in domestic shrines was not a native Egyptian tradition. It was a Greek tradition, as is also shown by the rich fifth-fourth century BC terracotta material from the Greek trading centres founded in the Late Period, first of all Naukratis. It would thus seem that the production of Egyptian style terracottas did not necessarily precede in every single case the production of classical style terracottas. While traditional style votives in more expensive materials and execution were produced continuously from the Late Period through the Roman period, terracottas, mostly in a classical style, begun to be manufactured for the new Greek clientèle only in the early Ptolemaic period.

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<sup>373</sup> Pfeiffer 2005 287.

<sup>374</sup> Pfeiffer 2005 289.

## CHAPTER FOUR

### EARLY CONTACTS WITH PTOLEMAIC EGYPT AND THE EARLY IMPORTS

Do not despise our colour, for we are whiter and more brilliant in our souls than the whitest among your people.<sup>1</sup>

According to the *Alexander Romance*, the queen of Meroe wrote the following to the Macedonian conqueror of Egypt:

Queen Candace of Meroe and the rulers subject to her greet King Alexander [...] My ambassadors are bringing you 100 ingots of solid gold, 500 Aithiopian youths, 200 parrots, 200 apes, and for our god Ammon, protector of the Egyptian frontier, a crown of emeralds and unpierced pearls, 10 chains bearing seals <...> 80 ivory cascets. The species of wild beasts sent by us are 350 elephants, 300 leopards, 80 rhinoceroses, 4 panthers, 90 man-eating dogs in cages, 300 fighting-bulls, 90 elephant tusks, 300 leopards skins, 1500 staffs of ebony.<sup>2</sup>

Though the alleged correspondence between Alexander the Great and “Queen Candace” of Meroe<sup>3</sup> in Pseudo-Callisthenes’ *Alexander Romance* has no relation to historical fact, the gifts in the above quotation are well known items which are figuring in textual and pictorial lists of Nubian “tributes” arriving in Egypt ever since the Middle Kingdom. As we have seen in Chapter III.1.3, one of the Nubian offering bearers in Petosiris’s late fourth century BC tomb walks with an elephant: we have here a newly created iconographical type re-formulating the old Egyptian association of Nubia with the elephant and elephant ivory. While it may be supposed that Queen Candace’s letter belongs to the sections of the *Romance*, which were written in early Hellenistic Alexandria<sup>4</sup> and that it relies on a record of actual imports from Meroe,

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<sup>1</sup> Queen Candace to Alexander the Great, Ps.-Callisthenes, *Alexander Romance* 3.18.5, *FHN* II No. 85, trans. T. Hägg.

<sup>2</sup> Ps.-Callisthenes, *Alexander Romance* 3.18.5, *FHN* II No. 85, trans. T. Hägg.

<sup>3</sup> For the title Candace, see p. 19.

<sup>4</sup> R. Stoneman: The Alexander Romance: From History to Fiction. in: J.R. Morgan – R. Stoneman (eds): *The Greek Novel in Context*. London – New York 1994 117–129; T. Hägg in: *FHN* II 503 f.

we cannot tell how realistic the quantities listed in the letter may be. According to Herodotus, the Kushites had delivered to Cambyses

every second year, and still deliver in my [Herodotus'] time, two *choinikes* of unrefined gold, two hundred logs of ebony, five Aithiopian boys, and twenty great elephant tusks.<sup>5</sup>

Though the Persian evidence for the Kushite deliveries<sup>6</sup> depicts a vassal obliged to pay tribute, the reality was probably commercial/gift exchange, just like the exchange between Hellenistic Egypt and Meroe in periods of peaceful diplomatic relations. The materials stored in the enormous magazine building discovered at Sanam opposite Napata give an idea of the dimensions of royal redistribution. The large quantity of raw elephant tusks, faience and calcite (or travertine)<sup>7</sup> objects, gemstones, copper alloy, and the clay sealings with the names of Piankhy, Shabaqo, Taharqo, Senkamanisken, Anlamani and Aspelta recovered from the magazines indicate that gifts, revenues, and commercial wares arrived here from great distances and were stored under the supervision of the royal administration.<sup>8</sup> Meroitic period buildings probably of a similar function were identified at Meroe City, Faras, and Karanog.<sup>9</sup>

Greek luxury wares arrived in the court of Kush from the beginning of Egypt's first Persian domination (525–404 BC), as a sherd from an Attic black-figure *kylix* from Meroe City indicates.<sup>10</sup> The passage of Herodotus<sup>11</sup> where the historian presents a realistic description of Aithiopian warriors originating from the southern confines of

<sup>5</sup> Herodotus 3.97.3, *FHN* I No. 57, trans. T. Eide. The *choinix* was a Greek measure, the Attic *choinix* was the equivalent of 1.1 litre.

<sup>6</sup> R.[G.] Morkot: Nubia and Achaemenid Persia: Sources and Problems. in: H. Sancisi-Weerdenburg – A. Kuhrt (eds): *Asia Minor and Egypt: Old Cultures in a New Empire. Proceedings of the Groningen 1988 Achaemenid History Workshop. Achaemenid History* IV. Leiden 1991 321–336.

<sup>7</sup> Formerly known as Egyptian alabaster.

<sup>8</sup> For the excavations at the so-called “Treasury” of Sanam, see Griffith 1922; for more recent fieldwork at the site, see I. Vincentelli: Some Clay Sealings from Sanam Abu Dom. in: B. Gratien (ed.): *Mélanges offerts à Francis Geus (CRIPEL 26 [2006–2007])*. Lille 2007 371–378.

<sup>9</sup> Meroe City, building M 740: Török 1997b 179 ff.; Faras, “Western Palace”: F.Ll. Griffith: Oxford Excavations in Nubia XL–XLII. Meroitic Antiquities at Faras and Other Sites. *LAAA* 13 (1926) 17–37 21 ff.; Karanog, “Castle”: C.L. Woolley: *Karanog. The Town*. Philadelphia 1911 15 ff.

<sup>10</sup> Shinnie – Anderson (eds) 2004 fig. 94; J.W. Hayes in: Shinnie – Anderson (eds) 2004 213.

<sup>11</sup> Herodotus 7.67, *FHN* II No. 58.

Kush<sup>12</sup> fighting in Xerxes I's (486–465 BC) army may be interpreted as an indication of the exchange of goods, this time also including mercenaries. Sporadic pottery finds stand for the Persian side of gift exchange. An Attic black sherd dated to the last quarter of the sixth century BC<sup>13</sup> indicates a contact with Darius I's Egyptian court: "Kush-ia" appears among the countries that provided ivory for Darius' palace at Susa and figures among the "tribute"-bringers depicted in the reliefs from the Apadana at Persepolis. The kingdom of Kush is also listed in Darius' and Xerxes I's lists of subjects.<sup>14</sup> A splendid Attic plastic rhyton made and signed around 470 BC by the potter Sotades and found under pyramid Begarawiya South 24<sup>15</sup> was, similarly to other vessels by Sotades, produced for a Persian clientèle<sup>16</sup> and may be interpreted as a diplomatic gift sent to the king of Kush by Xerxes I's Egyptian satrap.<sup>17</sup> Contacts were maintained in the second half of the First Persian Period, under the Twenty-Eighth to Thirtieth Dynasties (404–343 BC), and during the Second Persian Period (343–332 BC), but the archaeological evidence is rather scarce. A fine Attic red figure vase from which a sherd was found in a house at Meroe City arrived around 400 BC in Meroe.<sup>18</sup>

<sup>12</sup> Cf. D. Zahan: Couleurs et peintures corporelles en Afrique Noire. Le problème du "half-man". *Diogenes* 90 (1975) 115–135; Desanges 1978 233 note 98.

<sup>13</sup> Bradley 1984 199.

<sup>14</sup> G. Posener: *La première domination perse en Égypte*. Le Caire 1936 70, 187; J. Yoyotte: Une statue de Darius découverte à Suse: les inscriptions hieroglyphiques. Darius et l'Égypte. *Journal Asiatique* 260 (1972) 259. For Kushites as throne-bearers of the Persian king: G. Walser: *Die Völkerschaften auf den Reliefs von Persepolis*. Berlin 1966 51 ff.; Kushite tribute-bringers before Xerxes: *ibid.* 100 ff., Pls 30, 81, 82.

<sup>15</sup> MFA 21.2286; D. v. Bothmer: *Amazons in Greek Art*. Oxford 1957 222; J.D. Beazley: *Attic Red-Figured Vase-Painters I*. Oxford 1963 201; Dunham 1963 383, figs 212–215; Baud – Sackho-Autissier – Labbé-Toutée (eds) 2010 fig. 94. For its dating to around 470, as opposed to earlier datings to around 400 BC, see K. de Vries: Attic Pottery in the Achaemenid Empire. *AJA* 81 (1977) 544–548 546; J.Gy. Szilágyi in Török 1989 118 Cat. 1.

<sup>16</sup> L. Kahil: Un nouveau vase plastique du potier Sotades au Musée du Louvre. *RA* 1972 271–284. It is decorated with scenes of battles between Greeks and Persians in which it is the latter that are victorious.

<sup>17</sup> For the First Persian Period (525–404 BC) in Egypt, see G. Posener: *La première domination perse en Égypte*. Le Caire 1936; F.K. Kienitz: *Die politische Geschichte Ägyptens vom 7. bis zum 4. Jahrhundert vor der Zeitwende*. Berlin 1953; J. Ray: Egypt: 525–404 BC. in: *CAH IV* 254–286.

<sup>18</sup> Török 1997b 204 No. 941–1, fig. 109. For another red figure vase sherd in the collection of the Liverpool, World Museum, inv. no. MRS 47.48.130: Török 1989 94.

Sotades' rhyton was buried some time around 350 BC under the pyramid of a non-ruling person. This place of burial indicates that luxury objects, which the king of Meroe received from a foreign ruler, were part of the internal gift exchange between the king and the elite.<sup>19</sup> The date of its burial indicates that gifts of this kind were highly valued and kept for generations by their successive owners. This is also indicated by a fine Phoenician bronze "bull-bowl"<sup>20</sup> made in the ninth-eighth century BC and placed c. 150–200 years later in the burial equipment from an elite tomb at Sanam.<sup>21</sup> This phenomenon is of course not restricted to ancient Nubia. A highly remarkable illustration for the perennial prestige of luxury objects is presented by a depot find from Addi Gelamo c. 100 km east of Aksum in Ethiopia.<sup>22</sup> Though discovered outside the Meroitic kingdom, the find is connected nevertheless to Meroe through four objects coming from the Middle Nile region. The depot consisted of a fifth century BC South Arabian (?) votive statuette of a deity (?) inscribed in early Old Arabic; a Phoenician "bull-bowl" similar to the one from Sanam; three Meroitic bronze bowls made in the AD first or second century; and a ceremonial scepter inscribed for the AD late third century Aksumite king *GDR*. These objects were deposited around a fifth-fourth century BC altar of a South Arabian type and inscribed in Sabaeen.<sup>23</sup>

Ivory fittings and inlays decorated with incised and painted lotus friezes and rosettes found in burials at the Begarawiya South cemetery (Nos 28, 27, 501)<sup>24</sup> are fragments from elegant Achaemenid style caskets, which arrived in Meroe in the years around the Macedonian

<sup>19</sup> Cf. Edwards 1996 86 ff.

<sup>20</sup> For the Phoenician shallow bowls decorated with cattle friezes, see G. Markoe: *Phoenician Bronze and Silver Bowls from Cyprus and the Mediterranean*. Berkeley 1985; G. Falsone: Phoenicia as a Bronzeworking Centre in the Iron Age. in: J. Curtis (ed.): *Bronze-working Centers of Western Asia, c. 1000–539 BC* London – New York 1988 227–250.

<sup>21</sup> Berlin 1989, A. Lohwasser: Eine phönizische Bronzeschale aus dem Sudan. *Ägypten und Levante* 12 (2002) 221–234. For the date of the burial: Lohwasser 2004 123; for the site, see A. Lohwasser: *The Kushite Cemetery of Sanam. A Non-Royal Burial Ground of the Nubian Capital, c. 800–600 BC*. London 2010.

<sup>22</sup> J. Doresse: La découverte d'Asbi-Dera. Nouveaux documents sur les rapports entre l'Égypte et l'Éthiopie à l'époque axoumite. in: *Atti del Convegno Internazionale di Studi Etiopici*. Roma 1960 411–434; J. Phillips: Egyptian and Nubian Material from Ethiopia and Eritrea. *SARS Newsletter* 9 (1995) 2–10 6.

<sup>23</sup> Lohwasser 2004.

<sup>24</sup> Beg. S. 28: Dunham 1963 403, fig. 223; Beg. S. 27: Dunham 1963 403, fig. 223/B, Török 1989 120 No. 5; Beg. S. 501: Dunham 1963 fig. 240/C, Török 1989 No. 6.

conquest (Pl. 10).<sup>25</sup> As already indicated above, the correspondence between Alexander and Queen Candace quoted in the *Alexander Romance* is not historical. It is also unlikely that Meroe would have been visited by an expedition dispatched by Alexander to find the sources of the Nile.<sup>26</sup> Still, Egyptian luxury objects continued to arrive in Meroe in the last decades of the fourth and the first decades of the third century BC. The data of Arrian<sup>27</sup> concerning the early stationing of an Egyptian force at Elephantine corresponds to reality.<sup>28</sup> Arrian's reference to a frontier garrison at this place is also corroborated by the fact that Alexander banished the leaders of a Chian revolt to Elephantine.<sup>29</sup> According to the Satrap Stela, the Jrmr, i.e., the people of Jrm, had to be punished some time between 319/8 and 311 BC because they committed a crime against Egypt.<sup>30</sup> If the Jrmr were inhabitants of Lower Nubia, as suggested by Gauthier<sup>31</sup> and Huss,<sup>32</sup> or of the Eastern Desert, as suggested by Zibelius-Chen,<sup>33</sup> their crime may have been committed against the Elephantine garrison and the Egyptian territory protected by it.<sup>34</sup> Agatharchides says the following about a military expedition sent in 275 or 274 BC<sup>35</sup> by Ptolemy II (285–246 BC) to Nubia:

<sup>25</sup> Török 1989 No. 6.

<sup>26</sup> Stanley Burstein argues, however, for the reality of the tradition of such an expedition preserved by Lucan, *Phars.* 10.272 ff., Johannes Lydus, *De mens.* 4.107 and Arrian, *Anab.* 7.15.4. See S.M. Burstein: Alexander, Callisthenes and the Sources of the Nile. *Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies* 17 (1976) 135–146 (= Burstein 1995 63–76).

<sup>27</sup> Arrian, *Anab.* 3.2.7.

<sup>28</sup> Winnicki 1978 88.—The predecessor garrison, viz., the Jewish military colony of Elephantine established under the First Persian Occupation, is well known from Aramaic papyri found on the island. Cf. B.B. Porten: Egyptian Aramaic Texts. in: E. Meyers (ed.): *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Archaeology in the Near East* V. Appendix 1. Oxford 1997 393–410.

<sup>29</sup> Arrian, *Anab.* 2.1, 3.2.

<sup>30</sup> *Satrap Stela* line 6.

<sup>31</sup> H. Gauthier: *Dictionnaire des noms géographiques contenus dans les textes hiéroglyphiques* I–VII. Le Caire 1925–1931 I (1925) 93 f.

<sup>32</sup> Huss 2001 136.

<sup>33</sup> K. Zibelius-Chen: Die Kubanstele Ramses' II und die nubischen Goldregionen. in: Berger – Clerc – Grimal (eds) 1994 II 411–417 415.

<sup>34</sup> Locher 1999 235 note 30 reads, however, M̄mr or Mrmr, "Marmarica" instead of Jrmr or Jrm and connects the passage of the Satrap Stela to a campaign directed in c. 312 BC against Cyrene.

<sup>35</sup> For the dating of the expedition, see Theocritus, *Id.* 17.87; Athen., *Deipn.* 5.197 ff.; Rice 1983; yet cf. also V. Foertmeyer: The Dating of the Pomp of Ptolemy II Philadelphus. *Historia* 37 (1988) 94–104 (i.e., the triumphal procession following the campaign dated to 275 BC).

From the earliest times down to Ptolemy surnamed Philadelphus not only had no Greeks penetrated into Aithiopia, they had not even come as far as to Egypt's borders, so inhospitable in every way were these regions and so downright dangerous. But the above-mentioned king, with a Greek army, was the first who made an expedition into Aithiopia; and from that time knowledge about this country has been more accurate.<sup>36</sup>

He ignores, or pretends to ignore here the participation of Greek mercenaries<sup>37</sup> in Psamtek II's Nubian campaign in 593 BC, in order to repeat the old propagandistic topos about a great king who is the first to add a particular land to his empire. It is also unlikely that he did not hear anything at all about the aforementioned punitive expedition sent to Lower Nubia between 319/8 and 311 BC.

Ptolemy II's military undertaking may have been a precaution but also a reaction against eventual incursions made by Nubians into Upper Egypt during the difficult decades that followed the conquest of Egypt by Alexander the Great (pharaoh of Egypt 332–323 BC) in the last months of 332 BC.<sup>38</sup> Frontier squirmishes of the kind hinted at in a Greek letter from the first half of the third century BC<sup>39</sup> may in fact have started in the very moment when the Lower Nubians and then the king of Kush have first learnt about the changes in Egypt.

As a result of Ptolemy II's Nubian campaign, the region between the First and Second Cataracts—the area, which would occur in the Greek sources under the name Τριακοντάσχοινος, Triakontaschoinos, “Land of the Thirty [Greek] Miles”<sup>40</sup>—was annexed to Egypt. The principal reason for the conquest of Lower Nubia was the acquisition of the gold mines in the Eastern Desert. This is also indicated by Agatharchides's remark, according to which Ptolemy sent 500 specially trained Greek equestrian soldiers with the expedition: cavalry was needed in warfare against nomads.<sup>41</sup> The importance of the mines for the Ptolemies is obvious from Agatharchides' much-quoted description.<sup>42</sup> Although the description was meant to give expression to Agatharchides' dis-

<sup>36</sup> Agatharchides in Diodorus 1.37.5, *FHN* II No. 144, trans. T. Eide.

<sup>37</sup> For their Nubian inscriptions, see *FHN* I Nos. 41–43.

<sup>38</sup> For the conquest, see Hölbl 2001 9 ff.; Huss 2001 57 ff.

<sup>39</sup> W. Schubart in: E. Sachau: *Aramäische Papyrus und Ostraka aus einer jüdischen Militär-Kolonie zu Elephantine*. Leipzig 1911 No. 48; *FHN* II No. 97.

<sup>40</sup> Cf. Locher 1999 252 ff.

<sup>41</sup> Agatharchides, *De m. R.* 1,20 = *FGrHist* 673,162, *FHN* II No. 145.

<sup>42</sup> Agatharchides in Diodorus 3.12.

appointment in the contemporary regime of Ptolemy VI Philometor (180–145 BC), he placed the description in the reign of Ptolemy II.<sup>43</sup>

The intimidation of the king of Meroe<sup>44</sup> was also motivated by the need to have secure access to African war elephants. Being cut off from India, so far the source of the Ptolemaic army's war elephants, their supply became critical in the course of the first third of the third century BC, because by then the Indian beasts, which Ptolemy II inherited from his father were too old. The Meroites, masters of the territories south of the Fifth Cataract where the African elephants lived, were ignorant of their training and were unprepared for their long-distance transport. The elephant supply could thus be secured only if Egyptian experts could travel and practice their profession of capturing the animals unhindered in Meroe and if the enormous task of the transport could be based on Ptolemaic trading stations to be established along the Red Sea coast within, or close to, Meroitic territory.<sup>45</sup> From the early 260s BC, the port of Ptolemais Theron, "Ptolemais of the Hunts", c. 80 km south of modern Port Sudan, would serve elephant transport as well as the transport of other trade goods.<sup>46</sup> However, while the trade of war elephants would lose its significance after the battle of Raphia in 217 BC, where the superiority of Antiochus III's Indian elephants over the African elephants acquired from Meroe became obvious,<sup>47</sup> the trade or rather exchange of the ivory of the African elephant continued to be equally important for both partners.<sup>48</sup> There may be no doubt that Meroitic economy was negatively affected by the decline of elephant trade, even if we are unable to identify its direct impact in the archaeological evidence, the less so that within a decade trade contacts would be inhibited quite radically (yet not for the long run) by the Upper Egyptian revolt (207/6–186 BC). The trade or rather the exchange of the ivory of the African elephant continued nevertheless

<sup>43</sup> Burstein 1995a 97 ff. Cf. Burstein 1989 52; Locher 1999 235.

<sup>44</sup> Török 1987a 153; Burstein 1993 46.

<sup>45</sup> For the organization of elephant transport, see Fraser 1972 I 179 f.; H.H. Scullard: *The Elephant in the Greek and Roman World*. London 1974 123 ff.; I. Hofmann: *Wege und Möglichkeiten eines indischen Einflusses auf die meroitische Kultur*. St. Augustin bei Bonn 1975 53 ff.; Huss 2001 288 f.

<sup>46</sup> Cf. J. Phillips: Punt and Aksum: Egypt and the Horn of Africa. *Journal of African History* 38 (1997) 423–457 445 ff.

<sup>47</sup> Polybius 5.84.3–7, *FHN* II No. 122.

<sup>48</sup> Its organization was originally part of the organization of the elephant hunting, see P. Petrie III 114.5, 9, 16, 20, B. Hemmerdinger: *Comptes de chasseurs d'éléphants* (*P. Petrie* III, 114). *APF* 20 (1970) 25–28.



to be equally important for both partners.<sup>49</sup> In the great triumphal procession mounted in Alexandria after the Nubian campaign of 275 or 274 BC Nubian gift bearers carried 600 elephant tusks.<sup>50</sup> Demotic tax receipts attest to the import of ivory *via* Elephantine, i.e., on the river way during Ptolemy II's reign.<sup>51</sup> As pointed out by Stanley Burstein, the large-scale elephant trade and hunting in the third century BC badly decimated the elephant population of the Red Sea hinterland and caused thus increasing losses to the economy of the Meroitic kingdom. This trend changed only after the end of organized Ptolemaic elephant hunting.<sup>52</sup>

It was in this period that the Hellenistic image of remote Aithiopia was shaped.<sup>53</sup> As passages in Hecataeus of Abdera's fragmentarily preserved history of Egypt<sup>54</sup> written between c. 320–305 BC demonstrate,<sup>55</sup> Hellenistic historians and ethnographers were attracted by the institutions, manners and habits of the Aithiopians as described by Herodotus and used Aithiopia as an example for uncorrupted life in philosophically coloured treatises. Hecataeus, however, also collected data from Egyptian temple archives referring to the reign of Amasis. He associated these in a Herodotean manner with more recent ethnographical data on peoples living on the fringes of Kush, further with information concerning the contemporary Kushite ruler Gṛtṣn, who appears in his work under the name Aktisanes (see Chapter I).<sup>56</sup> After centuries, Aktisanes' titulary is the first titulary of a Nubian ruler to contain the imitation of a contemporary Egyptian Horus and Throne name. It attests to the revival of Kushite interest in Egyptian kingship and indicates Kushite access to written information about it.

Aktisanes' titulary preserved on stray blocks from a temple of Amun of Thebes and Amun of Napata (see Chapter I) at Gebel Barkal survives from the beginning of a period in which renewed contact with Egyp-

<sup>49</sup> Burstein 1996 805.

<sup>50</sup> Kallixeinos, *FGrH* 3C 627 F 2.32; Athen., *Deipn.* 197 ff.; Rice 1983.

<sup>51</sup> S.V. Wängstedt: Demotische Steuerquittungen aus ptolemäischer Zeit. *Orientalia Suecana* 17 (1968) 29–34; Burstein 1996 804.

<sup>52</sup> Burstein 1996; and cf. R.[G.] Morkot: "There Are No Elephants in Dóngola"; Notes on Nubian Ivory. *CRIPEL* 17 (1998) 147–154.

<sup>53</sup> Cf. S.M. Burstein: The Origins of the Napatan State in Classical Sources. in: Burstein 1995 29–39; Burstein 1992, 2008.

<sup>54</sup> Burstein 1992.

<sup>55</sup> O. Murray: The Date of Hecataeus' Work on Egypt. *JEA* 59 (1973) 163–168.

<sup>56</sup> Hecataeus on Aktisanes: in Diodorus 1.60–61.1, *FHN* II No. 88.

tian literacy resulted in Meroe in an archaizing tendency manifested by the adoption of Egyptian religious texts of the Saite period and by the forming of royal titularies mixing Egyptian Third Intermediate Period inspirations with the imitation of early Ptolemaic titles. This tendency is demonstrated by the astronomical text from Begarawiya South 503 (see below), on the one hand, and the titularies of Aktisanes' direct successors Aryamani,<sup>57</sup> Kash(...),<sup>58</sup> Irike-Piye-qo,<sup>59</sup> and Sabrakamani,<sup>60</sup> on the other.

A seemingly modest bronze winged sphinx figure (Pl. 11)<sup>61</sup> found in a house at Meroe City remains from a censer the type of which is known from the Tukh el-Karamus treasure.<sup>62</sup> As noted in Chapter III.1.1, the decoration of several pieces in the treasure combines Egyptian, Achaemenid and Hellenistic elements. Also a further find from Nubia has parallels in the Tukh el-Karamus treasure. This is a fine late fourth-early third century BC decorated silver bowl of the Achaemenid "deep bowl" type. It comes from pyramid tomb Begarawiya South 3 (Pl. 12, bottom).<sup>63</sup> Imported bronze bowls of this type would frequently occur in third and second century BC tomb assemblages,<sup>64</sup> and, remarkably, second-first century BC Meroitic potters producing finewares would also adopt the contemporary variants of the deep bowl shape.<sup>65</sup> Bronze bowls of this type as well as their pottery imitations functioned in

<sup>57</sup> FHN II No. (89).

<sup>58</sup> FHN II No. (93).

<sup>59</sup> FHN II No. (94).

<sup>60</sup> FHN II No. (95).—For the different opinions concerning the dating of these rulers, see Morkot 1991 216 f.; R.G. Morkot: *The Nubian Dark Age*. in: Bonnet (ed.) 1994 45–47; R.[G.] Morkot: *The Foundations of the Kushite State. A Response to the Paper of László Török*. in: *Actes Lille I* 229–242 234; T. Kendall: *The Origin of the Napatan State: El Kurru and the Evidence for the Royal Ancestors*. in: Wenig (ed.) 1999 3–117; R.G. Morkot: *The Black Pharaohs. Egypt's Nubian Rulers*. London 2000 149 f. (pre-Twenty-Fifth Dynasty); M.F.L. Macadam: *The Temples of Kawa I. The Inscriptions*. London 1949 72 ff.; Hofmann 1978 33 ff.; Török 2008 158 f. (late 4th–3rd century BC).

<sup>61</sup> Török 1997b 231 No. 924–c, Pl. 189, right. The sphinx figure was one of the legs of the censer.

<sup>62</sup> Pfrommer 1999 figs 61a, 62.

<sup>63</sup> MFA 24.1041, Dunham 1957 40 f., fig. 18, Pl. LII/G; Török 1989 119 No. 2.

<sup>64</sup> Amir Abdalla No. 15.1, Fernandez 1985; Faras tomb 2589, Griffith 1924 Pl. IV/1.

<sup>65</sup> E.g., polished black pot from the "Western Palace" at Faras: Shinnie 1967 Pl. 56; Beg. W. 139, Dunham 1963 127, fig. G/17.—1st century BC variants: Beg. W. 139 and 306, Török 1987a figs 32, 33, respectively; Beg. W. 308, Wenig 1978 Cat. 251; Karanog grave 738, Woolley – Randall-MacIver 1910 Pl. 78 No. 8457.

funerary equipments as libation vessels or drinking cups prepared for the use of the deceased in the Netherworld (cf. Chapter VII.5.2.3).

The aforementioned silver bowl was found outside the sealed entrance of Begarawiya South 3 in the company of a Hellenistic bronze strainer, the handle of which ends in a duck's head (Pl. 12, top).<sup>66</sup> A set consisting of a fine silver strainer with two loop handles with duck's head finials and two bronze libation vessels (Pl. 13),<sup>67</sup> all in Hellenistic style and made in early Ptolemaic workshops, was discovered in a similar position in the c. one generation later tomb Begarawiya South 6, the burial of King Arkamaniqo, Agatharchides' Ergamenes (Chapter I).<sup>68</sup> Sets containing a strainer and one or more Hellenistic style libation vessels (bowl, cup or jug) were found in other Early Meroitic tombs as well.<sup>69</sup> Taken together, they served the wine offering that concluded the funerary rites.<sup>70</sup> The wine offering was not imported from Ptolemaic Egypt. It was an ancient Nubian tradition: sets of libation vessels and strainers occur in Nubian burials as early as the seventh century BC.<sup>71</sup>

Sets of this kind were placed in burials in the quality of ritual utensils. The quality of the Hellenistic strainers and libation vessels as prestige objects was probably secondary to their quality as utensils of a religious rite. It is also likely that the association of an ancient Nubian mortuary rite with Hellenistic style utensils had no special meaning for the Meroites, because there were no functional, only stylistic

<sup>66</sup> Dunham 1957 40, fig. 18; Török 1989 119 No. 1a.

<sup>67</sup> Török 1989 121 Nos. 12–15.

<sup>68</sup> Beg. S. 6, Dunham 1957 28 f.

<sup>69</sup> E.g., Beg. W. 5, Dunham 1963 123; Török 1989 131 Nos. 77–87; Beg. W. 263, Dunham 1963 73; Török 1989 120 Nos. 7–10.

<sup>70</sup> For the representation of wine amphorae on Meroitic offering tables, see J.W. Yellin: The Role of Anubis in Meroitic Religion. in: J.M. Plumley (ed.): *Nubian Studies. Proceedings of the Symposium for Nubian Studies Cambridge 1978*. Warminster 1982 227–234 228 f.; Yellin 1995 2881 ff.—For wine at the funerary banquet cf. Yellin 1995 2879.

<sup>71</sup> See, e.g., Beg. W. 609 (7th cent. BC), Dunham 1963 32 ff.; Beg. W. 701 (6th cent. BC) *ibid.* 57; Beg. W. 705 (6th cent. BC) *ibid.* 310; Beg. W. 10 (3rd cent. BC), *ibid.* 76 ff.—For a more complete list of post-3rd century BC finds of strainers, libation vessels and other vessels associated with wine, see Manzo 2006 84.—For wine offering in Egypt cf. C. Meyer: Wein. *LÄ VI* (1986) 1169–1182; and see especially *Book of the Dead* 145 57, E. Hornung: *Das Totenbuch der Ägypter*. Zürich-München 1990 284.—For amphorae attesting the import of wine between the 3rd century BC and the AD 4th century, see I. Hofmann: Der Wein- und Ölimport im meroitischen Reich. in: Davies (ed.) 1991 234–245; *ead.*: Die ägyptischen Weinamphoren im Sudan. in: Berger – Clerc – Grimal (eds) 1994 II 221–234.

differences between the utensils used for wine offering in pre-Meroitic Nubia, in pre-Ptolemaic, and in Ptolemaic Egypt. It also may be added that, as the utensils associated with them are concerned, there were no differences in Egypt in the fashion as one performed a traditional Egyptian or a Greek mortuary wine offering.<sup>72</sup>

Besides ivory inlaid caskets, silver and bronze vessels and strainers also fine faience objects arrived from early Ptolemaic Egypt, such as caskets<sup>73</sup> and vases<sup>74</sup> with Hellenizing relief decoration. The vases contributed to the development of the thin-walled Meroitic luxury pottery (Chapter VII.5.2.3).

A good part of the late fourth-early third century Hellenistic Egyptian objects discussed so far come from tombs in the Begarawiya South cemetery, which was (concurrently with Begarawiya West) the burial ground of non-ruling queens, members of the royal clan, and members of the non-royal elite ever since the eighth century BC. Begarawiya South differs from Begarawiya West in that it ends with two burials of ruling kings, viz., the tomb of Arkamaniqo (Ergamenes), Begarawiya South 6, and the tomb of his direct successor Amanislo, Begarawiya South 5, and with a number of tombs belonging to their family (and court?). As it was argued in Chapter I, the confrontation of Agatharchides' Ergamenes story with the evidence from Begarawiya South leads to the following reconstruction of events: Arkamaniqo, after violently founding a new dynasty and transferring the royal burial ground from Napata to the vicinity of Meroe City, was buried in the burial ground of his non-ruling ancestors. His direct successor Amanislo was interred in the same burial ground, but his second successor, Amanitekha, founded a new royal cemetery at a higher hillock at Begarawiya North.<sup>75</sup>

The c. 15–25 burials dated with some probability to the last period of the Begarawiya South cemetery's use, i.e., the last decades of the

<sup>72</sup> For the Greek offering, see E. Simon: Libation. in: *Thesaurus Cultus et Rituum Antiquorum* I. *Processions. Sacrifices. Libations. Fumigations. Dedications*. Los Angeles 2004 237–253 245; for the Egyptian: J.F. Borghouts: Libation. *LÄ* III (1980) 1014–1015.

<sup>73</sup> J. Helmbold: Ein kleiner "Tempelschatz" – Das Fayencekästchen aus Musawarat es Sufra. *MittSAG* 11 (2001) 62–71. From Temple II D.

<sup>74</sup> Beg. W. 259, Dunham 1963 248, fig. 165/1; Török 1989 No. 100. From Meroe City: Török 1997b 201 No. 930–1, fig. 109; 248 Nos. x-29, x-30, fig. 128. For their dating cf. Parlasca 1976; Friedman (ed.) 1998.

<sup>75</sup> Beg. N. 4, Dunham 1957 52 f.; Hofmann 1978 47 ff.; *FHN* II No. (117).

fourth and the first half of the third century BC, seem to represent at least four generations. Their chronology is hypothetical in several cases, because their majority was badly plundered in the antiquity and their chapel reliefs and inscriptions are mostly destroyed. They are situated in different sections of Begarawiya South, which share the common feature that they are lower lying than the earlier, eighth to fourth century BC, parts of the cemetery. One of them, viz., Begarawiya South 503 even lies in a distance of c. 250 m west of the cemetery's western boundary. The earliest among them is probably Begarawiya South 7, the burial of the officer Hor-teby<sup>76</sup> situated in a relatively high part of the cemetery's eastern edge.<sup>77</sup> Of the same, or only a slightly later date appears to be Begarawiya South 10, the tomb of the non-ruling queen Karatari<sup>78</sup> situated south of Begarawiya South 7. To the same generation appear to belong Begarawiya South 503 (a queen),<sup>79</sup> Begarawiya South 28,<sup>80</sup> Begarawiya South 27<sup>81</sup> and Begarawiya South 501.<sup>82</sup> The latter three burials were mentioned above on account of the Achaemenid style ivory casquet decorations found in them. They do not constitute a cluster, however. Tomb 503 lies outside the cemetery. Tombs 28 and 27, while identically oriented, lie in the northern part of the cemetery; Begarawiya South 501<sup>83</sup> lies at its western edge. Begarawiya South 3 represents the second generation,<sup>84</sup> where the aforementioned silver "deep bowl" and a strainer (Pl. 12) were found. The third generation is represented by the burials of King Arkamaniqo (Ergamenes), Begarawiya South 6,<sup>85</sup> and his wife Kanarta, Begarawiya South 4.<sup>86</sup> The

<sup>76</sup> Yellin 2009 17.

<sup>77</sup> Dunham 1963 380. Chapel destroyed, preserved blocks and 19th century documentation unpublished. Beg. S. 8 may be roughly contemporary, but there are no finds to support this topographical and typological assumption.

<sup>78</sup> Traditional reading of the name: Bartare.—*Lepsius Text* V 324; Chapman – Dunham 1952 Pl. IV; Dunham 1957 46 ff. In a chapel relief from Beg. S. 10 Karatari has the royal title S-R' nsw-bit without a feminine ending, Dunham 1957 fig. C/23. See recently Yellin 2009 17 f., 23 ff.

<sup>79</sup> *Lepsius Text* V 325; Dunham 1957 37; Yellin 1984; Yellin 2009 20. Chapel destroyed.

<sup>80</sup> Dunham 1963 403. Chapel destroyed.

<sup>81</sup> Dunham 1963 403. Chapel destroyed.

<sup>82</sup> Dunham 1963 444. Chapel destroyed.

<sup>83</sup> The contemporary (?) Beg. S. 502 cannot be dated for lack of finds.

<sup>84</sup> Dunham 1957 40 f. Chapel destroyed.

<sup>85</sup> Chapman – Dunham 1952 Pls III, XXIV/A; Dunham 1957 28; Hofmann 1978 38 ff.

<sup>86</sup> Chapman – Dunham 1952 Pl. III; Dunham 1957 32 f.; Hofmann 1978 43 f.

fourth generation is represented by the last burial at Begarawiya South, i.e., Begarawiya South 5, the tomb of King Amanislo.<sup>87</sup> The burials of the second to fourth generations constitute (together with the badly plundered Begarawiya South 1, 2, and 52 (?)) a cluster occupying the northeastern part of the cemetery.

The chronology of these burials spans over the transition from the Napatan to the Meroitic period of Kushite history, which approximately coincides with the period of the end of Egypt's second Persian domination (before 332 BC), her Macedonian conquest, the rule of the Macedonian dynasty (332–305 BC), and the regency of the first two Ptolemies (305–246 BC). The high artistic quality and iconographical innovativeness of the somewhat better preserved chapel reliefs from Begarawiya South 10 (Karatari), Begarawiya South 6 (Arkamaniqo), Begarawiya South 4 (Kanarta) and the astronomical ceiling from Begarawiya South 503<sup>88</sup> speak even more eloquently than the imports about high-level contacts with Egypt around the Macedonian conquest and in the decades following it. Considered together with the aforementioned royal titularies of Aktisanes and his successors, with Arkamaniqo's introduction of a new royal iconography combining archaizing Nubian elements with Ptolemaic inspiration,<sup>89</sup> and with Amanislo's grand style construction works at Napata,<sup>90</sup> these burials present a fairly precise image of the nascent Meroitic cultural behaviour of using imported ideas, forms and styles in the articulation of their own cultural traditions and innovations.

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<sup>87</sup> Chapman – Dunham 1952 Pls III, XXIV; Dunham 1957 36 f.; Hofmann 1978 38 ff.

<sup>88</sup> Yellin 1984.

<sup>89</sup> Török 1990, 2002a 181 ff.

<sup>90</sup> For the evidence, see *FHN* II No. (115).



## CHAPTER FIVE

### HELLENIZING ARCHITECTURE AND SCULPTURE IN MEROE CITY

You had the call go out for me from Meroe that I  
should come to you.<sup>1</sup>

#### 1. *The City of Meroe and its Hellenizing Architecture*

##### 1.1. *The Discovery of the Site*

The city of Meroe is situated at 16° 54' N longitude and 33° 44' E latitude in the Western Butana, a steppeland between the Nile and its eastern tributary the Atbara River, c. 200 km northeast of modern Khartoum, c. 34 km northeast of modern Shendi, and c. 1 km north of the point where the Wadi el Hawad, an ephemeral stream in the rainy season, runs into the Nile. The Wadi Hadjala, another ephemeral stream, mounds in the Nile some 500 m to the south of the “Royal Enclosure” (see below). The site of the town is today at a distance of c. 400 m from the east bank of the Nile, but in antiquity this distance was smaller. East of the town site the bare gravel terrace rises gradually towards a chain of desert hills, at whose feet, c. 4 km from the town site, are situated the pyramid cemeteries of Begarawiya South, West, and North (Pl. 14).<sup>2</sup>

The site of the city of Meroe was discovered in 1772 by James Bruce, who also identified the still visible remains of the late Amun temple (M 260) and described the site as the “ancient City of Meroe”.<sup>3</sup> The identification of the pyramid cemeteries as the burial place of the kings of Aithiopia or Meroe of the ancient authors was put forward only after Frédéric Cailliaud published the accounts of his travels in

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<sup>1</sup> Nastasene Stela, line 18, *FHN* II No. 84, trans. R.H. Pierce.

<sup>2</sup> Hinkel – Sievertsen 2002 Pl. IX.3.

<sup>3</sup> J. Bruce: *Travels to Discover the Source of the Nile* IV. Edinburgh 1790 295.



the Sudan.<sup>4</sup> The scientific expedition of C.R. Lepsius mapped the site between 1842–1845.<sup>5</sup>

The city ruins were re-discovered in 1909 by the philologist A.H. Sayce who then suggested to John Garstang to investigate the site. In 1914 the Great War interrupted Garstang's large-scale excavations conducted in the walled area of the city, which he called "Royal Enclosure", in the adjacent Amun temple area, at a number of shrines to the north (M 600) and east (M 6, M 70, M 250) of the city centre, at three Meroitic and post-Meroitic commoners' cemeteries to the east of the city, and finally at the Begarawiya West necropolis. Between 1916–1925 George Andrew Reisner investigated the Kushite royal necropoleis at el Kurru, Nuri, Gebel Barkal, and Begarawiya, South, West, and North in order to produce for Kush the traditional basic tool of historical research, viz., the royal chronology. Reisner's publication activity did not extend beyond a presentation of the principal chronological and textual evidence and a general cultural-historical evaluation.<sup>6</sup> Most of the material unearthed by him remained largely unknown until Dows Dunham published his finds between 1950 and 1970.<sup>7</sup> Dunham's work was restricted, however, to the minimum of information necessary and the selectivity of his publications is clearly indicated by recent studies from the Boston collection which houses Reisner's records and the majority of his finds.

Garstang and his collaborators published preliminary reports after each field season,<sup>8</sup> yet their records and the majority of their finds remained unpublished until 1997, when the records and the finds in the possession of the University of Liverpool (and kept now in its Garstang Museum of Archaeology) were published.<sup>9</sup> The rest of the

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<sup>4</sup> Cailliaud 1823–1826.

<sup>5</sup> For the history of the discovery, see P. Mainterot: *De l'exploration des sources du Nil au Voyage à Méroé*. in: Baud – Sackho-Autissier – Labbé-Toutée (eds) 2010 22–28.

<sup>6</sup> G.A. Reisner: *Known and Unknown Kings of Ethiopia*. *BMFA* 16 (1918) 67–82; *id.*: *The Royal Family of Napata*. *BMFA* 19 (1921) 21–38; *id.*: *The Meroitic Kingdom of Ethiopia: A Chronological Outline*. *JEA* 9 (1923) 34–77; *id.*: *The Pyramids of Meroe and the Candaces of Ethiopia*. *BMFA* 21 (1923) 12–27.

<sup>7</sup> For Begarawiya North, West, and South, see Dunham 1957, 1963; Chapman – Dunham 1952.

<sup>8</sup> In the order of appearance: Sayce – Garstang 1910; Garstang – Sayce – Griffith 1911; Garstang – Sayce 1912; Garstang 1913; Garstang – George 1914; Garstang – Phythian-Adams – Sayce 1914–1916.

<sup>9</sup> Török 1997b. For important additions to the data published in Török 1997b, see Wenig 1999c and Janice Yellin's publication of a collection of inscriptions and sculp-

finds kept in the World Museum in Liverpool (the former Merseyside County Museums), in the Petrie Museum in London and in a number of Museums in Europe, the United States, and Canada remains unpublished. P.L. Shinnie directed excavations at Meroe City between 1965–1984. His finds and records were published, albeit rather incompletely, in two volumes in 1980 and 2004.<sup>10</sup> More recently, Ali Osman of the University of Khartoum and K.A. Grzymski of the Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto, started excavations at the town site. The results from their first seasons were promptly published.<sup>11</sup> The results of the ongoing German researches conducted in the area of the “water sanctuary”, which is the actual subject of the next chapter, were published in detailed preliminary reports.<sup>12</sup> Friedrich Wilhelm Hinkel and Uwe Sievertsen considerably refined Garstang’s periodization of Meroe City in their *Die Royal City von Meroe und die repräsentative Profanarchitektur in Kusch*.<sup>13</sup>

## 1.2. *The City and its Role in Pre-Meroitic Times*

The Kushite kingdom accomplished the political annexation of the Butana region around the middle of the eighth century BC, securing thus the complete control of the trade routes connecting the Middle Nile Region with the interior of Africa. The region was never conquered by pharaonic Egypt, and due to the lack of archaeological data, its history and cultures before the emergence of the united kingdom of Kush remain almost entirely unknown.<sup>14</sup> Recent excavations at

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tures forgotten by Garstang at the site: Yellin 2004.

<sup>10</sup> Shinnie – Bradley 1980; Shinnie – Anderson (eds) 2004.—In the latter monograph, P.L. Shinnie does not confront his findings with the finds and records of Garstang published and interpreted in Török 1997b, with the curious explanation that “Dr Török’s book ‘Meroe City’ was not available to the authors of Chapter II – The Excavations [viz., P.L. Shinnie and J.R. Anderson] nor was it possible to use the information from it. It was available to Dr Yellin and Miss Näser [the authors of the chapters on the epigraphic finds and the small finds, respectively] whose contributions were finished somewhat later and it is included in the bibliography” (p. 3).

<sup>11</sup> Grzymski 2003, 2004, 2005.

<sup>12</sup> Wolf, Simone 2000, 2001; Wolf, Simone – Onasch 1998–2002; Wolf, Simone 2004, 2005, 2006, 2008; Wolf, Simone – Hof – Onasch 2003–2008; Wolf, Simone *et al.* 2008; 2009.

<sup>13</sup> Hinkel – Sievertsen 2002.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. Török 2009 157 ff., 263 ff.

Meroe City uncovered building remains under the Meroitic period palace M 750 which were carbon-dated to 900–750 BC,<sup>15</sup> indicating thus the existence of some sort of a settlement predating the annexation of the region by the el Kurru dynasty. The accomplishment of the dynasty's southward expansion (see Chapter II) is demonstrated by early burials in the elite cemeteries at Meroe City. The highest parts of the hillocks on which the Begarawiya West and South Cemeteries are situated, i.e., the areas where the interments commenced, were occupied by simple pit graves covered with mound superstructures (now completely eroded). There were two different burial forms observed: a) contracted bodies (on the left side, head to east, or on the right side, head to west) supposedly buried on beds;<sup>16</sup> b) coffin burials of mummified bodies provided as a rule with the characteristic Egyptian Third Intermediate-Late Period type bead net.<sup>17</sup> Initially—for a maximum of two generations—there occurred only burials with contracted bodies at Begarawiya West, after which concurrent mummy burials began. Begarawiya South was started later than Begarawiya West, for there are no contracted body burials in this cemetery.

The earliest coffin burials at Begarawiya West are dated to the second half of the eighth century, at the earliest, by a faience seal with the cartouches of Kashta and his daughter the God's Wife of Amun Amonirdis I<sup>18</sup> and a golden statuette of Bastet inscribed for Pemui, Chief of the Ma<sup>19</sup> vanquished by Piankhy in c. 735 BC.<sup>20</sup> The

<sup>15</sup> Grzymski 2005 57; K. Grzymski: La fondation de Méroé-Ville: Nouvelles données. in: Baud – Sackho-Autissier – Labbé-Toutée (eds) 2010 65–66.

<sup>16</sup> See Dunham 1963 5 (W. 611), 28 (W. 609), 55 (W. 502), 298 (W. 619), 305 (W. 663). No clear evidence of an actual bed was found, however, in any of these tombs.

<sup>17</sup> Dunham 1963 10 (W. 620), 11 (W. 662), 12 (W. 861?), 44 ff. (W. 671), 49 (W. 585) etc.—The earliest examples of the bead net in Egypt are dated by D.A. Aston: *Tomb Groups from the End of the New Kingdom to the Beginning of the Saite Period*. Birmingham 1987 519 ff.; J.H. Taylor in: S. D'Auria et al.: *Mummies and Magic. The Funerary Arts of Ancient Egypt*. Boston 1988 175 to around 700 BC; however, bead nets were found in the burial of Sheshonq II at Tanis (P. Rigault in: T. Phillips [ed.]: *Africa. The Art of a Continent*. London-New York 1995 Cat. 1.66) and in graves of Piankhy's wives one of which (Ku. 53, Tabiry) dates from Piankhy's lifetime (before c. 721 BC), Dunham 1950 81 (Ku. 52), 86f (Ku. 53), 91, Pl. XXVI/A (Ku. 54).

<sup>18</sup> W. 685, Dunham 1963 304.

<sup>19</sup> W. 816, Dunham 1963 8.

<sup>20</sup> See Great Triumphal Stela, line 116. Pemui is also shown kissing the ground before Piankhy in the lunette of the stela. *FHN* I No. 9 105, 114.

earliest contracted body burials may thus be earlier than Kashta's reign (c. 775–755 BC).

Both the contracted body burials and the coffin burials contained Egyptian (and/or Egyptian type) artefacts. In view of the topographical continuity of the cemeteries and the short time distance between the occurrence of the two different burial customs, both Begarawiya West and South can be interpreted as burial grounds opened in conjunction with the establishment of Meroe City as political centre of the Butana region after its conquest by the el Kurru dynasty, and not as cemeteries started before, and independently from, the conquest.

The existence and the site of an early Amun temple built in the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty/Early Napatan period may be inferred from *in situ* architectural remains<sup>21</sup> and dislocated inscribed blocks found at site M 293.<sup>22</sup> This evidence is further supported by finds from two cachettes discovered under palace M 294.<sup>23</sup> The first cachette contained two pottery jars containing gold dust, gold nuggets and jewels inscribed for kings Aramatelqo and Malonaqene (first half of the sixth century BC),<sup>24</sup> the second items of (an) Early Napatan foundation deposit(s), pieces of Twenty-Fifth Dynasty and Early Napatan temple furniture, and a rich collection of various votive objects.<sup>25</sup> Architectural remains unearthed at site M 298 also seem to belong to the early Amun temple.<sup>26</sup>

Alongside Napata, Kawa, and Pnubs/Kerma, the city of Meroe was one of the urban centres, which functioned concurrently as capitals of Kush during most of the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty, Napatan, and Meroitic periods.<sup>27</sup> The major royal residences and necropoleis at Meroe City and Napata as well as the ancient residences at Kawa and Pnubs/Kerma were associated with Amun temples, in which local Amun gods were

<sup>21</sup> Remains of a doorway inscribed for Amani-nataki-lebte, 2nd half of the 6th cent. BC, Török 1997b 152, fig. 95.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.* 152 f.

<sup>23</sup> The significance of the cachette finds is not realized by Hinkel – Sievertsen 2002 34 f.

<sup>24</sup> Török 1997b 160 f., figs 119, 140, Pl. 126.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.* 25–30, 153–161, 235–243, figs 95, 100, Pls 115–125.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.* 167 f.

<sup>27</sup> Török 1992. I have based my view concerning the plurality of capitals in Kush on the texts relating the multiple coronations of the Napatan kings. A careful lecture of the texts may convince us that the distinction made by Steffen Wenig between the rites at Napata as a “real” coronation and at Kawa and Pnubs as “symbolic” investitures misses the point: cf. Wenig 1992. What is “symbolic” in such a context?

worshipped. At Meroe City (Pl. 15)<sup>28</sup> a large magazine/granary building (M 740) belonging to the (late) Amun temple-royal palace compound was also excavated.<sup>29</sup> Temple-royal palace compounds are also identified or supposed at other urban sites, such as, e.g., Wad ban Naqa,<sup>30</sup> Naqa,<sup>31</sup> or Muweis.<sup>32</sup> Wad ban Naga and Muweis were members of a chain of Meroitic period royal residences built at regular distances along the east bank of the Nile south of Meroe City.<sup>33</sup> The concurrent existence of royal residences at the traditional centres of the kingdom and the systematic development of further urban settlements around royal residence-cult temple compounds indicate the division of the land into identically construed units of territorial administration. The multiplicity of royal residences is also indicative of the continuity of the governmental form of the ambulatory kingship with a court moving from residence to residence, as it is reflected in the “coronation” inscriptions from the Napatan period.<sup>34</sup>

In the Napatan period the investiture of the king was a ceremonial journey, which included two main parts, viz., 1. legitimation in the human sphere, i.e., the declaration and acceptance of the legitimacy by rightful descent according to the actually valid concept and rules of succession; 2. legitimation by Amun of Napata, Amun of Kawa, Amun of Pnubs/Kerma, and Bastet of Tare (this latter apparently only in the fourth century BC). The legitimating in the human sphere was performed in the place where the heir apparent was staying at the time of his predecessor’s death. Aspelta (late seventh-early sixth century BC)<sup>35</sup> and Harsiyotef (first half-middle of the fourth century BC)<sup>36</sup> are recorded to have stayed at that time at Napata, Irike-Amannote (late fifth-early fourth century BC)<sup>37</sup> and Nastasene (last third of the fourth

<sup>28</sup> Hinkel – Sievertsen 2002 Pl. IX.4.

<sup>29</sup> Török 1997b 179 ff. Hinkel – Sievertsen 2002 122 prefer to interpret M 740 as a representative dwelling of priests and miss finds (remains of grain!) that would provide a material support for my interpretation.

<sup>30</sup> Vercoutter 1962; and see Török 2002a 28 ff.

<sup>31</sup> Cf. Török 2002a 26 ff.

<sup>32</sup> Baud 2008; Baud 2010b 216 f.

<sup>33</sup> Baud 2008.

<sup>34</sup> Török 1992; Török 1997a 215 ff.—*Contra* cf. S. Wenig: Kommentar zu Török: Ambulatory Kingship and Settlement History. in: Bonnet (ed.) 1992 137–140.

<sup>35</sup> *FHN* I No. 37, lines 2 ff.

<sup>36</sup> *FHN* II No. 78, lines 4 ff.

<sup>37</sup> *FHN* II No. 71, lines 3 ff.

century BC)<sup>38</sup> at Meroe City. The scene of Nastasene's legitimation is not defined. Irike-Amannote's legitimation took place in his predecessor's "palace of Meroe", which became now his palace.<sup>39</sup>

The location at Meroe City of the royal palace(s) of the Napatan and Early Meroitic periods is unknown: it is rather likely that it (they) stood in the vicinity of the early Amun temple. In the AD first century a monumental ceremonial and residential palace (M 750)<sup>40</sup> was built from dressed sandstone blocks (including a great number of reused relief blocks from Napatan and Early Meroitic temple walls)<sup>41</sup> facing the processional avenue of the late Amun temple M 260 situated to its right. This relationship was doubtless determined by the Egyptian New Kingdom tradition of the residence being erected on the "star-board side" of the processional avenue. This rule was also observed in Napatan period Kush.<sup>42</sup> In this way, the ruler could arrive from a position of the highest status when he greeted the divine barque as it emerged from the pylons of the temple.<sup>43</sup> The adoption of this topographical relationship was an important element in both the Egyptian and Kushite concepts of the divine and royal processions as symbols and guarantors of cosmic processes.

Mudbrick walls from the earliest settlement levels of Meroe City were reached in trial trenches opened during the course of the excavations conducted between 1965–1972 by P.L. Shinnie and R.J. Bradley in the North Mound c. 7.50 m below the AD third century settlement level.<sup>44</sup> The calibrated radiocarbon dates published from Shinnie's excavations<sup>45</sup> indicate that occupation at Meroe City started in the ninth century BC, at the latest. This is also confirmed by the

<sup>38</sup> *FHN* II No. 84, lines 4 ff.

<sup>39</sup> Cf. *FHN* II. No. 71, lines 17 f., 26 f.

<sup>40</sup> Török 1997b 181 ff.; Hinkel – Sievertsen 2002 122 ff.

<sup>41</sup> Török 1997b 183 ff., figs 33–39, 47, 49–52. For recently discovered and recorded blocks, see K.A. Grzymski – I. Grzymska: Excavations in Palace M 705 at Meroe. *Sudan & Nubia* 12 (2008) 47–51; Grzymski 2010.

<sup>42</sup> At Napata Palace B 1200, the building of which was started probably by Kashta, was coordinated with temple B 800 built by Alara (?) or Kashta (see T. Kendall: The Origin of the Napatan State: El Kurru and the Evidence for the Royal Ancestors. *Meroitica* 15 [1999] 3–117 67; for B 1200 see T. Kendall: The Napatan Palace at Gebel Barkal. A First Look at B 1200. in: Davies (ed.) 1991 302–313) as well as, (less obviously, however), with B 500. In later times, the Meroitic palace B 100 was coordinated in a more obvious manner with B 500 (for B 100 see Dunham 1970 Plan II).

<sup>43</sup> D. O'Connor: City and Palace in New Kingdom Egypt. *CRIPEL* 11 (1989) 73–87 79.

<sup>44</sup> Shinnie – Bradley 1980 figs 12, 13, cf. Török 1997b 44 f., figs A, B.

<sup>45</sup> Shinnie – Anderson (eds) 2004 363 ff.

aforementioned carbon dates from Grzymski's recent excavations.<sup>46</sup> The cachettes under building M 294 were discovered by Garstang at a depth of *c.* 7.30 m below the latest (AD fourth century?) occupation level in the central area of the city. Since Garstang reached this depth during the course of random sondages that were carried out under buildings M 293 and 294, the actual layout of the early Amun temple as well as the early structure of the city centre remain unknown. The earliest settlement levels were overlaid by "an extensive level of water-laid clay, silt, and river cobbles, indicative of an extraordinary high Nile",<sup>47</sup> which was explained by Rebecca Bradley as a consequence of the rainstorm and subsequent extraordinary inundation reported in Taharqo's sixth regnal year, i.e., *c.* 685 BC.<sup>48</sup> The mudbrick sizes in the structures predating the flood level correspond to the sizes of mudbricks from the foundation wall of Sanam temple built by Taharqo.<sup>49</sup> The sizes of mudbricks change above the flood level to sizes recorded from structures in the Napata region dated to the reigns of Taharqo (?) and Tanwetamani.<sup>50</sup> The earliest inscribed finds associated with the early Amun temple date from the reign of Senkamanisken (Taharqo's third successor, second half of the seventh century BC). A (now lost) bronze statuette of a Twenty-Fifth Dynasty ruler, most probably Taharqo,<sup>51</sup> from one of the cachettes associated with the early Amun temple indicates, however, that its building may have been started earlier. The above-discussed coffin burials from the second half of the eighth century BC required the presence of priests and a temple. It remains unknown, however, where this temple may have stood.

In Rebecca Bradley's view

it is possible that the position of the Nile relative to the site has changed over the last 2500 years, since the city was founded, and that the original settlement in the area was in part on unstable alluvial islands in a braided channel [...] The two mounds [North and South Mounds]

<sup>46</sup> For an overview of the dates, see Grzymski 2005 57.

<sup>47</sup> Bradley 1984 200.

<sup>48</sup> *FHN* I No. 22, lines 5 ff.

<sup>49</sup> Griffith 1922 80; Bradley 1984 197 f.

<sup>50</sup> Bradley 1984 198 f.

<sup>51</sup> It was published in Török 1997b 260 find x-g, Pls 210, 211 as unprovenanced, because I failed to realize that it was photographed by Garstang as part of the metal finds from the second cachette, see Török 1997b Pl. 123, 2nd row third from left (described p. 159 as find 294–115, erroneously as "bronze statuette of a lion-headed goddess").

and the 'Royal City' [the "Royal Enclosure"] would thus represent the remains of the original islands; the sterility of the dividing and surrounding areas would be due to their having been under water for a large portion of the city's history [...] In terms of geomorphology, the Nile at this point is bedded on the soft Nubian Sandstone Formation, and has cut itself a broad alluvium-filled bed along which its meanders migrate slowly northwards. The channel in the Shendi-Atbara reach is frequently braided, and lined with basins which represent fairly recently abandoned channels; one such basin is directly opposite the site [...] Examination of aerial photographs clearly reveals the recent shifts on the opposite bank.<sup>52</sup>

I argued in my publication of Garstang's excavations that alterations in the water supply system of the "water sanctuary" (see Chapter V.2) support Bradley's theoretical reconstruction of Meroe City as built originally on alluvial islands. I also supposed, however, that the channels separating the islands from each other may have been temporary channels, which carried water only in the rainy season.<sup>53</sup> In a recent study Krzysztof Grzymski suggests that

none of the arguments forwarded by Bradley in support of the "islands" hypothesis can withstand scrutiny, one must nevertheless consider the idea itself as valid and worthy of consideration [...] Lepsius's map of the site<sup>54</sup> [...] convey[s] a sense of Meroe being erected on a series of islands. One possible explanation would be to attribute this island-like appearance of the mounds to the accumulation of human occupation in selected areas with spaces left open either by design, as streets and open plazas, or as representing the post-occupational seasonal water flows running on lower grounds. In other words, one can reverse the "islands hypothesis" by suggesting that after the site was abandoned it was the layout of the settlement that directed the flow of seasonal water floods from the *wadis* and the Nile. Another possibility would be that the site layout was affected by (seasonal?) water flows from a *wadi* rather than the Nile and the empty spaces between the mounds were, indeed, the ancient natural water channels.<sup>55</sup>

Grzymski also suggests that the *wadi* in question was the Wadi Hadjala south of the city, which would also be supported by the orientation of the *hafir* near Temple M 250 (for the *hafirs*, see Chapter VI.1.1).

<sup>52</sup> Bradley 1982 167.

<sup>53</sup> Török 1997b 23 ff.—For a more detailed discussion of the issue of seasonal water flows, see Wolf 1996 40 ff.

<sup>54</sup> LD I 132.

<sup>55</sup> Grzymski 2005 56.



The inscribed finds associated with the early Amun temple reveal that it was dedicated to the dual cult of Amun of Napata and Amun of Thebes.<sup>56</sup> Its longitudinal axis was oriented probably approximately north south and the royal residence associated with it stood probably in the area of buildings M 295 and M 195. Though the process of its abandonment in the course of the third century BC remains obscure,<sup>57</sup> there may be little doubt that the building of a new Amun temple replacing the early Amun sanctuary was part of large-scale building actions at Meroe City, which were, in turn, part of significant political and cultural developments.

### 1.3. *The Meroitic City and the Late Amun Temple*

The chronology of these developments, which included the transfer of the royal burial ground from Gebel Barkal to the Begarawiya South Cemetery and then, after two ruler generations, to the Begarawiya North Cemetery (Chapters I, IV); the emergence of the Meroitic script;<sup>58</sup> the forming of the cults and theology of Nubian hunter/warrior deities (Chapter VI); and the adoption of Ptolemaic Egyptian art forms and artistic styles, is far from being satisfactorily established. It is frequently suggested that a sharp political and cultural dividing line can be drawn between the Napatan and Meroitic periods, which is usually identified with the “moment” of the transfer of the royal burial ground. While the emergence of the new dynasty carrying out the transfer seems indeed to have been violent (cf. Chapter I), and in this sense there is in fact a sharp dividing line, we find nevertheless (see Chapter IV) that it was not Arkamaniqo/Ergamenes I who was actually buried as the first member of the new dynasty at Begarawiya

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<sup>56</sup> The Twenty-Fifth Dynasty and Napatan period votives found in the cachettes associated with the early Amun temple were dedicated to these gods. Three votives, however, were offered to Amun of Gematon (Kawa) who may thus have been worshipped there as a synnaos. For the finds see Török 1997b 26 f., 152 f., 155–161, 235–243, figs 94, 95, 99, 100, 118–126, Pls 115–126. For the dual structure of the Kushite Amun cult, see Török 1997a 303 ff.

<sup>57</sup> The latest datable find from the temple area is a faience votive plaque of the mid-third century BC King Amanislo, Török 1997b 168 find 298–2. It is obscure, however, which parts of the temple (if any) were still used for the cult at the time when the kiln site, from where the plaque comes, was in use.

<sup>58</sup> Cf. recently C. Rilly: Les graffiti archaïques de Doukki Gel et l'apparition de l'écriture méroïtique. *MNL* 30 (2003) 41–55; Rilly 2007; Rilly 2010a, 2010b.

South. The burial of the non-ruling queen Bartare (Beg. S. 10) preceded Ergamenes's burial in Beg. S. 6 with two generations, the burial of an unknown prince in Beg. S. 3 with one generation. We do not know, of course, exactly how long these generations were. Anyhow, instead of an abrupt change, the evidence may better be interpreted in the terms of longer political and cultural processes that already had started in the reign of Nastasene and became visible in Aktisanes's reign (cf. Chapters I, IV): the dynastic change itself was probably both their cause and result.

The changes in the physical and conceptual structure of the city of Meroe started with the building of a monumental sandstone wall (Pl. 15) enclosing the central city area in which the early Amun temple was standing.<sup>59</sup> It can be dated only in general terms to the first half of the third century BC.<sup>60</sup> A *post quem* seems to be provided by the observation,<sup>61</sup> according to which the convex course of the western enclosure wall was determined by the already standing early "water sanctuary" building (cf. Chapter V.2). The enclosed area, the so-called "Royal Enclosure", was of an irregular, trapezoid shape, which was 295 m (eastern side) to 365 m (western side) long and 195 m in width. The thickness of the wall varied between 3.50 and 5.50 m in the north, 3.85 and 7.75 m in the south, and 3.60 and 4.60 m in the southern section of the west wall. Between carefully dressed and laid outer courses the interior of the wall comprised carelessly laid and coarsely dressed or undressed blocks of varying sizes. A similar wall structure may also be observed in the Great Enclosure at Musawwarat es Sufra.<sup>62</sup>

The building of the wall and the first period of the late Amun temple M 260,<sup>63</sup> which adjoins the eastern side of the "Royal Enclosure" (Pl. 16),<sup>64</sup> were not independent of each other. The building of the naos and its annexes, i.e., the western part of the temple building, started shortly before the completion of the eastern side of the enclosure wall.

<sup>59</sup> Török 1997b 41 ff.

<sup>60</sup> Hinkel – Sievertsen 2002 37 date it to their *Bauperiode II*, and suppose that it was renovated in *Bauperiode IV*, which they date to the end of the 3rd-beginning of the 2nd century BC with reference to Garstang – Sayce 1912 63 on the alleged Greek mason's marks from the wall section behind the late Amun temple. On the irrelevance of this evidence as interpreted by Garstang and Sayce, see Chapter I of this book.

<sup>61</sup> Wolf, Simone *et al.* 2008 191.

<sup>62</sup> Hinkel 1984 305.

<sup>63</sup> For the first period building and its subsequent enlargements, see Török 1997b 116 ff.

<sup>64</sup> Wildung (ed.) 1997 fig. 52.

Such a dating is suggested by two observations.<sup>65</sup> Firstly, the floor level inside the “Royal Enclosure” was identical with the floor level of the area (M 275) behind the naos. Secondly, as opposed to the rest of the enclosure wall,<sup>66</sup> the blocks of the eastern face of the enclosure wall (Pl. 17) in the sections that were visible within the temple precinct were finished in a manner that closely resembles Hellenistic margin dressing.<sup>67</sup> The blocks in question should not be mistaken for roughly finished blocks delivered from the quarry and left, after being built in the wall, unsmoothed for some reason.<sup>68</sup> The margin dressing of the blocks inside a representative building such as an Amun temple indicates an intentional decoration, which was probably inspired by the drafted margin of the blocks from which monumental early Hellenistic walls, first of all of fortifications, were erected.<sup>69</sup> In spite of its strength, however, the “Royal Enclosure” wall had no defensive character, since its gates were not fortified. The northeast and northwest corners of the “Enclosure” have the shape of towers in their ground plan, but do not have the appearance of real bastions.<sup>70</sup> Its function was rather symbolic: it separated the buildings within from the world without in the manner of temple enclosure walls. Yet the *temenos* walls of the temples in Egypt and Kush were built from mudbrick or burnt brick: the stone material reminds us rather of the palace and temple precincts of the classical world.

The late Amun temple M 260 was integrated with the “Royal Enclosure” in a special manner. The early Amun temple seems to have defined a roughly north-south main axis of the town, i.e., parallel to

<sup>65</sup> *Ibid.* 42 f.

<sup>66</sup> Cf. *ibid.* Pl. 177.

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid.* Pls 1, 90, 91, 241.

<sup>68</sup> According to Hinkel 1984 306 ff. no margin dressing was intended. Indeed, as a rule, the quarries delivered at the building sites roughly dressed blocks with their show face marked by a c. 5 cm wide margin smoothing. The entire show face was smoothed after the stone was laid in course and its sides and top were sufficiently dressed. Although Hinkel is right in pointing out that similarly finished blocks usually represent an intermediary stage of dressing and not a kind of rustication, cases are special such as the enclosure wall section within the Amun temple precinct or the lower part or eventually the entire surface of early Meroitic pyramids at Begarawiya North and Gebel Barkal (for examples, see Török 1997b 42 note 174).

<sup>69</sup> Cf. Perga, Greece, tower of city wall, 3rd century BC, A.W. Lawrence: *Greek Architecture*. Harmondsworth 1987 fig. 290.—The blocks of several early Meroitic pyramids at Begarawiya North and Gebel Barkal display a similar margin dressing.

<sup>70</sup> At the south side fallen masses of the outer wall shell were mistaken by Garstang for remains of bastions, see Török 1997b 42.

the Nile (an orientation apparently similar to the Isis temple at Philae). By contrast, the late temple defined an east-west main axis. But, as opposed to the great majority of the Kushite and Egyptian temples, the late Amun temple M 260 did not open towards the Nile. According to Pawel Wolf,<sup>71</sup> the prolongation of its processional avenue—which by the AD first century was flanked by smaller temples<sup>72</sup>—connected the town with the cemeteries at Begarawiya instead of leading to the river. Being defined by the temple gate and the processional avenue, the principal “front” of the town turned thus towards the cemeteries and not to the river flowing close to its opposite front (Pl. 14). The conclusion is inevitable: there was a direct connection between the transfer of the royal burial ground from Barkal to Meroe City and the transformation of the urban structure of Meroe City. In the new structure the “Royal Enclosure” and the buildings within it, including the royal residence(s), were not coordinated in the usual manner with the Amun temple, either, since the temple turned its back to the “Royal Enclosure”. Accordingly, the “Royal Enclosure” was adjoining (or rather annexed to) the Amun temple and not vice versa.

An unusual feature of the temple casts some light on the conceptual relationship between the “Royal Enclosure” and the temple. This is a small barque stand placed outside the temple at the centre of the rear wall of the naos<sup>73</sup> exactly “behind” the permanent image of the lord of the temple, i.e., in the area that may be termed a virtual contra-temple (Pl. 16). It is tempting to suppose that, placed in its barque on this stand, it was the image of a deity dwelling in some other temple that “communicated” here with the lord of the temple in his Naos. Another, more likely possibility is, however, that the lord of the temple halted here in a procession around his temple in order to realize the purpose of the contra-temple in an unusual manner. Finally, it is probable that this barque stand was associated with a particularly interesting and unparalleled part of the temple, viz., with edifice M 276 standing between its rear wall and the eastern wall of the “Royal Enclosure”. M 276 was a transversally oriented long (c. 10 m) and narrow (c. 2.5 m) room erected on a high podium and approached by flights

<sup>71</sup> Wolf 1996 40 f.

<sup>72</sup> Shinnie – Anderson (eds) 2004 10 ff. (temple KC 100), 20 ff. (temple M 720), 36 ff. (temple KC 101), 56 ff. (temple KC 104).

<sup>73</sup> Garstang *et al.* 1911 Pl. IX/4.—It stands now, as a result of the excavator’s rearrangement of the interior of the Re-Harakhte chapel, on the dais in the latter.

of steps and doorways at either short side. According to the excavator, “its western wall, which was like a facing of brick added to the stone wall of the city, seemed to preserve traces of stucco and painting, especially in a broad recess or panel”<sup>74</sup> in the centre of the wall. While Garstang’s plan records a simple, c. 3–3.5 m long and 30–40 cm deep recess, one of his photographs<sup>75</sup> gives the impression that flat wall pillars (?) framed it.

With its flights of steps leading to entrances at either short side, the building may be defined as a barque station.<sup>76</sup> Its position behind the main sanctuary doubtless connects it with the lord of the temple. It would be tempting to regard it therefore as the scene of rites associated with the contra-temple area, were it not for a detail in its interior that may suggest a different interpretation. This detail lies in the recess in its west wall. Though it is unusually broad, the recess has the appearance of a false door. If it was indeed a false door, the barque station M 276 was the place for the mystic communication between a deity—most probably the lord of the temple—who appeared here in his processional barque and another deity who “arrived” through the false door from the area behind the door, i.e., from the “Royal Enclosure”. The Meroitic royal palace M 294 was situated “behind” the late Amun temple, suggesting that it may have been the living divine king (?) or a deified royal ancestor (?) who was encountered by Amun at the false door.

#### 1.4. *Palaces in the “Royal Enclosure”*

Informations about the different parts of the “Royal Enclosure” are very uneven. Garstang excavated c. 20 % of the entire walled area in the northern part of the “Enclosure” (Pl. 18).<sup>77</sup> The remaining 80 % was rather poorly investigated. In the following I shall discuss those buildings and finds, which may contribute to the understanding of the functions of the “Enclosure” and/or display Hellenizing features. Some of the building remains in the northern section of the “Enclosure” predate the period in which the enclosure wall was built, and some of

<sup>74</sup> Garstang *et al.* 1911 14, Pls IX/1, 2.

<sup>75</sup> Török 1997b Pl. XXX.

<sup>76</sup> *Ibid.* 123 I interpreted M 276, probably wrongly, as an Osiris chapel.

<sup>77</sup> Garstang – Phythian-Adams – Sayce 1914–1916 Pl. II.

these, such as Chapel M 292<sup>78</sup> and rooms M 954–954a under building M 950 (see below), remained in use until the AD first century and beyond. A number of buildings, though they postdate the building of the enclosure wall, preserved the orientation of a pre-wall north-south main street (M 950,<sup>79</sup> rooms marked 905,<sup>80</sup> 940, 941,<sup>81</sup> Houses A, B), others, such as M 990,<sup>82</sup> 995,<sup>83</sup> 996,<sup>84</sup> 998,<sup>85</sup> conform with the orientation of the enclosure walls.

In the centre of the “Royal Enclosure” (Pl. 19)<sup>86</sup> small remains from the early Amun temple complex were uncovered (M 298).<sup>87</sup> In its southern half three monumental buildings were investigated, but neither of them was completely excavated. Building M 194, the “water sanctuary”, will be discussed in the next chapter. The late (?) Meroitic building M 294<sup>88</sup> was built above remains of the early Amun temple. The Late Meroitic M 295<sup>89</sup> to the west of it was of identical size and orientation, and was similarly built over earlier edifices of different orientations. Garstang found among them masonry walls allegedly erected from reused blocks. One of these is reported to have been bearing the cartouche of King Talakhamani (second half of the fifth century BC).<sup>90</sup> It is likely that the royal residence(s) contemporary with the early Amun temple stood in the area occupied by M 295.

Both late M 294 and M 295 had a palatial character. Their main floor seems to have been situated on the top of a podium-like structure similarly to Palace B 1500 of Natakamani and Amanitore at Gebel Barkal,<sup>91</sup> but the walls preserved from the interior of M 295 display a

<sup>78</sup> *Ibid.* 145 ff.; Hinkel – Sievertsen 2002 102 ff.

<sup>79</sup> *Ibid.* 212 ff.; Hinkel – Sievertsen 2002 127 ff.

<sup>80</sup> Török 1997b 192.

<sup>81</sup> *Ibid.* 203 f.

<sup>82</sup> *Ibid.* 219 ff.; Hinkel – Sievertsen 2002 132 f.

<sup>83</sup> *Ibid.* 221 ff.; Hinkel – Sievertsen 2002 133 f.

<sup>84</sup> Török 1997b 223 ff.; Hinkel – Sievertsen 2002 134 ff.

<sup>85</sup> Török 1997b 227 ff.; Hinkel – Sievertsen 2002 137 ff.

<sup>86</sup> Garstang 1913 Pl. VI.

<sup>87</sup> Török 1997b 167; Hinkel – Sievertsen 2002 120 f. In the building thirty-six pieces of a foundation deposit of early Napatan type were discovered (Török 1997b 167 f.). In their interpretation of the building, Hinkel and Sievertsen do not seem to realize the significance of the find.

<sup>88</sup> Török 1997b 153 ff.; Hinkel – Sievertsen 2002 110 ff.

<sup>89</sup> Török 1997b 161 ff.; Hinkel – Sievertsen 2002 114 ff.

<sup>90</sup> Török 1997b 163 No. 295–1=Inscr. 97, fig. 125.

<sup>91</sup> S. Donadoni – S. Bosticco: Scavi italiani al Gebel Barkal. *Meroitica* 8 (1982) 291–301; Donadoni 1993; Roccati 1997; L. Sist: Natakamani e l’Ellenismo: alcune considerazioni sul palazzo B 1500 a Gebel Barkal. in: *Atti del V Convegno Nazionale di*

different room structure, which stands closer to the central part of the Napatan period palace B 1200 at Gebel Barkal.<sup>92</sup> In a long, corridor-like room in the southern half of M 295 a water tank was found. It was built from dressed sandstone blocks, and stairs approached its bottom from its western edge. The axis of the stairs was south north oriented.<sup>93</sup> The bottom and the sides of the tank as well as the stairs were white-washed, similarly to the floor and walls of the enclosing room. The bottom of the tank was divided into two parts: the tank proper and a narrow, low podium along its south side. According to Garstang<sup>94</sup> the tank was as deep “as the height of a man”. The shape as well as the orientation of the tank closely corresponds to the basin of the “water sanctuary” (see Chapter V.2). There may be little doubt that also their cultic significance was similar. Two further tanks in buildings M 621<sup>95</sup> and 932<sup>96</sup> repeat the layout of the tank in M 295. Their cultic function is indicated by a cartuche-shaped depression in the centre of the tank in M 621.

Basins with rounded ends carved in a single block of sandstone and resembling the shape of modern bathtubs were found in Early Meroitic contexts under building M 950<sup>97</sup> and House D,<sup>98</sup> further in building M 923<sup>99</sup> (Pl. 20).<sup>100</sup> The architectural and chronological context of a basin reported from the area of street M 900<sup>101</sup> is obscure. Here I discuss the finds from M 950 in more detail. Under building M 950 two basins were found in a room complex (numbered M 954 and 954a), which was part of an Early Meroitic building. When the Early Meroitic building was pulled down or destroyed in the late first century BC–early AD first century and overbuilt by an identically oriented, monumental house (Pl. 21),<sup>102</sup> rooms M 954 and 954a were preserved and made

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*Egittologia e Papirologia* (Firenze, 10–12 dicembre 1999). Firenze 2000 253–257; Sist 2006; Roccati 2008.

<sup>92</sup> Kendall 1991 fig. 2, levels III–V.

<sup>93</sup> Török 1997b Pl. 127.

<sup>94</sup> Garstang – Sayce 1912 50.

<sup>95</sup> Török 1997a 175, Pl. 145.

<sup>96</sup> *Ibid.* 201, fig. 3.

<sup>97</sup> *Ibid.* 207 ff.; Hinkel – Sievertsen 2002 127 ff.

<sup>98</sup> *Ibid.* 55 ff.; Hinkel – Sievertsen 2002 94.

<sup>99</sup> *Ibid.* 197 ff.; Hinkel – Sievertsen 2002 127.

<sup>100</sup> Hinkel – Sievertsen 2002 Pl. IX.29.

<sup>101</sup> *Ibid.* 176.

<sup>102</sup> Hinkel – Sievertsen 2002 Pl. IX.13.

accessible from the new building. Garstang's photographs<sup>103</sup> record signs for several alterations carried out in the course of their use. In its original form M 954a was covered with a barrel vault. From its original equipment two sandstone basins in the shape of modern bathtubs with a plastered and coated water inlet (?) in the southwest corner of the room and a water supply conduit in the centre of the south wall were preserved *in situ*. At a later time, perhaps still before the erection of the later building, M 954a was altered in a radical manner. Its roof was demolished and, across one of the basins, a new northeast-southwest partition wall was built. A new barrel vault was erected over the altered room, resting on one side on the new partition wall and on the existing sidewall on the opposite side. After its re-building M 954a communicated with M 954 through a corridor or a room situated northeast of 954a, although M 954a itself communicated with the corridor only through a window-like opening above the basins in the northeast end wall of the room.

Original M 954 contained a square stone tank, which was over-built by a northeast-southwest running wall concurrently with the re-building of M 954a, and statue (?) bases. Garstang's photographs record that at the time of the re-building there existed a second floor over M 954 and they also indicate that M 954 was entered through a window-like semicircular opening in its SW end wall. This opening was more than 1 m above floor level.

Rooms 954 and 954a were subterranean rooms in the new M 950, which were reached by a staircase preserved from the early building where it led up originally from the ground floor to the upper floor or to the roof. It may be supposed that M 954 in its original form and the staircase corresponded directly with each other. Stone pillars bearing astronomical markings and standing at the upper end of the staircase, and Early Meroitic cursive graffiti containing calculations on one of the walls of the stairwell were regarded by Garstang as evidence for the original function of complex M 954–954a–964 as an “observatory”. A recent study presented convincing arguments in support of Garstang's suggestion.<sup>104</sup>

The function of the bathtub-shaped stone basins may be defined in their context with the “observatory”. Here we must make an excursus

<sup>103</sup> *Ibid.* Pls 172/b–d.

<sup>104</sup> T.J. Logan – B.[B.] Williams: On the Meroe Observatory. *BzS* 7 (2000) 59–84.



and consider some titles borne by Late Meroitic priests. In the AD early third century Wayekiye (A), a remarkable member of a remarkable Lower Nubian family,<sup>105</sup> was *hont*-priest of Sothis “in the going and coming of the Moon” and “*waab*-priest of the five living stars”, further *hr-tp n nsw n Kš*, “chief ritualist of the King of Kush”.<sup>106</sup> In general terms, the first two titles signify the higher priesthood of the Egyptian sanctuaries and correspond to the Greek titles προφήτης, “prophet” and ἱερεύς “priest”, respectively.<sup>107</sup> Seemingly, the titles of Wayekiye (A) refer to two cults and a court office. Yet, though the star Sothis was also worshipped in the personified form of the goddess Sothis, especially in her form Isis-Sothis,<sup>108</sup> the second title referring to the five planets, i.e., to an astronomical notion and not a temple cult, makes it sufficiently clear that also the first title defines its owner as an astronomer. The third title points in the same direction. Viewed together, all three titles of Wayekiye (A) seem to be connected with a special category of the priests belonging to the class of the ἱερογραμματεῖς, the learned “writers of the sacred books”. We find them under the terms *wnwtj* in Egyptian and ὀρολόγιος, ὀροσκόπος in Greek documents.<sup>109</sup> As the Greek terms reveal, they were educated in astronomy and astrology and, as suggested by the Egyptian title “hour-watcher”, were responsible for measuring the 12 hours of the day and the 12 hours of the night and defining their lengths during the course of the year as the lengths of the two halves of the day changed with the seasons.<sup>110</sup> Their work was also connected to the timing of feasts,

<sup>105</sup> Cf. *FHN* III Nos 243–255; Török 2009 456 ff.

<sup>106</sup> According to J.F. Quack’s new reading of the Demotic inscription Ph. 421=*FHN* III No. 245, Wayekiye (A) was also a “General [i.e., leader of a cult association] of the Moon”. I am grateful to Professor Quack for this information (letter of June 2008).

<sup>107</sup> For the broad meaning of the titles see Otto 1905–1908 I 76 ff. The first, as it seems, indicates membership in the highest echelon of the priesthood of a temple; the second in a lower one (cf. Hölbl 1994 101). Title combinations of this type including several priesthoods on different levels of the hierarchy in different sanctuaries and of different deities are, however, common in contemporary Egyptian texts and abundantly attested to in second through fourth century AD Meroitic inscriptions. They can be interpreted as evidence for the existence of several cults (of *synnaoi*, i.e., deities sharing a temple) in the same temple on the one hand, and of priestly colleges uniting the priesthood of several sanctuaries, on the other.

<sup>108</sup> L. Kákosy: Sothis. *LÄ* V (1984) 1110–1117, cf. *PM* VI 210, 219, 223 ff.

<sup>109</sup> J. Osing: Stundeneinteilung, -beobachter. *LÄ* VI (1985) 100–101.

<sup>110</sup> They carried out their task, which was a very complicated one considering the actual state of astronomy, with the help of the sundial in the day and the clepsydra, or of astronomical calculations, in the night; and worked with the astronomical instruments called *b’y n imy-wnwt*, φοῖνιξ ἀστρολογίας, “vizier’s stave”, and *mrhyt*,

especially the determination of the date of the inundation. *Horologoi* and *horoskopoi* are mentioned in the evidence relating to the temples in the Ptolemaic and Roman periods and were also to be found in the service of the Ptolemaic court.

Accordingly, the function of the stone basins may have been the preservation of the “pure” Nile water drawn from the river at the time of inundation, the date of which was determined by learned priests who carried out their measurements in the Early Meroitic predecessor of building M 950. Sacred water collected during the inundation period for use in religious ceremonies was stored in temples (basins and lakes) as well as in private houses in Hellenistic and Roman Egypt. According to Aristides of Smyrna, the water of the inundation remained fresh for years and was therefore carefully stored in the houses of the Egyptians.<sup>111</sup>

One of the Meroe City basins was found in the Early Meroitic edifice M 923 (Pl. 21). In its original form M 923 seems to have been built, similarly to M 996 and 998, around a colonnaded or pillared central courtyard and, as indicated by the staircase opening from its east front, it also had an upper floor. A now lost painted terracotta statue of the enthroned goddess Taweret (Thoeris) from the building may indicate priestly dwellers.<sup>112</sup> This is corroborated by a special find, viz., pottery jars buried along the north wall and at the pillar- or colonnade bases of the courtyard. The vessels were found to contain charred bones and ashes. Dozens of pottery jars containing ashes and charred bones—believed by Garstang to have been incinerated human remains—were also unearthed in what in most cases seems to have been separate and special rooms in M 994,<sup>113</sup> 996,<sup>114</sup> and 998,<sup>115</sup> further in the unnumbered house remains between the northeast corner of the “Royal Enclosure” and M 974.<sup>116</sup> The carefully deposited ashes and charred bones were in all probability remains of animals sacrificed

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ὥρολόγιον, “*Stundenzeiger*” and used stellar charts: A.H. Gardiner: *Ancient Egyptian Onomastica* I–II. Oxford. 1947 I 61\* f.; W. Spiegelberg: *Varia* 15. Der Name des astronomischen Visierstabes. *ZÄS* 53 (1917) 113–114.

<sup>111</sup> Cf. Hibbs 1985 182 ff.

<sup>112</sup> Török 1997b 197. For the association of the fecundity goddess with the Nile, see Baines 1985 127 ff.

<sup>113</sup> Török 1997b 221.

<sup>114</sup> *Ibid.* 224.

<sup>115</sup> *Ibid.* 228.

<sup>116</sup> *Ibid.* 222.

in some cult temple and consumed, as in Egypt, by the priests of the temple.<sup>117</sup> This interpretation is also supported by the find of a row of big pottery jars sunk in the floor of the pseudo-peripteral colonnade in front of the E section of the S lower podium front of temple M 250, the so-called “Sun Temple”<sup>118</sup> (cf. Chapter VI.2.1). The vessels were “filled with incinerated bones and charcoal”,<sup>119</sup> obviously the burnt remains of the animals sacrificed in temple M 250.<sup>120</sup>

Basins of the above-discussed type are not restricted to Meroe City. In 2005 Italian archaeologists discovered at Gebel Barkal a building containing a larger (2.65 × 1.14 m) and a smaller (1.85 × 0.90 m) sandstone basin with outlet. A not yet fully investigated and understood “channel” with watertight plastering in the building through which water is supposed to have flown to the exterior of the building may indicate some ritual function.<sup>121</sup>

The finds from the “Royal Enclosure” refer to a close connection between these houses and the life of the sanctuaries and indicate that in the Meroitic period the excavated northern part of the “Enclosure” was the habitation quarter of priests. The monumentality of the buildings in question does not leave behind any doubt as to the high status of their dwellers. The proximity of the late Amun Temple and the presumed royal residence and the gate in the eastern enclosure wall immediately north of the *temenos* of the late Amun temple unanimously indicate that the priests in question stood in the service of the Amun sanctuary.

The peristyle house type represented in a simpler form by Houses A–D<sup>122</sup> and in a monumental variant by M 990 and 998 (Pl. 22)<sup>123</sup> stands without analogues in traditional Egyptian or Nubian palace/

<sup>117</sup> For the issue of offerings consumed by the priests, see J.J. Janssen: The Role of the Temple in Egyptian Economy During the New Kingdom. in: E. Lipinski (ed.): *State and Temple Economy in the Ancient Near East II*. Leuven 1979 505–515 512 f.; A. Eggebrecht: Schlachthof. LÄ V (1983) 640–641.

<sup>118</sup> Török 1997b 111, Pl. 70.

<sup>119</sup> Garstang – Sayce 1912 48.

<sup>120</sup> Cf. A. Eggebrecht: Schlachthof. LÄ V 640 f.—Hinkel – Sievertsen 2002 137 do not accept either interpretation of these finds, without offering, however, an own interpretation.

<sup>121</sup> For preliminary reports, see M. Novella Sordi: Un santuario dell’acqua a Nap-ata. *Aegyptus* 85 (2005) 135–147; *ead.*: Gebel Barkal: New Excavation in B2200. in: Godlewski *et al.* (eds) 2010 181–186.

<sup>122</sup> Török 1997b 55 ff.; Hinkel – Sievertsen 2002 91 ff.

<sup>123</sup> Hinkel – Sievertsen 2002 Pl. IX.31.

domestic architecture. It displays typological features of a Hellenistic urban house type known, e.g., from Priene and Dura.<sup>124</sup> The ensemble of an entrance corridor leading into the southeast corner of a central courtyard and a single or double reception room at the left side of the corridor and opening on a central courtyard from the south (M 990, 998, House B) repeats the Hellenistic Greek type.<sup>125</sup> Features of Hellenistic Greek palace/urban house types were probably adopted through the mediation of Hellenistic palaces, private villas and houses standing in Egyptian cities, especially in Greek foundations such as Alexandria, Ptolemais Hermiou (el-Mansha), Krokodilopolis, or Philadelphia (Kom el-Kharaba el-Khebir).<sup>126</sup> According to a mid-third century BC papyrus from the Zenon archive,<sup>127</sup> the villa or palace in Philadelphia belonging to the court official Diotimos had an entrance portico (*pylon*)<sup>128</sup> and a vestibule (*prosta*). The rooms of the official area were arranged around two interior courts (*aulai*), from each of which a banqueting room opened. There was an *exedra* (recess with a rectangular or semi-circular plan and opening in its full width into a larger room or court) with two doors. This description conforms in several points with Vitruvius's Greek house.<sup>129</sup> Spacious peristyle houses built from stone, many of them with Ionic columns, stood between the AD first and fourth centuries at Marina el-Alamein c. 100 km west of Alexandria.<sup>130</sup> They may well have preserved types of the urban architecture of Alexandria and other centres.<sup>131</sup>

<sup>124</sup> Cf. W. Hoepfner – E.L. Schwandtner: *Haus und Stadt im klassischen Griechenland*. München 1986 figs 186 (Priene house 33), 219 (Dura, insula I 3, late period).

<sup>125</sup> Cf. I. Nielsen: *Hellenistic Palaces, Tradition and Renewal*. Aarhus 1994.

<sup>126</sup> Cf. M. Nowicka: *La maison privée dans l'Égypte ptolémaïque*. Warsovie 1969; P. Davoli: *L'archeologia urbana nel Fayyum di età ellenistica e romana*. Napoli 1998.

<sup>127</sup> *P.Cair.Zen.* 59763–4. E. Vanderborght: La maison de Diotimos, à Philadelphie. *CdÉ* 33 (1942) 117–126; McKenzie 2007 152 f.

<sup>128</sup> For the Greek terms used in the descriptions of houses, see G. Husson: *Oikia, le vocabulaire de la maison privée en Égypte d'après les papyrus grecs*. Paris 1983.

<sup>129</sup> Vitruvius 6,7, cf. J. Raeder: Vitruv, de architectura VI 7 (*aedificia Graecorum*) und die hellenistische Wohnhaus- und Palastarchitektur. *Gymnasium* 95 (1988) 365–368.

<sup>130</sup> W.A. Daszewski et al.: *Marina el-Alamein, Archaeological Background and Conservation Problems*. Warsaw 1991.

<sup>131</sup> Cf. R. Alston: Houses and Households in Roman Egypt. in: R. Lawrence – A. Wallace-Hadrill (eds): *Domestic Space in the Roman World: Pompeii and Beyond*. Portsmouth 1997 25–39.

Garstang supposed that it was after the demolition of edifice M 990 that a small prostyle temple (M 97)<sup>132</sup> built on a podium (Pl. 22) was inserted between the ruined walls of the reception room of M 990.<sup>133</sup> In the moment of the discovery of M 97 the surrounding walls of M 990 were standing to the floor level of M 97, or even higher (?).<sup>134</sup> The latter was built in a strange manner so that between its foundation walls and the parallel foundation walls of M 990 a “corridor” of a width of 0.70 to 1.20 m was spared (Pl. 19). It is difficult to imagine that M 97 would have been “inserted” into the ruins of a destroyed building while the walls of the latter were still standing to the height of the floor, or even higher, of the new building. Hence it was suggested,<sup>135</sup> perhaps wrongly, that M 990 was also standing and in use when M 97, not a shrine but a representative reception room, was erected as an addition to the original M 990. A campaniform capital, an entablature fragment,<sup>136</sup> and a volute fragment from an Ionic capital<sup>137</sup> (?) remained from a hybrid style building the models of which may be dated in general terms to the period between the second century BC and the AD first century.

Under House B, one of the smaller Hellenistic-type houses in the northeast part of the “Royal Enclosure” (Pl. 22), an engaged column capital (height 36 cm) from a door or niche frame (Pl. 23) has been found.<sup>138</sup> It represents a variant of McKenzie’s Alexandrian Corinthian capital Type I.<sup>139</sup> From the Alexandrian model its carver adopted some individual elements with a great freedom. There is no acanthus collar. The corner volutes, which are sheathed by thick, fleshy acanthus leaves, are starting directly from the centre of the (now lost) astragal on the top of the half-column. The helices face each other and an acanthus leaf covers their stems and fills the triangular area between the corner volutes. The abacus is badly damaged. The corner volutes support a circular member, the side of which is decorated with a leaf frieze

<sup>132</sup> Török 1997b 53 ff.; Hinkel – Sievertsen 2002 90 f.

<sup>133</sup> Garstang 1913 76 f., Garstang – Phythian-Adams – Sayce 1914–1916 13.

<sup>134</sup> See Török 1997b Pl. 7. Garstang’s photograph, like in many other cases, may also in this case show the site in a “more orderly” condition than it was actually found, cf. *ibid.*

<sup>135</sup> Török 1997b 54.

<sup>136</sup> Cf. Garstang 1913, reconstruction drawing on p. 76.

<sup>137</sup> Garstang Notebook 1911–12, see Török 1997b 54.

<sup>138</sup> Török 1997b 57 f. No. 98–1=902–1, Pl. 8.

<sup>139</sup> McKenzie 2007 86, fig. 125/a.

with a rosette at the place of the abacus fleuron (the stem of which is visible, however, between the helices).

### 1.5. *The Faience Cylinders from M 200–221*

For a rounded picture of Hellenizing architecture at Meroe City a find complex must finally be mentioned from a site outside the “Royal Enclosure”, close to its eastern wall, some 70 m to the north of the late Amun temple. The site marked M 200–221 by Garstang consisted of a rectangular enclosure with masonry walls measuring c. 103 × 48/45 m. Its interior remained unexcavated.<sup>140</sup> At an undefined spot “on and about” its eastern wall fragments from three<sup>141</sup> green-glazed faience cylinders were found<sup>142</sup> (henceforth Cylinders I–III).<sup>143</sup> Their height moves between 0.368–0.42 m, their outer diameter between 0.34–0.37 m, and their wall thickness between 4.8–5.4 cm, which does not contradict the suggestion according to which they served as caps for wooden column posts.<sup>144</sup> Vertical and horizontal frames divide the wall of each cylinder into four panels. Each panel contains one figure (in some cases two figures) in raised relief.

*Cylinder I.* ROM 921.4.1<sup>145</sup> (Pl. 24).<sup>146</sup> The projecting base ring indicates that the decoration of Cylinder I formed the bottom register of a column. Vertical and horizontal frames divide its wall into four panels, each containing a figure in raised relief: (a) ram walking towards right. In the upper left corner of the panel raised square field for inscription, left, however, uninscribed; (b) ram walking in the opposite direction.

<sup>140</sup> Phythian-Adams in: Garstang – Phythian-Adams – Sayce 1914–1916 13 f.; Hinkel – Sievertsen 2002 98 f.

<sup>141</sup> See the original of one cylinder and the casts of two further cylinders reconstructed by Garstang from fitting fragments, now in the Redpath Museum at McGill University, Trigger 1994.

<sup>142</sup> Garstang – Phythian-Adams – Sayce 1914–1916 6, 13 f.

<sup>143</sup> Hofmann 1989 108 ff., figs 1–10; Trigger 1994 391 ff. They were catalogued under Nos 200–1 to 200–4 in Török 1997b 100 f. At the time of the writing of Török 1997b I could not yet consult Trigger 1994 and was not fully convinced that Garstang discovered fragments of four cylinders, or three as it was already suggested by Hofmann 1989.

<sup>144</sup> Wenig 1978 91 with note 64.

<sup>145</sup> Height 0.368 m, diameter at base 0.445 m, at top 0.368 m; thickness of wall 5.4 cm. Wenig 1978 91, fig. 76; Trigger 1994 391 f.; Hofmann 1989 108 ff., figs 1–4; Török 1997b 100 No. 200–1, Pls 61, 62.

<sup>146</sup> Török 1997b Pl. 62.

In the upper right corner of the panel four raised vertical inscription fields, empty. (c) Ram or, more probably, a lion walking towards right, (d) lion walking towards left. The lion is standing on a large cobra rearing up in front. In the upper right corner of the panel, above the lion, is a solar disc flanked by two uraei. The execution of the figures is fine. The animal figures are rendered in a powerful and impressive manner. The figures have no divine attributes. There may be little doubt, however, that the ram was associated with the animal image of the Nubian Amun and the lion with Egyptian lion gods and the Nubian lion god Apedemak in the same sense as the various lion images were associated with the lord of the temple in the base register of the columns in the Apedemak sanctuary at Musawwarat es Sufra.<sup>147</sup> In Egypt the lion god Mahes appears in two pillar reliefs in the hypostyle of the Isis temple at Philae in an identical zoomorphic form trampling a serpent and also in his human form standing on the cobra.<sup>148</sup> In one of these representations the legend to the serpent figure speaks of “the red bull who creates the tumult”, referring thus probably to Seth.<sup>149</sup> The presence of the solar disc with uraei also supports the identification of the lion with Mahes, protector against Chaos. As shown by Žabkar,<sup>150</sup> Mahes motifs were well known in Meroe, where the deity was associated with Apedemak himself.<sup>151</sup>

*Cylinder II.* Montreal, Redpath Museum of the McGill University<sup>152</sup> (Pl. 25).<sup>153</sup> Garstang could reassemble three from the four panels decorating originally the green-glazed faience cylinder. In the first panel<sup>154</sup> a goddess is represented facing right and performing a libation. The White Crown flanked by gazelle horns on top of a vulture headdress (?) identifies her as Satet. Her large wings extend from the back of her shoulders on either side, their tip touches the ground. In the second panel a goddess with similar wings, facing left, and performing a libation (?) is represented in raised relief.<sup>155</sup> Her head is

<sup>147</sup> Cf. Török 2002a 187 ff.

<sup>148</sup> *PM* VI 234 (272).

<sup>149</sup> Žabkar 1975 54 with note 42.

<sup>150</sup> Žabkar 1975 52 ff.

<sup>151</sup> Žabkar 1975 62 ff.

<sup>152</sup> Hofmann 1989 113 ff., figs 5–7; Trigger 1994 392 ff., fig. p. 393; Török 1997b 101 Nos 200–3 and 200–4, Pls 65–67. Height 0.405 m, diameter 0.365 (at base), 0.338 (at top), thickness of wall 5.3 cm.

<sup>153</sup> Trigger 1994 fig. p. 393.

<sup>154</sup> Hofmann 1989 fig. 6; Trigger 1994 p. 393 panel 1; Török 1997b No. 200–4, Pl. 67.

<sup>155</sup> Hofmann 1989 fig. 7; Trigger 1994 p. 393 panel 2; Török 1997b No. 200–2, Pl. 65.

destroyed. She wears the Double Crown on top of a vulture head-dress (?). Her identity is uncertain (Mut?). In the upper right corner a solar disc flanked by two uraei with pendant 'nh ("life") signs; in the upper left corner a plaque divided into three vertical columns. In the third panel<sup>156</sup> a goddess with similar wings is represented. She faces right and performs a libation offering (?). She is shown wearing a tall plumed crown, which identifies her as Anuket.

The cult of Anuket and Satet in the New Kingdom temples of Lower Nubia may have been built on the cult of native goddesses.<sup>157</sup> They formed a triad with Khnum, the god of the First Cataract, bringer of the inundation.<sup>158</sup> Under Thutmose III a feast of Amun was celebrated at Elephantine.<sup>159</sup> At Elephantine a chapel dedicated to Amun is also attested, in which the god was accompanied by Satet and Anuket.<sup>160</sup> The assimilation of Khnum and Amun was promoted probably by the establishment of the cult of the ram-headed Amun-Re in Thebes, whose sanctuary at Luxor corresponded as "Theban Napata" to the remote southern sanctuary of the ram-headed Nubian Amun. Both Amun of Napata and Amun of Luxor were bringers of the inundation.<sup>161</sup>

In the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty period Amun of Kawa would appear with functions (bringer of inundation) and iconographical features of Khnum and be worshipped together with Satet and Anuket.<sup>162</sup> The two goddesses are also represented on the north front of the Apedemak Temple at Musawwarat es Sufra.<sup>163</sup> As noticed by Hofmann,<sup>164</sup> the wings of the goddesses on Cylinder II differ from the extended wings of Kushite goddesses. Similarly to the Philaean affinities of the panel with the lion standing on a cobra on Cylinder I, this difference points towards the influence of Upper Egyptian iconographical models.

<sup>156</sup> Hofmann 1989 fig. 5; Trigger 1994 p. 393 panel 3; Török 1997b No. 200–3, Pl. 66.

<sup>157</sup> Säve-Söderbergh 1941 200 f. with note 5; and cf. Török 2009 211 ff.

<sup>158</sup> E. Otto: Chnum. *LÄ* I (1974) 950–954; Valbelle 1981 145.

<sup>159</sup> *Urk.* IV 824.6, 10.

<sup>160</sup> *Urk.* IV 825.10–12; 826.3; Valbelle 1981 14 f.

<sup>161</sup> Cf. P. Pamminger: Amun und Luxor—der Widder und das Kultbild. *BzS* 5 (1992) 93–140.

<sup>162</sup> Cf. Török 2002a 80 ff., 173 ff., 187 ff.

<sup>163</sup> Hintze *et al.* 1971 Pl. 41.

<sup>164</sup> Hofmann 1989 117.



*Cylinder III.* Louvre AE E 11522<sup>165</sup> (Pl. 26).<sup>166</sup> Before the cylinder's exhibition in March 2010 in the Louvre, the four panels of the cylinder could be better studied on the cast in the collection of the Redpath Museum at McGill University than on the available Garstang photographs recording two more or less completely preserved panels (panels 1 and 2) and the upper half of a third (panel 3), the lower half of which appears, however, on the Redpath cast. In the first panel<sup>167</sup> two figures are represented. In the left half of the panel a nude man is shown in a dancing pose. He faces a taller male figure standing in a traditional Egyptian style posture and wearing a short tunic with *clavi*, an armlet on his left arm, and a short wig. In his left hand he holds a kerchief-like (?) object. He lifts his right arm above the head of the smaller figure. His gesture probably means that he beats with his fingers the rhythm of the dance in the manner that was—and still is—usual in the Eastern Mediterranean. Hofmann<sup>168</sup> interprets the scene as representation of the *oklasma* dance (Aristophanes, *Fr.* 344b), but it is not necessary to go so far for an explanation. It may as well be interpreted as representation of an Egyptian-type temple dance,<sup>169</sup> which would fit well into the context of the other column scenes and especially into the context of the other scenes on Cylinder III itself. The smaller figure may perhaps be associated with the nmw-dwarfs, professional performers of the *Göttertanz* in Egyptian temples.<sup>170</sup> Panel 2 is decorated with the figure of the dancing Pan<sup>171</sup> (Pl. 27);<sup>172</sup> panel 3<sup>173</sup> with the figure of a dancing woman wearing a short tunic with *clavi* and a mantle draped around her left shoulder, the end of which is hanging down at the back. Her hair coiffed in a Greek style is bound with a ribbon. With her extended right hand she either holds the other end of the

<sup>165</sup> Hofmann 1989 118 ff., figs 8–10; Trigger 1994 394 ff., fig. p. 395; Török 1997b 100 f. No. 200–2, Pls 63, 64; G. Pierrat-Bonnefois: Tambour ornamental à scènes Bachiques. in: Baud – Sackho-Autissier – Labbé-Toutée (eds) 2010 122–123 (Cat. 163). Height 0.42 m, diameter 0.36 m (at the base), 0.338 m (at top), thickness of the wall 4.8 cm.

<sup>166</sup> Trigger 1994 fig. p. 395.

<sup>167</sup> Hofmann 1989 fig. 8; Trigger 1994 p. 395 panel 1; Török 1997b Pl. 64.

<sup>168</sup> Hofmann 1989 119.

<sup>169</sup> Cf. E. Brunner-Traut: Tanz. *LÄ VI* (1985) 215–231 225.

<sup>170</sup> Cf. *ibid.* and K.-J. Seyfried: Zwerg. *LÄ VI* (1986) 1432–1435 1432.

<sup>171</sup> Hofmann 1989 fig. 9; Trigger 1994 p. 395 panel 2.

<sup>172</sup> Baud – Sackho-Autissier – Labbé-Toutée (eds) 2010 Cat. 163.

<sup>173</sup> Hofmann 1989 fig. 10; Török 1997b Pl. 63 (only the upper half); Trigger 1994 p. 395 panel 3.

mantle, as suggested by Trigger, or a lyre, as suggested by Hofmann. In the upper right corner of the panel is a rectangular plaque with three vertical columns. Only the upper half of panel 4 was discovered. It shows the torso of a frantically dancing male figure facing right. He is wearing a tunic and a mantle draped around his shoulders; his hair is bound with a ribbon.

All representations on Cylinders I–III fit into an iconographical context of sacral character including both traditional Egyptian/Nubian divine figures and dancing figures from the cortège of Dionysos, among them the god Pan. Panel 1 of Cylinder III connects these figure groups with each other: while the larger figure is standing in an Egyptian posture, the nude dancer, although he may be an Egyptian temple dancer, is shown in a classical manner in a three-quarter view from behind. Nude dancers in back view also appear on a column base in front of hall 101 in the Great Enclosure at Musawwarat es Sufra (Chapter VI.2.2). The AD first century dating suggested earlier for Cylinders I–III<sup>174</sup> cannot be maintained: iconography and style equally support an earlier dating to the Early or Middle Meroitic period.

Besides Meroe City, Hellenizing architectural elements and even whole buildings are known from other sites as well: they will be introduced in Chapters VIII and IX. In the next chapter we turn to the discussion of the finds from Meroe City's principal Hellenizing monument, viz., the "water sanctuary".

## 2. *The "Water Sanctuary" and its Sculptural Finds*

### 2.1. *The Finds from the 1911–1913 Excavations at M 95–194–195 and Their Interpretation*

The building complex to be discussed in this chapter was situated in the southwestern part of the "Royal Enclosure". It occupied an over 30 by 70 m large area along the western enclosure wall west of the area of the palatial building M 295. John Garstang conducted excavations here in 1911–1913 (Pl. 28).<sup>175</sup> The excavation of the site was neither horizontally nor vertically complete, even though the excavators' aim

<sup>174</sup> Hofmann 1989 128; Török 1997b 100.

<sup>175</sup> Garstang – George 1914 Pl. VII.

was, as also elsewhere in Meroe City, to uncover the largest possible surface and draw comprehensive historical conclusions on the basis of the finds.<sup>176</sup> Several problems emerging in the course of the fieldwork were left unsolved, even though they were aptly realized, such as the course of the aqueduct and the channels carrying water to the building complex beyond the arbitrary point up to which they were actually followed, or the clarification of the entire ground plan of M 95 and M 194 in any of their building periods, or the provenance of the sculptures from the cachette. The insufficiency of the fieldwork is manifested in the widely diverging interpretations, all referring to the very same records and finds.

The researches and trial excavations carried out recently by a team of the German Archaeological Institute led by Dr. Simone Wolf (Pl. 29)<sup>177</sup> started from a careful assessment of the evidence at disposal. Thanks to their observations, the following discussion of the site may now be based on less unsatisfactory evidence than earlier studies. It is nevertheless prone to be interwoven with hypotheses just as they used to have been.

In the following I shall confront with each other the various interpretations of M 95–194–195 from the reports of the Garstang expedition<sup>178</sup> through the publication of Garstang's records in 1997<sup>179</sup> and the investigations of Hinkel and Sievertsen published in 2002<sup>180</sup> to the preliminary reports published by the members of the German Archaeological Institute team working at the site since 1999.<sup>181</sup> Garstang distinguished three building units at the site, which he numbered separately. M 95, being the southernmost one, consists of rooms arranged around a large courtyard, the walls of which were partly traced but not excavated.

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<sup>176</sup> My discussion in Török 1997b 3 ff. of Garstang's methods at the field and the limits of the evidence published by him and the members of his team was read by many of my colleagues as a harsh criticism of Garstang. What I intended was, however, to understand the nature of the evidence produced by Garstang within the context of the archaeology of his time. After all, John Garstang held the chair of the Professor of Methods and Practice of Archaeology at Liverpool University between 1907 and 1941: his research philosophy is of a particular interest for everybody who has to use his records.

<sup>177</sup> Wolf, Simone *et al.* 2008 fig. 9.

<sup>178</sup> Garstang – Sayce 1912; Garstang 1913; Garstang – George 1914.

<sup>179</sup> Török 1997b 63–91.

<sup>180</sup> Hinkel – Sievertsen 2002 79–90.

<sup>181</sup> The results of the works between 1999 and 2009 are summarized in Wolf, Simone *et al.* 2008; 2009.

M 194 constitutes the northern part of the complex and it consists of the remains of a room with an apsidal wall (marked B), north of this room a room complex marked C and, to the east, a portico building marked D. The ground plan of room B remained only partly clarified. As found by Garstang, its principal feature was a thin-walled quadrant at the south containing three seats in semicircular niches, with arm-rests “in the shape of conventional griffins”. Two flights of steps at the ends of the quadrant were found to lead down to room B from the area south of room B, which Garstang numbered M 195. According to the Fourth Interim Report,<sup>182</sup> however, the western flight of steps was built on the place of a fourth semicircular niche, and it was suggested that the quadrant may represent one half of a semicircle. It was found that the floor of M 194 was lying c. 65 cm deeper than the courtyard enclosing M 195.<sup>183</sup> In the debris, which filled M 194 “several fallen capitals, and parts of engaged columns, stuccoed and painted, were found lying about in various places”.<sup>184</sup> It is unknown, however, from which part of M 95–194–195 they come (if they come at all from this building complex).

M 195 is situated between M 95 and M 194. It consists of a water tank building enclosing a basin marked A. The basin measured 7.25 × 7.15 m and was 2.50 m deep. Its sides and bottom were covered with a coating of hydraulic cement. Stairs led down from its southeast corner to its bottom. At its east, north, and west sides the basin’s edge was c. 2.30 m wide. The south edge was narrow and could not be walked on. The level of this edge was lying 0.49 m below the other edges of the basin. This difference in levels explains the short and narrow flight of steps that was leading down to the southeastern corner of the basin along the east end of the south wall of the tank. The flight of steps is clearly visible in photographs taken by the Garstang expedition.<sup>185</sup> Close to the edge of the basin sandstone lion and bull protomes were built in into its east, north, and west sides<sup>186</sup> (for similar protomes in the south wall, see below).

<sup>182</sup> Garstang – George 1914 Pl. 7.

<sup>183</sup> Cf. W.S. George’s drawing in Török 1997b fig. 6.

<sup>184</sup> Garstang 1913 77 ff.

<sup>185</sup> See Török 1997b fig. 8 (drawn after the Garstang photograph Neg. 165 in the Garstang Museum of Archaeology, University of Liverpool), and Pl. 33.

<sup>186</sup> Nine lion and six bull protomes from these sides of the basin are preserved at the site, two *in situ*; a protome is in the collection of the Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto. See Wolf, Simone *et al.* 2008 175 f.

At the west and north sides the basin was framed by colonnades (with pillars at the corners) with intercolumnar screens (see below). The appearance of the east side is unknown, but it was probably similar to the west and north sides. At the south, the basin was overlooked by a kind of “show wall” (see below), the sculptural and painted decoration of which was found *in situ*. The basin was completely filled with debris, above which a two-roomed red brick building (chapel in my reconstruction) was erected after the abandonment of the complex.<sup>187</sup> At the removal of the debris it turned out that the basin served as a cachette of carefully buried statuary and architectural members before it would have been filled (see below).

The tank building was adjoined from the south by a large (c. 8 × 9.50 m) room having an elevated floor level,<sup>188</sup> which constituted at the same time the centre of the northern wing of M 95. The wall dividing this room from the tank building was at the same time the main wall of the latter, and its north face was decorated as a “show wall” (see below). Seen from the north, this wall has a protruding central part (5.30 by 0.50 m) and rests as if on a podium on a high base without mouldings running along the whole length (c. 10.30 m) of the tank building’s southern side. In the protruding part the base and the lower part of the shaft of two sandstone columns resting on the high base<sup>189</sup> were incorporated.<sup>190</sup> Hence I interpreted the room adjoining the tank building at the south as a kind of kiosk, which was divided from the tank building by a colonnade with intercolumnar parapets (for its presumed function, see below). In the following I shall refer to it as “kiosk” (see below).

The remarkable complex M 95–194–195 entered the learned literature under the misnomer Royal Bath. It is still maintained (more recently between quotation marks) in the communications of the German team, and in other recent publications. Garstang, who was in the belief that the basin in M 195 could have been nothing else than a swimming pool, an understandable, though merely wishful, conjecture on account of the climate of Meroe City, coined it rather infelicitously. An aqueduct running from the south towards the east side of the basin

<sup>187</sup> Török 1997b 64, 70, fig. 74, Pl. 18.

<sup>188</sup> Cf. W.S. George’s drawing in Török 1997b fig. 6.

<sup>189</sup> See the Garstang documents Török 1997b fig. 6, Pls 27, 29, 30.

<sup>190</sup> See also the ground plan Wolf, Simone *et al.* 2008 fig. 9; Wolf, Simone *et al.* 2009 fig. 2.

(marked aqueduct K), and numerous water ducts supplying the basin and other parts of the complex presented a seemingly more serious reason for the name. Hence the complex was identified by Garstang as “a local form of *frigidarium*” which contained a “large swimming-tank and shower-bath” (M 195) and a “*tepidarium* with ornamental seats” (M 194).

The excavators found the basin in M 195 in a fairly good preservation. According to Garstang, “[t]he water inlets on the southern side are preserved, and are six in number, without counting the open-mouthed lion-head at the [northwest] corner. The water supply is found in an ingenious system of storage-aqueducts, coming from the south [...] built of red-brick with a cemented channel about 20 cms in width, and 30 cms in depth. They had practically no fall, until they approached the bath, where there was a gully or pipe provided with a stopper; so that the canals having been already filled, [...] the stoppers could be withdrawn simultaneously”.<sup>191</sup> Hinkel and Sievertsen also accepted this suggestion. More recent observations made by the German Archaeological Institute team do not seem to confirm it.

According to W.S. George, the architect of Garstang’s team, “there are several indications that the arrangement of the ducts has undergone alteration, the existing duct outside the south-west corner of the swimming-bath being built over an earlier filled-up duct, which follows the same line. One of the ducts [...] carried to chamber B, but there is clear evidence that it is a later insertion [...] a large aqueduct at a lower level was discovered to the south of the baths [marked K]. It measures internally about  $0.70 \times 1.50$  m, its walls are built of rubble, and it is covered by a continuous barrel vault in burnt brick of the kind known as ‘flown’ vaulting. This aqueduct seems to run as far as the eastern side of the swimming-bath, but is destroyed beyond this point. Here the construction is entirely of burnt brick and forms a square manhole or inspection chamber. Almost opposite this chamber there is an opening in the outer wall of the swimming-bath, but [...] there is no corresponding opening in the inner wall [...] the aqueduct [...] possibly is [...] an intake brought from a sluice farther up the river [...] the sides of the bath and the floor of the passage around it are covered with a fine stucco of good quality and hard surface: the

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<sup>191</sup> Garstang 1913 78.

coat is thin and has been twice renewed.”<sup>192</sup> It is important to note that the northern half of the basin’s east side was destroyed and thus the mouth of the aqueduct, which I supposed to have opened close to the bottom of the basin, could, and cannot, be verified.

The team of the German Archaeological Institute opened a trench between the southeast corner of the tank building and Garstang’s “manhole or inspection chamber”<sup>193</sup> and stated that the ditch in which aqueduct K was built had been dug from a floor level that was earlier than the floor level associated with the open channels. After the completion of the aqueduct the ditch was refilled and covered with a layer of earth (no thickness is given in the report). It was on top of this layer that the red brick open channel running parallel to aqueduct K from the south towards the southeast corner of the tank building has been built.

This stratigraphy raises doubts as to the correctness of the view that aqueduct K and the channels carrying water to the basin and mounding in the inlets around its edge would have been parts of the same design.<sup>194</sup> Simone Wolf does not accept my suggestion that the basin was fed by aqueduct K in the first main period of M 95–194–195, and by the (several times renewed) open channels in the second, and argues that the basin was supplied with water from the very outset by the open channels and the inlets around its edge. Concerning aqueduct K Wolf suggests that it may have been a construction predating M 95–194–194 and had nothing to do with it.<sup>195</sup> As noted above, the part of the basin where aqueduct K could have reached it is destroyed. Wolf’s suggestion remains unproven without excavations in the area where the supposedly independent aqueduct is supposed to have run. Wolf also argues that since the bottom of aqueduct K is 1.50 m below the modern floor level it was lying too low to feed the inlets in the “show wall” (in fact, any of the open channels), and too high to serve as an outlet (!) of the basin. She does not address a third possibility, viz. that the aqueduct was built to feed directly the basin and not the

<sup>192</sup> Garstang – George 1914 19.

<sup>193</sup> Wolf, Simone *et al.* 2008 189 f., figs 9, 10, 35.

<sup>194</sup> Aqueduct K does not appear at all in the three-dimensional reconstruction published in S. Wolf – H.-U. Onasch: Les “bains royaux” de Méroé: Kouch et le monde méditerranéen au début de notre ère. in: Baux – Sackho-Autissier – Labbé-Toutée (eds) 2010 97–98 fig. 113.

<sup>195</sup> Wolf, Simone *et al.* 2008 190.

inlets of the “show wall”. The actual outlet of the basin<sup>196</sup> was discovered by F.W. Hinkel on the western side of the basin close to its southwestern corner. Hinkel made his discovery at a moment when the water of an unusually high Nile flood penetrated the basin through the outlet<sup>197</sup> (see below on the function of the tank building). The German Archaeological Institute team excavated the outlet channel section between the basin outlet and the eastern wall of the “Royal Enclosure” and stated that the bottom of the carefully built channel is 3 m under the modern ground floor and it falls towards the Nile.<sup>198</sup>

The excavators distinguished two main building periods: “The earliest portion consists of the swimming-bath, A with the wall immediately to the south of it, and the curved wall at B [ibid.] ... The thicker walls to the south of the swimming-bath are of burnt brick upon foundations of stone slabs, and were possibly outer walls; the thinner walls are of burnt brick only. The chambers to the north [marked C] are of similar character, and doubtless belong to the same period [...] they are built to the north of or beyond a stone wall which probably marked the limits of the Baths on this side: it runs northwards to the palaces numbered 294 and 295 [...] and is of earlier date than the palaces or the baths, but later than the main wall of the city<sup>199</sup> [...] a further portion, possibly symmetrical with the curved wall at B, existed to the east [correctly: west!] of the axial line, as the earth hereabouts was full of building débris. The work of the second period consists of a series of long parallel walls built around the east, north, and west sides of an open court, the south side of the court being formed by the earlier walls to the south of the swimming-bath. The court thus enclosed the swimming-bath and the chamber B [...] On the north side the existence of the early stone wall [...] has conditioned the planning [...] The passage [constituted by the parallel walls along the eastern, northern, and western sides of the courtyard around the tank building] may also have had a series of openings or colonnades on the side towards the court [...] Various thresholds and steps show that the floor of the corridor was raised by two or three steps above the level of the court,<sup>200</sup>

<sup>196</sup> Wolf, Simone *et al.* 2008 fig. 12.

<sup>197</sup> Hinkel – Sievertsen 2002 82 with note 42.

<sup>198</sup> Wolf, Simone *et al.* 2008 190 ff.

<sup>199</sup> More recent observations support an inverse chronology, i.e., the stone wall is earlier than the wall of the “Royal Enclosure”, cf. Wolf, Simone *et al.* 2008 fig. 81.

<sup>200</sup> As also a photograph taken by Garstang asserts it: Neg. 177 in the Garstang Museum of Archaeology, University of Liverpool.



and that the position to the south of the swimming-bath was at a still higher level. The floor of the chamber B was a little below the level of the court, steps being provided at each end of the quadrant. Those at the western end give indications of a further period of restoration, as their insertion has involved the partial destruction of one of the seats [i.e., of a fourth seat at the western end of the quadrant]. The walls of the second period are built of unburnt bricks, usually upon a single footing-course of burnt bricks set on edge. Some of these walls are faced with burnt bricks upon one side and where this is the case the plan supports the suggestion that they are outer walls. They are not bounded into the walls of the first period, but are separated from them by straight vertical joints [...] at a still later date various alterations and additions were made, but they were probably of small extent.”<sup>201</sup>

On the basis of the excavators’ preliminary reports I concluded in 1997 that in the first period M 194 (original room B, which may have been a north-south oriented oblong room with an apsidal end at the south, and complex C) and M 195 (tank building and the room overlooking it from the south) stood as separate building units within a common precinct. Yet, if they were interconnected, what is likely indeed, the excavators failed to discover or identify the remains of the architectural link(s). In the second main period, the two units became parts of a seemingly more homogeneous monumental architectural ensemble. M 194 (i.e. the quadrant marked B) was linked with M 195 (tank building) and M 95 by means of the corridors (?) or colonnades (?) of a large U-shaped courtyard. Opposite the tank building and the adjoining room B, a portico building marked D was erected. It had a gate probably in the centre of its north front,<sup>202</sup> which gave access to the “water sanctuary” complex from the “Royal Enclosure”.

Garstang and George explained the different orientation of the tank building and (the early) room B with the early stone wall that determined the planning of original room B as well as unit C and (the later) unit D. The orientation of the tank building and the northern and eastern wings of M 95 was not coordinated with the western wall of the “Royal Enclosure”, as opposed to the eastern and western wings of the “second-period” building enclosing the tank building, the northern wing of which was supposed to have been conditioned by the

<sup>201</sup> Garstang – George 1914 15 f.

<sup>202</sup> See Wolf, Simone *et al.* 2008 fig. 6.

early stone wall (Garstang's "Transverse Stone Wall" M 190). The first period building complex was erected on an occupation level, which was roughly contemporary with the floor level of the "Royal Enclosure" around the time of the building of the enclosure wall.<sup>203</sup> Two significant features reveal the actual chronological relationship. Firstly, the convex course of the western enclosure wall must have been determined by an already standing edifice, which can best be identified with building M 95–194–195. Secondly, the inner face of the western enclosure wall, which runs parallel to the western perimeter wall of M 95–194–195 in a distance of less than 1 m, was left undressed in the area of this building complex. Consequently, the building of early M 95–194–195 must have preceded the erection of the western enclosure wall. In general terms, this means that first period M 95–194–195 was built around the beginning of the Meroitic era.

Hinkel and Sievertsen's meticulous analysis<sup>204</sup> of the evidence published in Garstang's Interim Reports<sup>205</sup> and my *Meroe City*<sup>206</sup> resulted in their reconstruction of five periods in the building history of the complex. To the first (Pl. 30, left, their *Bauperiode* V of Meroe City, Hinkel – Sievertsen's dating: late second-early first century BC)<sup>207</sup> would belong room complex C, room B (without suggesting a reconstruction of its original layout), the tank building with the "kiosk" and with aqueduct K and a channel feeding the basin through inlets in the "show wall" as well as at the eastern, northern, and western sides of the basin; and finally (an early form of) building unit M 95. The eastern perimeter of the tank building is reconstructed, according to the excavators' suggestion, as a colonnade with three (red brick) columns and moulded pillars at the corners, and with screen walls. The German Archaeological Institute team doubts the existence of screen walls here,<sup>208</sup> which is in contradiction with the fact that they found not only the base of a column but also remains of adjoining screen

<sup>203</sup> For the occupation level data that could be extracted from Garstang's field records, see Török 1997b 43 f., figs A, B., Pl. 17.

<sup>204</sup> Hinkel – Sievertsen 2002 79 ff.

<sup>205</sup> Sayce – Garstang 1910; Garstang – Sayce – Griffith 1911; Garstang – Sayce 1912; Garstang 1913; Garstang – George 1914; Garstang – Phythian-Adams – Sayce 1914–1916.

<sup>206</sup> Török 1997b.

<sup>207</sup> I repeat here Hinkel and Sievertsen's periods and datings; for my periodisation and dating, see further below.

<sup>208</sup> Wolf, Simone *et al.* 2008 176 f.

walls at the northern side of the tank building.<sup>209</sup> In the second period (“*Bauperiode VI*” of Meroe City, Hinkel – Sievertsen’s dating: second half of the first century BC-AD first century) room complex C did not exist any longer. Quadrant B and tank building M 195 were inserted in a quadrangular building with a portico (D) at the north, and M 95 was extended (?). In addition to the already existing ones, new surface (?) channels were built leading to room B and portico D. According to Hinkel and Sievertsen, the building of the western flight of steps leading down to room B dates to a third period, similarly to the erection of a slightly differently oriented wall above the northern colonnade of the tank building (Pl. 30, right, “*Bauperiode VII*” of Meroe City, Hinkel – Sievertsen’s dating: AD first century). Their ground plan of this period also shows the outline of a fourth niche<sup>210</sup> destroyed by the steps (see above on Garstang’s Fourth Interim Report): it remains unclear, however, why doesn’t it appear in the ground plan of the earlier periods. It seems likely that the fourth building period was actually part of the constructions of the third period.

As a last, fifth, building period Hinkel and Sievertsen consider the two-roomed building (chapel in my reconstruction, see above) erected above the filled-up basin. Complex M 95–194–195 was no longer in use at this time (Pl. 31,<sup>211</sup> “*Bauperiode VIII*”, Hinkel – Sievertsen’s dating: AD second century), but the “show wall” of the tank building with its decoration was standing above the ground at least to the height as Garstang discovered it. It was this circumstance that led me to suggest that the sacral character of the tank building was not forgotten and the chapel building was a cult topographical post-script to the history of the “water sanctuary”.<sup>212</sup>

As to the absolute dating of the building periods and phases, it may be remarked that Hinkel and Sievertsen’s dating of the first period of M 95–194–195 to their *Bauperiode V*, i.e., the late second-early first century BC, is far too late, because it does not take into consideration the relationship between the western wall of the “Royal Enclosure” (which they date to their *Bauperiode II*, early third century BC!)<sup>213</sup> and the “water sanctuary” complex (see above, and Chapter V.1).

<sup>209</sup> Wolf, Simone *et al.* 2002 177 and fig. 17.

<sup>210</sup> See also Wolf, Simone *et al.* 2008 fig. 9.

<sup>211</sup> Hinkel – Sievertsen 2002 Pl. IX.43.

<sup>212</sup> Török 1997b 37, 70.

<sup>213</sup> Hinkel – Sievertsen 2002 15 ff.

The periodisation put forward by Hinkel and Sievertsen corresponds rather closely to the periodisation suggested by me, with the difference that I divided the history of the complex into two main periods in a close correspondence to supposed changes in the water supply system. In my first main period the basin would have been fed solely through aqueduct K, in the second main period through the (surface) channels running at a considerably higher level. I associated this change in the water supply with the moving-away of the Nile bed (cf. Chapter V.1) and supposed that the second period channels were served by a mechanical water-lifting device and carried a far smaller quantity of water than the first period aqueduct.

The interpretation of the southern wall of the tank building is essential in this periodisation. Hinkel and Sievertsen interpreted the sandstone columns incorporated in the protruding part of this wall as remains from a colonnade similar to the colonnades at the other three sides of the tank building,<sup>214</sup> which is not possible on account of the podium-like base upon which they stand. Moreover, Simone Wolf rightly argues that they cannot be part of the colonnade architecture enclosing the basin, for they are of a smaller diameter than the red brick columns and are placed at different distances. Wolf suggests instead that they were integrated in the quality of decorative semicolumns into the “show wall” and had no architectural function whatsoever.<sup>215</sup> They cannot be regarded as semicolumns, however, because they are almost completely built into the “show wall”. Their relation to the wall that incorporates them is similar to the relation between column and screen wall in traditional style Ptolemaic temple buildings.<sup>216</sup> Here the viewpoint should be changed. Simone Wolf’s interpretation explains the sandstone columns as part of the tank building,<sup>217</sup> but they receive a different meaning if we explain them instead the other way round, viz., as part of the architecture of the large room, i.e., the “kiosk” overlooking the tank from the south. A sketch recording the north-south section through M 194–195<sup>218</sup> as well as photographs<sup>219</sup>

<sup>214</sup> Hinkel – Sievertsen 2002 81.

<sup>215</sup> Wolf, Simone *et al.* 2008 176.

<sup>216</sup> Cf. Arnold 1999 302 ff., fig. 264.

<sup>217</sup> Wolf also misreads my reconstruction on this account; see Wolf, Simone *et al.* 2008 178 note 76.

<sup>218</sup> In the Garstang Museum of Archaeology, University of Liverpool: Török 1997b fig. 6.

<sup>219</sup> Török 1997b Pl. 14.

and remarks in the preliminary reports indicate that water arrived in the basin through the “kiosk” building and along its eastern and western sides through channels running at least at two different (and obviously not contemporary) levels.

Unfortunately, in the course of Garstang’s excavations the floor of the “kiosk” was removed together with the eventual earlier structures (floors?), fillings, and water channels and pipes beneath it.<sup>220</sup> I have observed<sup>221</sup> that the protruding central part of the south (“show”) wall of the tank building, which incorporates the sandstone columns, is an unbound addition to the north wall of the “kiosk”, and explained it as a consequence of the second main period rebuilding of M 194–195, which was determined by the moving-away of the Nile bed from the city and the necessity of a new water supply system operated by a water-lifting device. If the sandstone columns remain from an earlier building period of the “kiosk”, it may be presumed that it was some feature (the width?) of this part of early M 95 that determined the protruding wall section.

While the observations made by the team of the German Archaeological Institute confirm the inhomogeneity of the “show” wall, Simone Wolf considers it nevertheless belonging as a whole to the first period of the tank building, including the six water inlets in the podium-like base zone.<sup>222</sup> According to her, in a later period some of these inlets were no longer served (two sculptures, viz., *Cats* 7 and 33 were erected close to inlets),<sup>223</sup> and new channels and pipes (pottery and iron) were established that carried (additional?) water from the east and the west. It would be from this system that the inlet mounding in the lion protome in the southwest corner of the basin edge is preserved.<sup>224</sup>

I considered all inlets having been cut in the second main building period into the standing first period “show wall”. Since the structure of the wall was not examined by the excavators, I relied on Garstang’s photographs when I supposed that in the second period the podium-like base of the wall was left standing, but holes were cut through it for six inlets, further that above the base, in front of the central portion

<sup>220</sup> See Török 1997b Pl. 17.

<sup>221</sup> Török 1997b 68, Pl. 17.

<sup>222</sup> Wolf, Simone *et al.* 2008 178 f.

<sup>223</sup> Wolf’s remark may be understood so that they completely obstructed two inlets, which does not seem to have been the case, however, cf. Török 1997b Pl. 29.

<sup>224</sup> Wolf, Simone *et al.* 2008 181 f.

of the wall, a projecting wall shell was added, which incorporated the sandstone columns of the first period “kiosk”. It remains unknown if there were openings in the second period in the now destroyed upper zone of the wall. Similarly to Hinkel and Sievertsen, Wolf and Onasch did not consider the possibility that the inlets may be later than the wall itself, even though the German Archaeological Institute team found ample evidence for alterations in the water supply system along the southern basin edge<sup>225</sup> (cf. Chapter V.2.2). These alterations were possible only if alterations were also carried out within the body of the walls enclosing the basin!

## 2.2. *The Sculptures*

### 2.2.1. *The In Situ Decoration*

Let us see now the decoration of the interior south (“show”) wall of the tank building in the condition as Garstang has found it (Pls 32–37).<sup>226</sup> The wall was preserved to a height of over 2 m above the tank edge.<sup>227</sup> The decoration, as found by the excavators, consisted of three-dimensional coated and painted sandstone sculptures standing at the ends of the protruding wall section and at its centre on the basin edge, polychrome wall paintings along the base zone and above it in the field between the two sandstone columns, and sandstone animal protomes and faience relief inlays inserted in the base zone.

At the eastern end of the protruding wall section (Pl. 33) there was standing the headless, under-life size statue of a *syrinx* player (*Cat. 9A* Chapter V.2.3.2).<sup>228</sup> Garstang united it with a head, which did not belong together with it.<sup>229</sup> Still later it was united with another not-belonging head.<sup>230</sup> Today it is headless. The figure was carved in one piece with its base. Another under-life size human figure was standing at the opposite, western, end of the protruding wall. Its preserved remains (*Cat. 9B* Chapter V.2.3.2)<sup>231</sup> could not be united with any of

<sup>225</sup> Wolf, Simone *et al.* 2008 180 ff.

<sup>226</sup> Pl. 32: Török 1997b Pl. 28; Pl. 33: *ibid.* Pl. 29; Pl. 34: *ibid.* Pl. 30; Pl. 35: *ibid.* Pl. 31; Pl. 36: *ibid.* Pl. 32; Pl. 37: *ibid.* Pl. 33.

<sup>227</sup> Garstang 1913 79 f., Pls IX, X.

<sup>228</sup> Török 1997b 85 No. 195–38(S), Pls 33, 52.

<sup>229</sup> *Ibid.* 83, No. 195–19(S) or No. 195–22(S).

<sup>230</sup> Hofmann – Tomandl 1986 fig. 56.

<sup>231</sup> Wolf, Simone *et al.* 2008 fig. 21.

the statues found in the cachette. This statue was carved in one piece with its base too, like the under-life size statue of a *kithara* player (Cat. 7 Chapter V.2.3.2), the base of which was found by Garstang *in situ* on the basin edge at the centre of the wall together with the feet of the figure and the lower part of the drapery.<sup>232</sup> The rest of the figure was discovered in the cachette.<sup>233</sup> To the west of the *kithara* player, still close to the wall centre, Garstang found the headless statue of a reclining lion turning towards the *kitharoedos* (Cat. 34 Chapter V.2.2.3).<sup>234</sup>

On the upper half of the white-coated surface of the base zone Garstang found the painted figures of two red serpents turning towards the centre. Their heads were clearly visible at the time of the excavations at the sides of the *kithara*-player.<sup>235</sup> Above the snakes, in the field between the two walled-in sandstone columns, the remains of the painted figure of an elephant marching towards right (i.e., the west) are still visible.<sup>236</sup> The team of the German Archaeological Institute established that beneath the painting representing the two snakes there is an earlier painting representing a vine scroll with blue leaves and red grape clusters and painted on the first coating of the wall.<sup>237</sup> As it seems the scroll occupied the entire height of the base zone. At the same time as the vine scroll was covered with a second plastering on which the snakes were painted, faience plaques with figures and symbols in relief were insterted in the base zone under the snakes, and two ducts were built on the basin edge, viz., one c. 1.40 m long duct starting from a point close to the eastern end of the edge, and another one running above the western end of the basin edge<sup>238</sup> (Pls 32, 37). In Simone Wolf's view this latter duct would have been feeding the lion head inlet in the southwestern corner of the basin.<sup>239</sup> It remains obscure, in which way were these ducts connected to the recorded channels that carried water to the basin, and we do not know, either, to which part of the basin was the eastern duct running. Be as it may,

<sup>232</sup> *Ibid.* Pls 17, 29, 34.

<sup>233</sup> *Ibid.* 85 f. No. 195–39(S). Until 1985 *in situ*, when it was broken away c. 20 cm above the base and removed by thieves.

<sup>234</sup> *Ibid.* Pl. 29, 34. Note that in the Garstang photograph reproduced in Pl. 34 the body is shown with a head, which belonged to another statue.

<sup>235</sup> *Ibid.* Pls 27–35.

<sup>236</sup> *Ibid.* Pls 27, 29, 30; Hofmann – Tomandl 1986 cover and fig. 52.

<sup>237</sup> Wolf, Simone *et al.* 2008 178 ff., fig. 24.

<sup>238</sup> Török 1997b Pls 27, 28, 33.

<sup>239</sup> Wolf, Simone *et al.* 2008 181 f.

these enigmatic ducts seem to support my view that there *could* be cut inlets in the second building period through the first period “show wall” of the tank building. The ducts running on the basin edge cover the bases of the sandstone protomes that are falling in their course,<sup>240</sup> corroborating Simone Wolf’s observation, according to which the protomes were part of an earlier (i.e., the first period) decoration.<sup>241</sup>

The following sandstone protomes and faience inlays were found *in situ*, listed here from east to west: (1) faience inlay representing the combination of the ‘nh (“life”) and s3 (knot, symbol of protection) symbols; (2) faience plaque with ‘nh symbol; [water inlet]; (3) faience inlay representing Apedemak on the moon crescent; (4) sandstone lion protome; (5) faience plaque with ‘nh symbol (Pl. 37); (6) faience rosette with inscribed ‘nh and s3 symbols; (7) faience plaque with ‘nh symbol; [water inlet]; (8) faience relief tondo with the representation of a female bust (probably a Maenad) (Pl. 32); (9) sandstone bull protome; (10) faience inlay representing the combination of the ‘nh and s3 symbols; (11) faience plaque with ‘nh symbol; [water inlet]; (12) sandstone lion protome; [water inlet]; (13) faience plaque with ‘nh symbol; (14) sandstone bull protome; (15) faience relief tondo with the representation of a female bust (probably a Maenad); [water inlet]; (16) faience plaque with ‘nh symbol; (17) sandstone lion protome; (18) faience rosette with inscribed ‘nh and s3 symbols; [water inlet]; (19) faience rosette with inscribed ‘nh and s3 symbols; (20) faience inlay representing the combination of the ‘nh and s3 symbols (Pls 32–34). Garstang’s photographs record an apparently completely preserved program, thus the original place of a number of faience inlays from the “water sanctuary” complex, which are analogous to the types listed above, could not have been on the “show wall”.<sup>242</sup>

Simone Wolf suggests that in its first period form the decoration of the “show wall” consisted of a painted vine scroll in the base zone,

<sup>240</sup> Török 1997b Pls 28, 30.

<sup>241</sup> Wolf, Simone *et al.* 2008 180.

<sup>242</sup> Several pieces were photographed by Garstang and/or published from various museum collections, but their provenance is not more precisely defined than “from M 195”. E.g., Apedemak on moon crescent: Liverpool, World Museum 49.47.847, Wenig 1978 Cat. 214, Török 1997b 84 No. 195–31(S), Pl. 51.—Tondo with female bust: Bruxelles, Musées Royaux d’Art et d’Histoire E. 3709, Wenig 1978 Cat. 215.—Rosettes with inscribed ‘nh and s3 symbols: Török 1997b 84 Nos 195–34(S), 195–35(S), Pl. 51.—Inlays with combined ‘nh and s3 symbols: Török 1997b 84 Nos 195–32(S), 195–33(S), Pl. 51 (in wrong position).



at the bottom of which there were six water inlets in equal distances from each other. Between the inlets there were sandstone protomes arranged in symmetry with the inlets in the following order (from east to west): water inlet—lion protome (4)—water inlet—bull protome (9)—water inlet—lion protome (12)—water inlet—bull protome (14)—water inlet—lion protome (17)—water inlet. The symmetry of the alternation of the lion and bull protomes is obvious. Above the base zone decorated in this manner there was the painted figure of an elephant. The elephant figure occupied the centre of the field between the sandstone columns and was shown marching to the right. There is no trace of figures in front or behind the beast, however tempting it is to suppose that it marched towards the (human-bodied and lion-headed?) *Apedemak*: an iconographical combination well known from *Musawwarat es Sufra* (see Chapter VI).

As noted above, the sandstone protomes belonged to the first period of the wall. As to a similar dating of the inlets, I have noted my doubts in the foregoing. The question, whether the protomes were coordinated with concurrently built inlets, or the inlets were coordinated with an already existing program formed by the protomes and the painting in the field between the sandstone columns, could be satisfactorily answered only in the possession of a better knowledge of the structure of the wall and of the archaeology of the area south of the tank building. It is worth noting here, however, that protomes of bulls and lions were not regularly associated with water inlets in the tank building: as mentioned in Chapter V.2.1, in the first building period sandstone lion and bull protomes were inserted in the east, north, and west sides of the basin close to its edge. There may be little doubt that water inlets at these sides of the basin were added only in the second period.

Simone Wolf suggests that the first program was replaced at a later, undefined time by a second decoration program, which preserved from the first period one the sandstone lion and bull protomes in the base zone and the painting representing an elephant in the field between the sandstone columns. The vine scroll was covered with a new plastering on which two antithetical snakes were painted; furthermore, faience reliefs with figures and symbols were inserted between the water inlets and the sandstone protomes, and finally under-life size statues were erected at the ends of the protruding wall section and at its centre on the basin edge. The arrangement of the faience inlays appears to

have been less careful than that of the sandstone protomes. While the tondos with female busts were symmetrically placed, the Apedemak relief at the eastern end of the wall has no pendant at the western end, and there seems to be no special system prevailing in the arrangement of the rest of the inlays, either.

#### 2.2.2. *The Statuary from the Cachette and Related Finds from M 194–195*

Garstang recovered about sixty statues and statue fragments under the debris with which the basin in M 195 was filled up. The filling up occurred after M 95–194–195 was given up and before a chapel was built directly above the edge of the basin. In his seminal paper Franz Vlach (Chapter V.2.3) could not decide if the filled-up basin may be regarded as a cachette proper, or was it simply a place where rubbish was collected from the demolition of neighbouring buildings.<sup>243</sup> There can be no doubt, however, that M 195 was used indeed as a cachette at the abandonment of the building complex (Pls 38, 39).<sup>244</sup> In the basin there were images buried whose religious significance was known and respected, but which for some reason could no longer remain standing in their original place. The burial of statues of gods and rulers was a religious, not a pragmatic practice, which is well known from ancient Egypt as well as the classical world.<sup>245</sup>

The chapel erected over the tank presents an indirect argument for this kind of statue burial. As a more direct argument, photographs taken in the course of Garstang's excavations may also be quoted. They show clearly that the statues and statue fragments were discovered in a position, which suggests a considerate burial. On the bottom of the basin column drums were placed in a regular row<sup>246</sup> and the bigger statues were either put down in clusters with apparent care<sup>247</sup> or were put on the tank bottom in a standing position.<sup>248</sup> That the statues were not in a bad preservation or deliberately damaged before being carried to the cachette, and/or were not thrown down from the edge of

<sup>243</sup> Vlach 1984 574.

<sup>244</sup> Pl. 38: Török 1997b Pl. 20; Pl. 39: *ibid.* Pl. 21.

<sup>245</sup> Cf. M. Donderer: Irreversible Deponierung von Grossplastik bei Griechen, Etruskern und Römern. *Jahreshefte des Österreichischen Archäologischen Instituts in Wien* 61 (1991–1992) 194–272.

<sup>246</sup> Török 1997b Pl. 23.

<sup>247</sup> *Ibid.* Pls 21, 22, 25.

<sup>248</sup> *Ibid.* Pls 20, 21.

the basin is unambiguously indicated by the fact that several statues were salvaged in a complete form, although in a broken condition. The damages seem to have been caused rather by careless removal from the architectural context or the weight of the rubbish. Original losses in antiquity and also during the excavations may be ascribed first of all to the extreme softness of the Nubian sandstone from which these statues were carved.

The precise number of the statues and statue fragments recovered from the cachette is not known.<sup>249</sup> In my publication of Garstang's finds and records I catalogued sixty-one items.<sup>250</sup> In the following I shall list and discuss, however, only thirty-eight sculptures,<sup>251</sup> because the rest, viz., the small fragments or the now lost items that appear as hardly discernible fragments in excavation photographs have very little value for iconographical and stylistic analyses.

Stylistically, the sculptures belong into two large classes: (A) Hellenistic or Hellenizing, and (B) traditional. The latter term is necessarily rather fluid: while, as to their style, the sculptures belonging into this group may all be at home in both Meroe and Egypt, there are among them pieces which have no iconographical parallels in Egypt. One may distinguish fairly good, poor, and very poor quality carvings within class (A); class (B) consists only of rather good, though not excellent, quality works.

Within classes (A) and (B) the following iconographical groups may be distinguished: (1) Dionysos and figures from his cortège; (2) reclining diademed male and female figures; (2a) heads from representations of reclining figures (?), (3) standing and seated draped male figures with papyrus scroll; (4) figures holding a vessel; (5) female figure with back pillar; (6) sphinx figures; (7a)–(7b) varia. Groups (1)–(3) belong into class (A), groups (4)–(6) into class (B). Group (7a) consists of the fragment of a heroic portrait and a cuirassed figure belonging into class (A); (7b) the figure of a falcon and two lion statues belonging into class (B). I give below a catalogue of the sculptures. If not otherwise indicated, the pieces are kept in one of the shelter buildings above

<sup>249</sup> In January 1989 I collected in the area of M 194 several small fragments such as fingers, etc. from sandstone statues, apparently carelessly discarded by the excavators, and placed them in the shelter building above M 194.

<sup>250</sup> Török 1997b 78–89 Nos 194–1, 195–1(S)–195–60(S).

<sup>251</sup> According to Wolf, Simone *et al.* 2008 185 and note 98, at present there are twenty-eight sculptures preserved at site M 95–194–195.

M 194 and 195. In the following chapters I shall refer to sculptural finds from the “water sanctuary” as *Cats* 1, 2 etc.

(A) *Hellenistic and Hellenizing Style Statuary*

(1) Dionysian Figures

*Cat.* 1 (Pl. 40).<sup>252</sup> Head from a slightly under-life size sandstone statue representing a male figure. Garstang Museum of Archaeology, University of Liverpool.<sup>253</sup> Coated and painted, traces of red pigment on neck, cheeks and temples, blue (?) on leaves, red on grapes. The pigment was applied on a very thin layer of coating or wash. Badly damaged. The angle of the neck indicates that the figure was standing in a strong contrapposto with raised left shoulder. The neck is muscular and its rendering indicates not only accentuated physical strength, but also a posture determined by an energetic movement. Stressed Adam’s apple. The face is oval-shaped; the large eyes were defined by a double line. From the coiffure straight locks are preserved over the right eye and at the back of the head. A leaf crown with vine leaves, grape clusters and smaller pointed ivy leaves encircles the head.<sup>254</sup> There are drilled holes for the attachment of a metal diadem (?) in one of the smaller leaves over the forehead.

*Cat.* 2 (Pl. 41).<sup>255</sup> Fragment of sandstone statue. Garstang Museum of Archaeology, University of Liverpool.<sup>256</sup> Belly and legs of a standing boy. The right leg is slightly advanced, behind the right thigh a support. Around the buttocks and abdomen is draped a loincloth, which leaves the genitals uncovered. Coated and painted, body pink or pale red, loincloth white, support yellow. The legs are childishly chubby, the belly fat, according to the traditional Egyptian iconography of infants. Viewed in the context of the statuary from the cachette, the fragment is most probably from a representation of the child Dionysos.

*Cat.* 3 (Pl. 42).<sup>257</sup> Sandstone statue of unclothed woman, so-called “Venus of Meroe”. München, Staatliche Sammlung Ägyptischer Kunst

<sup>252</sup> Török 1997b fig. 75.

<sup>253</sup> Garstang Museum of Archaeology, University of Liverpool E 702, Török 1997b 86 f. No. 195–42(S), fig. 75. Height 0.28 m.

<sup>254</sup> Cf. Alexandria 25066, *Gloire* 244 Cat. 182 (F. Queyrel).

<sup>255</sup> Török 1997b fig. 77.

<sup>256</sup> Garstang Museum of Archaeology, University of Liverpool E 707, Török 1997b 87 No. 195–44(S), fig. 77. Height 0.34 m.

<sup>257</sup> Wildung (ed.) 1997 Cat. 439.

ÄS 1334.<sup>258</sup> Coated and painted in dark reddish-brown. Legs missing below the knees, left arm lost below the elbow. The figure has fairly good proportions, although the head is disproportionately big. The face is full and oval-shaped, the hair is styled in an archaizing fashion parted in the middle with side coils framing the face and combed back into a deep-sitting knot at the back of the nape. The eyes are deeply set under the bulging forehead; the upper eyelids are accentuated, while the lower lids are completely blurred. The lips are short, full, straight. The nose is long and triangular, the cheeks full. The neck is round. The limbs are full, the round breasts small. The right arm is bent at the elbow and the right hand rests on the belly. The left shoulder is raised and bent forward. The abdomen has accentuated fat-folds. The figure was standing in a strong contrapposto and was supported by a heavy rectangular block under the buttocks. The posture of the head and left arm indicate that the stance repeated the popular type of the "Capitoline Aphrodite".

*Cat. 4* (Pl. 43).<sup>259</sup> Fragment of sandstone statue of Silenus. Garstang Museum of Archaeology, University of Liverpool.<sup>260</sup> Left half of a head. Coated and painted, faint traces of red pigment on face. The nose went with the missing right half. From the figure of a moustached and bearded man wearing his hair in straight locks falling down at back on his shoulders. The top of his head is bald and he wears a fillet. The well modeled, though schematically rendered eye(s) sit under arched eyebrow(s). The preserved cheekbone is high and accentuated and the ear is finely modeled. The fragment belonged to a Silenus figure, which was the work of a master educated in the tradition of early Hellenistic sculpture. The modeling of the eye(s) and the angular line of the eyebrow(s) also associate his work with the reclining figure *Cat. 11* and its circle.

*Cat. 5* (Pl. 44).<sup>261</sup> Fragment of head from a sandstone Silenus statue. Present whereabouts not known.<sup>262</sup> The characteristically modeled head makes a fine impression in some of the field photographs,<sup>263</sup> but

<sup>258</sup> Wenig 1978 235 *Cat.* 161; I. Hofmann: Überlegungen zur "Venus von Meroe". *BzS* 3 (1988) 25–38, figs 1–3; Török 1997b 81 No. 195–4(S), Pls 20–22. Height 0.789 m.

<sup>259</sup> Török 1997b fig. 77.

<sup>260</sup> Török 1997b 87 f. No. 195–45(S), fig. 77. Height 0.247 m.

<sup>261</sup> Török 1997b Pl. 43.

<sup>262</sup> *Ibid.* 81 f. No. 195–7(S), Pls 24, 41–43. Height 0.28 m.

<sup>263</sup> *Ibid.* Pl. 43.

other photographs<sup>264</sup> reveal the actual limits of the skill of the sculptor, who was able to reproduce no more than the most prominent and stereotyped features of the common Silenus type. The rendering of the bulging forehead with the stereotype V-shaped furrow above the root of the small snub-nose, further of the deep-set eyes, prominent cheekbones, moustache, beard, and ears is conventional.

*Cat. 6.* Fragment from a sandstone statue of dancing Pan.<sup>265</sup> Head, upper half of the body, and feet are lost; genitals and goat's tail preserved. The figure of the dancing Pan is also represented on one of the faience cylinders from site M 200–221 at Meroe City (Chapter V.1.5, Cylinder III).

*Cat. 7.* (Pl. 45).<sup>266</sup> Sandstone statue of *kithara* player. Until 1985 *in situ*, now lost.<sup>267</sup> The coated and painted sandstone statue found standing at the centre of the protruding wall section represents a draped musician in frontal posture, with slightly forward bent torso.<sup>268</sup> The body is squat, with broad shoulders, thick arms, and short legs. In profile view the figure gives a steatopygous impression. A sloping diadem encircles the head. Vertical incisions mark the locks of the short hair. The full face is oval, the bulging eyes almond shaped. The figure is wearing an ankle-length *chiton*, his mantle is draped around his shoulders. The heavy, deep vertical folds of the *chiton* are marked only below the waist. In a stylized manner, the hem of the *chiton* forms a zig-zag line. The left hand of the figure rests on the *zygon* of a Greek *kithara*, which must be imagined to be suspended from a strap (which is not represented) flung over his right shoulder, and he holds in his right hand a *plektron*. The base and the *kithara* were painted yellow, the *chiton* and the mantle pale blue, the arms and the face reddish brown.

*Cat. 8* (Pl. 46).<sup>269</sup> Sandstone statue of a boy holding an *aulos* (double-pipe). Petrie Museum, University College London Inv. EG 1.63 [A400,036], formerly Wellcome Historical Medical Museum,

<sup>264</sup> *Ibid.* Pls 41, 42.

<sup>265</sup> *Ibid.* 84 No. 195–26 (S), Pl. 50. No identification offered. For the identification with Pan, see Wolf, Simone – Onasch 1998–2002 196, Pl. IV/b; Wolf, Simone *et al.* 2008 185 f., figs 33/a, b. Height 0.52 cm.

<sup>266</sup> Hofmann – Tomandl 1986 fig. 53.

<sup>267</sup> Török 1997b 85 f. No. 195–39(S), Pl. 34. For a color photograph, see Hofmann – Tomandl 1986 fig. 53.

<sup>268</sup> Török 1997b 85 f. No. 195–39(S), Pl. 34.

<sup>269</sup> Garstang Neg. 143 (left: *Cat.* 3).

London.<sup>270</sup> At the moment of the discovery the left half of the face and the feet together with the base were missing, the legs below the knee were broken, and the left-hand side pipe of the *aulos* was slightly damaged. The photographs published in 1964 show that by that time also the left leg below the knee and the entire lower part of the right leg were missing. The statue represents a standing nude boy holding a double-pipe in front of his chest, but not playing it. His hair is combed into his forehead, the pigtail worn at the back indicates his infantile age. There is no back pillar or other support, the legs stand apart in a daring fashion and the statue carved from the soft Nubian sandstone was obviously rather fragile and unstable. The missing base and feet indicate that *Cat.* 8 was broken off from its base when the sanctuary was demolished. Signs for a similarly careless removal of a statue from its presumably built-in base can also be observed in other cases.

*Cat.* 9A. (Pl. 47).<sup>271</sup> Sandstone statue of *syrix* player found *in situ* on the south basin edge at the eastern end of the protruding wall section.<sup>272</sup> The squat, steatopygous<sup>273</sup> body of the frontally standing musician is clad in an unusually fashioned triple ankle-length cloak which may be an awkwardly rendered and misunderstood Greek *chiton* worn under a high-belted *himation* with overfold. The *chiton* was painted blue, the *himation* red over, and yellow under the overfold.<sup>274</sup> The figure was shown lifting to his lips a disproportionately large *syrix* or panpipes.

*Cat.* 9B. Fragment of the feet of the pendant of *Cat.* 9A found *in situ* on the south basin edge at the western end of the protruding wall section.<sup>275</sup>

*Cat.* 10. Sandstone statue of symmetrically squatting harpist (?).<sup>276</sup> Coated and painted. Head, left arm from shoulder, right arm beyond

<sup>270</sup> S. Dixon – K. Wachsmann: A Sandstone Statue of an Auletes from Meroe. *Kush* 12 (1964) 119–125, Pls XXXVI, XXXVII; Török 1997b 79 No. 195–2(S), Pls 19, 23, 24. Height 0.89 m.

<sup>271</sup> Török 1997b Pl. 52 (left: *Cat.* 28).

<sup>272</sup> Török 1997b 85 No. 195–28(S), Pls 33, 52; Baud – Sackho-Autissier – Labbé-Toutée (eds) 2010 fig. 115.

<sup>273</sup> See Wolf, Simone *et al.* 2008 fig. 19, and cf. *Cat.* 22.

<sup>274</sup> For a recent colour photograph, see Wolf, Simone *et al.* 2008 fig. 28.

<sup>275</sup> Wolf, Simone *et al.* 2008 178, fig. 21.

<sup>276</sup> Török 1997b 83 f. No. 195–23(S), Pl. 50: the squatting posture corresponds with an Egyptian scribe type, but the posture of the arms does not support such an identification. A more plausible identification as harpist: Wolf, Simone – Onasch 1998–2002 196.

elbow missing. The right foot is broken off, and lost. The base was painted in pale blue, the loincloth in white, and the body in reddish-brown. The body is summarily modeled, the protruding belly emphasized. The posture is hybrid. The cross-legged posture corresponds with the traditional Egyptian posture of the scribe, but in *Cat. 10* there are no traces of the papyrus scroll opened in the lap, which belongs *de rigueur* to the type. The gesture of the left hand is also alien to the scribe-pose. *Cat. 10* has from the cross-legged squatting figure, which was again popular in post-Twenty-Fifth Dynasty sculpture,<sup>277</sup> only the bare chest and the plain loin-cloth.

## (2) Reclining Figures

*Cat. 11* (Pls 48, 49).<sup>278</sup> Sandstone statue of reclining man. Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek Æ.I.N. 1484.<sup>279</sup> Coated and painted, body and face reddish-brown, drapery white (or blue?), pillow under left arm yellow; base pale blue. Slightly over-life-size male figure lying on a low, simple plinth with a pillow at the head end (indicating probably a *kline*).<sup>280</sup> He is wearing a broad, thick horizontal fillet or diadem. The locks of the hair, which covers the head like a tight-fitting cap, are not indicated. His torso is naked, his belly and legs are covered with a *himation*. The feet are visible behind the body. The legs are bent at the knee and the feet are pulled back behind the thighs. The back of the statue is carefully modeled, the buttocks and the muscular back with the curved line of the spine are skillfully rendered. The right arm (now damaged) rested on the right thigh. The left arm, which originally rested on a pillow, is now missing. The head was found broken off and lying behind the statue.<sup>281</sup> The brow is furrowed, the eyes are wide-open, and the eyeballs and the lids are clearly accentuated. The aquiline nose is long and in front view triangular. The fleshy lips turn up at the corners in an archaic smile, which is also accentuated by

<sup>277</sup> Cf. *ESLP* No. 20.

<sup>278</sup> Pl. 48: Wenig 1975b No. 437; Pl. 49: Török 1997b Pl. 37.

<sup>279</sup> Wenig 1975b 426 No. 437; Török 1997b 79 f. No. 195–3(S), Pls 36–38, 41, 42. Length 1.50 m, width 0.52 m, height 0.77 m.

<sup>280</sup> On the *klinai* in Alexandrian mortuary architecture, see Venit 2002 18 f. and *passim*.

<sup>281</sup> The head was probably broken off by the weight of the debris filled in over the statue. After being found, the head was removed from its find spot and photographs taken after the removal may make the false impression that it was buried, and discovered, apart from the body. See Török 1997b Pls 21, 22.



deep depressions at the corners of the mouth and the heavy nasolabial furrows. The cheeks are fleshy. The well-modeled chin is set off by a horizontal depression from the lower lip. Similarly to the head, the body is also skillfully modeled and *Cat. 11* represents the highest sculptural quality among the cachette finds.

*Cat. 12* (Pls 50, 54, second from left, 55, second from left).<sup>282</sup> Sandstone statue of reclining couple. Present whereabouts not known.<sup>283</sup> Originally coated and painted. Reclining on an L-shaped base, which was carved in one piece with the figures, the two figures are represented in a manner that they turn towards the “outer” side of the L. Both figures were shown wearing a sloping diadem. The preserved photographs record fully only the female figure and a part of the torso and the head of the male figure. The body of the latter seems to have been lost from waist (?), and a large part of the base is missing here too. The torso of both the female and the male figure is unclothed; a folded drapery in a way covers the legs of the female figure that a portion of her thighs and her abdomen are revealed. She lifts in her right hand a vessel to her lips and at the same time to the lips of her partner, while she embraces him with her left arm. Her left hand is visible on the left side of the head of the male figure.<sup>284</sup> The position of the left arm of the male figure is not quite clear. One of the Garstang photographs<sup>285</sup> gives the impression as if he were supporting with his left hand the vessel held by his partner. With his right arm he embraces the female figure, but his right hand is missing together with the shoulder of the female figure.

The group was found c. 0.40 m above the bottom of the basin, partly resting on a column drum. It was perhaps placed there in a standing position but was turned over and broken by the weight of the debris put over it. The size of the group is small and the figures were to a different scale than *Cats 11* and *13*, with which they are iconographically associated. The heads were summarily and rather clumsily modeled and the male head is disproportionately elongated. The eyes were probably indicated with painting. Incised lines indicate short, straight

<sup>282</sup> Török 1997b Pls 35, 45–49.

<sup>283</sup> *Ibid.* 78 f. No. 195–1(S), Pls 35, 38, 48, 49. Length of the figures 0.97 m, width 0.35 m, height 0.53 m.

<sup>284</sup> *Ibid.* Pl. 48.

<sup>285</sup> *Ibid.* Pl. 35.

locks combed in the forehead in an early Hellenistic fashion. The male as well as the female figure wear a broad, sloping diadem.

*Cat. 13.* Sandstone statue of reclining man.<sup>286</sup> Only a part of the base and the legs from a sculpture similar to *Cat. 11* are preserved. Coated and painted, plinth pale blue, drapery white (?). Similarly to *Cat. 11*, the figure in *Cat. 13* was shown lying on his right side. It was not recorded by the excavators and was discovered in the shelter building over M 194 (?) or M 195 (?) by the Komtesse Danneskiold-Samsøe, who published a description and a pencil sketch.<sup>287</sup>

(2a) Heads from statues of reclining figures (?)

*Cat. 14* (Pl. 44, top centre). Head from sandstone statue of reclining man (?).<sup>288</sup> Present whereabouts and measurements not known. Coated and painted. It belongs stylistically to the heads *Cats 17–21* and is connected, like them, to the head of the *kithara* player *Cat. 7*. All these heads share the summary treatment of the facial features, the lack of integration of the frontal view with the profiles, the lack of plasticity, and also have in common a hairstyle with incised straight locks combed onto the forehead. They all wear a broad fillet. An important difference is, however, that in *Cat. 14*, just as well as in *Cats 11* and *16*, the fillet is horizontal, while in *Cats 12, 15*, and *17–21* it is sloping. It is also worth mentioning that in most of these heads the uniformity of the locks is broken above the centre of the forehead, a fashion also occurring in *Cat. 12*.

*Cat. 15.* (Pl. 39, behind *Cat. 11*). Head from the sandstone statue of a reclining man (?).<sup>289</sup> Present whereabouts not known. Belongs to the same type as *Cats 14, 17–21*. Sloping fillet.

*Cat. 16* (Pl. 51).<sup>290</sup> Head fragment from the sandstone statue of a reclining man (?).<sup>291</sup> Present whereabouts not known. Coated and painted. Horizontal fillet.

<sup>286</sup> Török 1997b 86 No. 195–41(S). Height of plinth 0.14, of statue fgm. (at the knees) c. 0.30 m.

<sup>287</sup> I. Danneskiold-Samsøe: The Royal Bath of Meroe. New Discoveries. *Meroitica* 6 (1982) 273–275 Pls 15, 16;

<sup>288</sup> *Ibid.* 82 No. 195–10(S), Pl. 43.

<sup>289</sup> *Ibid.* 82 No. 195–14(S), Pl. 21.

<sup>290</sup> Török 1997b Pl. 45.

<sup>291</sup> *Ibid.* 83 No. 195–16(S), Pl. 45.

*Cat. 17* (Pls 52, 53, left).<sup>292</sup> Head from the sandstone statue of a reclining man (?).<sup>293</sup> Present whereabouts not known. Coated and painted. Sloping fillet. Cf. *Cats* 7, 14, 18–22.

*Cat. 18* (Pls 52, 53, right). Head from the sandstone statue of a reclining man (?).<sup>294</sup> Present whereabouts not known. Coated and painted. Sloping fillet. Cf. *Cats* 14, 17.

*Cat. 19* (Pls 54, 55, extreme left).<sup>295</sup> Head from the sandstone statue of a reclining man (?).<sup>296</sup> Present whereabouts not known. Sloping fillet. Coated and painted.

*Cat. 20* (Pls 54, 55, second from right). Head from the sandstone statue of a reclining man (?).<sup>297</sup> Present whereabouts not known. Coated and painted. Sloping fillet. Cf. *Cats* 14, 17–19, 21.

*Cat. 21* (Pls 54, 55, extreme right). Head from the sandstone statue of a reclining man (?).<sup>298</sup> Present whereabouts not known. Coated and painted. Sloping fillet. Cf. *Cats* 14, 17–20.

### (3) Standing and Seated Draped Male Figures with Papyrus Scroll

*Cat. 22* (Pl. 56).<sup>299</sup> Headless sandstone statue of a standing draped man.<sup>300</sup> Present whereabouts not known. Coated and painted. On a heavy square base carved in one piece with the figure stands a thickset, barefooted, draped man. The schematically—but not without skill and comprehension—rendered *himation* with its tightly set vertical folds is draped around the full, almost steatopygous body<sup>301</sup> of the man who stands in a strong contrapposto, with his weight on his left leg. In his right hand he holds a papyrus scroll in front of his round belly, while his left arm is bent at the elbow and covered by the drapery. With his left hand he clutches firmly the upper end of the scroll. The head, right shoulder, and the upper right half of the torso is missing together with the right arm.

<sup>292</sup> Pl. 52: Török 1997b Pl. 46; Pl. 53: *ibid.* Pl. 47.

<sup>293</sup> *Ibid.* 83 No. 195–18(S), Pls 46, 47.

<sup>294</sup> *Ibid.* 83 No. 195–19(S), Pls 46, 47.

<sup>295</sup> Pl. 54: Török 1997b Pl. 48; Pl. 55: *ibid.* Pl. 49.

<sup>296</sup> *Ibid.* 83 No. 195–20(S), Pls 48, 49.

<sup>297</sup> *Ibid.* 83 No. 195–21(S), Pls 48, 49.

<sup>298</sup> *Ibid.* 83 No. 195–22(S), Pls 48, 49.

<sup>299</sup> Török 1997b Pl. 44.

<sup>300</sup> *Ibid.* 82 f. No. 195–15(S), Pls 38, 44. Height 0.90 m (?).

<sup>301</sup> Cf. *Cat.* 9.

*Cat.* 23 (Pls 57, 58).<sup>302</sup> Headless sandstone statue of a seated draped man.<sup>303</sup> In the shelter building above M 195. Coated and painted, drapery pale blue, preserved right hand and feet reddish-brown, base and seat yellow.<sup>304</sup> On a simple plinth carved in one piece with the figure a male figure wearing an ankle-length *himation* draped in the classical manner is seated on a square block throne-like seat without backrest. In his right hand, which rests on his right knee, he holds a manuscript scroll, while his left arm is bent at the elbow and is covered by his cloak. His left hand, held in front of his chest, was presumably shown holding together the folds of the drapery. As also noted by Simone Wolf,<sup>305</sup> the asymmetry of the figure, viz., the ponderation resulting from the firmly placed right, and the flexed left leg, further the position of the flexed right thigh and buttock display the impact of classical sculpture.

*Cat.* 24. Headless sandstone statue of seated draped man.<sup>306</sup> Present whereabouts not known. The statue appears in the background of three Garstang photographs, in which no details can be discerned. It seems that *Cat.* 24 belonged to the same iconographical type as *Cat.* 23.

#### (B) *Traditional Style Sculptures*

##### (4) Figures Holding a Vessel

*Cat.* 25 (Pl. 59, left).<sup>307</sup> Fragment of sandstone statue. Garstang Museum of Archaeology, University of Liverpool.<sup>308</sup> Coated and painted, traces of pink or red pigment between the fingers; the vessel is grey or white (?). From a standing figure holding a vessel in front of his/her chest. Only the conical vessel and the two hands holding it are preserved. For the iconography of the vessel cf. *Cat.* 12.

*Cat.* 26. (Pl. 59, right).<sup>309</sup> Fragment of sandstone statue representing a female figure or a child (?) holding a vessel. Garstang Museum of Archaeology, University of Liverpool.<sup>310</sup> Coated and painted, traces of

<sup>302</sup> Pl. 57: Török 1997b Pl. 39; Pl. 58: *ibid.* Pl. 40.

<sup>303</sup> Török 1997b 81 No. 195–6(S), Pls 20–23, 39, 40; Wolf, Simone *et al.* 2008 186 f., figs 34/a, b. Height c. 0.85 m.

<sup>304</sup> For recent colour photographs, see Wolf, Simone *et al.* 2008 figs 34/a, b.

<sup>305</sup> Wolf, Simone *et al.* 2008 187.

<sup>306</sup> Török 1997b 81 No. 195–5(S), Pls 21, 22, 25.

<sup>307</sup> Török 1997b fig. 78, 195–47 (S).

<sup>308</sup> Liverpool, no inv. no. Török 1997b 88 No. 195–47(S), fig. 78. Height 0.21 m.

<sup>309</sup> Török 1997b fig. 78, 195–48 (S).

<sup>310</sup> Liverpool, no inv. no. Török 1997b 88 No. 195–48(S), fig. 78. Height 0.18 m.

red pigment are preserved on the arm. Part of the torso of a woman or a child wearing a short-sleeved tunic. The right arm is preserved with a part of the right side of the chest and a fragment of the conical vessel, which the figure held in front of his or her chest.

#### (5) Female Figure with Back Pillar

*Cat.* 27 (Pl. 60).<sup>311</sup> Head fragment from a female figure. Garstang Museum of Archaeology, University of Liverpool.<sup>312</sup> Coated and painted, face and neck pale red, wig yellow (!), back pillar yellow. Badly damaged female head with part of the back pillar from a standing figure. The head is covered with a wig of the bob type. A narrow, sloping fillet encircles the wig. On the right side of the wig above the fillet incised lines mark sickle-shaped curls. These incisions were, however, covered by the coating and were invisible. The sculptor started presumably to represent natural hair, but realized his mistake and stopped after the incision of some lines. The face is oval, the eyes are small, the cheeks full, the nose is triangular and the short lips are level. The broken surface of the right shoulder reveals that the neck was disproportionately short. The back pillar terminates in a triangular top; its tip reaches the height of the fillet. In a rectangular hole on the top of the head there was probably fixed the tang of a crown superstructure, supporting perhaps the sun disc and cow's horns of the Hathor crown.

#### (6) Sphinx Figures

*Cat.* 28 (Pl. 47, left). Headless statue of sphinx.<sup>313</sup> Provenance unknown, it does not occur on the photographs taken during the excavation of the cachette. Placed by Garstang on the south edge of the tank at the east side of *Cat.* 9A. Removed later to the opposite end of the tank edge.<sup>314</sup> Greek-type female sphinx.

*Cat.* 29. Head of sphinx. Garstang Museum of Archaeology, University of Liverpool.<sup>315</sup> Coated and painted, on the face and neck traces of yellow, on headdress white (?), on the left shoulder blue pigment.

<sup>311</sup> Török 1997b fig. 78, 195–46 (S).

<sup>312</sup> Garstang Museum of Archaeology, University of Liverpool E 8664, Török 1997b 88 No. 195–46(S), fig. 78. Height 0.205 m.

<sup>313</sup> Török 1997b 85 No. 195–37(S), erroneously as statue of lion, Pl. 52, left. Measurements not available.

<sup>314</sup> Hofmann – Tomandl 1986 fig. 53.

<sup>315</sup> Garstang Museum of Archaeology, University of Liverpool E 8625, Török 1997b 88 No. 195–49(S), fig. 79. Height 0.311 m.

Two fragments from the head and neck of a traditional Egyptian-type sphinx.<sup>316</sup> The yellow painting of the body substituted gold.

*Cat. 30.* Head of sphinx. Garstang Museum of Archaeology, University of Liverpool.<sup>317</sup> Fragment of a sphinx of the traditional Egyptian type. The face is badly damaged, the beard is broken off and missing. The traces of a uraeus are visible above the centre of the forehead. The almond-shaped eyes and the short, fleshy lips under the heavy, triangular nose indicate the work of an unskilled craftsman. The treatment of the lips is particularly clumsy.

(7a) Varia (A)

*Cat. 31* (Pl. 61).<sup>318</sup> Fragment of sandstone statue. Garstang Museum of Archaeology, University of Liverpool.<sup>319</sup> Coated and painted over a thin wash, body red, mantle yellow. Torso of a male figure standing in exaggerated contrapposto. The left arm was hanging down at the side of the body, while the right arm was raised from the shoulder. The upper body was turned towards the left, as is indicated by the emphasized plasticity of the ribs on the right side of the chest. A rolled-up mantle runs across the chest and its end is slung over the left shoulder. It is also carefully rendered on the back.

*Cat. 32.* Fragment of sandstone statue representing a cuirassed male figure.<sup>320</sup> Present whereabouts not known. Torso of a standing man wearing a mantle draped around the shoulders and the left arm in the manner of the cloak (*paludamentum*) reserved for the Roman *imperator*.<sup>321</sup> Under the coat a cuirass is visible, which is usually identified in the literature as part of the Roman military dress. The head and a part of the left shoulder are missing, the right arm beyond elbow is lost, the left hand is broken off and lost; the legs are missing.

<sup>316</sup> For the reclining human-headed and lion-bodied sphinx associated with various deities as well as with the ruler, see U. Schweitzer: *Löwe und Sphinx im Alten Ägypten*. Hamburg 1948. For its association with mortuary architecture and cult in the Ptolemaic period, see Pensabene 1983; Kaplan 1999 94 ff.; Venit 2002 *passim*.

<sup>317</sup> Garstang Museum of Archaeology, University of Liverpool E 8622, Török 1997b 89 No. 195–50(S), fig. 79. Height 0.195 m.

<sup>318</sup> Török 1997b fig. 76.

<sup>319</sup> Garstang Museum of Archaeology, University of Liverpool E 8304, Török 1997b 87 No. 195–43(S), fig. 76. Height 0.325 m.

<sup>320</sup> Garstang 1913 Pl. X/2; Török 1997b 86 No. 195–40(S). Height 0.75 m.

<sup>321</sup> Cf. Bianchi *et al.* 1988 245 f. Cat. 134 (R.S. Bianchi).

## (7b) Varia (B)

*Cat. 33* (Pl. 62).<sup>322</sup> Fragments of a coated and painted sandstone statue representing a falcon.<sup>323</sup> The upper part of the figure is kept in the shelter built over the remains of the exedra, while the lower part is now broken into small fragments and partly lost.<sup>324</sup> The statue was discovered in a broken and presumably incomplete condition on the steps leading down to room B at the eastern end of the apsidal wall.<sup>325</sup> Garstang identified it as “a winged sphinx of stone, with the body of a lion and the head of a bird”.<sup>326</sup> The feathers, the shape of the wings and the head belong, however, to a traditional falcon representation and the statue can be identified as an image of the Horus falcon.

*Cat. 34* (Pl. 33, centre). Sandstone statue of reclining lion.<sup>327</sup> Found *in situ* on the southern edge of the basin in M 195, to the west of *Cat. 7*. Coated and painted, head missing. Reclining lion with the fore-legs crossed; head turned probably towards the basin.

*Cat. 35*. Sandstone statue of seated lion.<sup>328</sup> Coated and painted. Head lost. The powerfully modeled sculpture does not occur in the photographic record of the excavation of the cachette. After the erection of the shelter building over the tank Garstang placed it in the southeastern corner of its interior beside *Cat. 9*. This is not its original place. It was later removed from there and was placed, not less arbitrarily, in the southwestern corner of the shelter.

*Appendix: three figural faience wall inlays*

*Cat. 36* (Pl. 36, right). Blue-glazed faience *tondo* with high relief representation of a female bust, probably a Maenad. *In situ* in the base zone of the “show wall” east of the wall centre, see also (8) in Chapter V.2.2.1.<sup>329</sup>

*Cat. 37* (Pl. 33, right). Blue-glazed faience *tondo* with high relief representation of a female bust, probably a Maenad. *In situ* in the base

<sup>322</sup> Török 1997b Pl. 16.

<sup>323</sup> Török 1997b 78 No. 194–1, Pl. 16. Height 0.60 m.

<sup>324</sup> Cf. Hofmann – Tomandl 1986 fig. 59, left.

<sup>325</sup> See the Garstang photograph Neg. 105 in the Garstang Museum of Archaeology, University of Liverpool.

<sup>326</sup> Garstang 1913 78.

<sup>327</sup> Garstang 1913 79, erroneously as “a hound”. Török 1997b 75, Pls 29, 34 (in Pl. 34 with a head belonging to another statue).

<sup>328</sup> Hofmann – Tomandl 1986 fig. 53. Measurements not available.

<sup>329</sup> Measurements not available. Török 1997b Pls 30, 32; Wolf, Simone *et al.* 2008 fig. 26.

zone of the “show wall” west of the wall centre, see also (15) in Chapter V.2.2.1.<sup>330</sup>

*Cat.* 38. Blue-glazed faience *tondo* with high relief representation of a female bust, probably a Maenad. Bruxelles, Musées Royaux d’Art et d’Histoire E 3709.<sup>331</sup> Probably from the “water sanctuary”.

### 2.3. *The Function of M 95–194–195*

The preliminary reports published by Garstang and the members of his team in the *Liverpool Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology*, a not especially widely read periodical, remained largely unknown to classical archaeologists and ancient historians.<sup>332</sup> Scholars of the nascent Nubian Studies rediscovered Garstang’s preliminary reports in the 1960s and unhesitatingly endorsed his interpretation of M 95–194–195 as a “Roman bath”<sup>333</sup> (Chapter I). It was not realized that there is no provincial variant of any Roman bath type, which would so completely lack the typological, functional and technical features of their models as does the “Royal Bath”. An attempt made in 1976 at the interpretation of the tank building as a kind of “nymphaeum”<sup>334</sup> was noted only much later when its author no longer maintained it. In his history of Nubian art (cf. Chapter I) Steffen Wenig defined it as “a splendid, ornate imitation of a Hellenistic villa”, decorated, however, with sculptures, which “show no inner connection with one another and probably had no other meaning than room decoration.”<sup>335</sup>

<sup>330</sup> Measurements not available. Török 1997b Pls 29, 31; Wolf, Simone *et al.* 2008 fig. 27.

<sup>331</sup> Wenig 1978 Cat. 215; Török 1997b 84 f. No. 195–36(S), diameter c. 0.265 m.

<sup>332</sup> Rostovtzeff’s exceptional remark on Ergamenes’s Meroe “with its Hellenistic palaces, its Hellenistic bath, its Ethiopian-Hellenistic statues” was quoted in Chapter I.

<sup>333</sup> The quotation marks are mine.—Shinnie 1967 79 writes thus: “It must surely have been a swimming-bath, a provincial variant of the well-known feature of Mediterranean life of the period”. According to Adams 1977 315 “the so-called Roman Bath...lacks the heating apparatus and other technical refinements of Roman baths in Europe, but its classical inspiration is nevertheless unmistakable”. Adams 1984 271 nevertheless concludes: “a small *tepidarium*, with three stone seats arranged in a quarter-circle, and a much larger *frigidarium*, which is really a simple swimming tank”.

<sup>334</sup> L. Török: comment in: Adams 1976 95–100. Cf. also L. Török: Meroitic Architecture: Contributions to Problems of Chronology and Style. *Meroitica* 7 (1984) 351–366 360 ff.

<sup>335</sup> Wenig 1978 87.



This trend changed in 1984 with the publication of an important contribution by the classical archaeologist Franz Vlach, who argued that the tank building was “mit dem Becken eine Art Cella oder Schrein für einen bisher unbekannten Kult, bei dessen Begehung Wasser eine grosse Rolle spielte”. Vlach also suggested that the statues of reclining figures found in the cachette (see below) have been descendants of an “im gesamten östlichen Mittelmeerraum ausserordentlich häufigen Typus mit meist funerärem Bezug”, displaying “recht individuelle Züge, so dass ein bezug auf bestimmte Personen denkbar erscheint”. Consequently, the tank complex also might have possessed a mortuary and/or dynastic cult significance.<sup>336</sup>

In my publication of Garstang’s excavations at Meroe City I argued<sup>337</sup> that the significance of the tank building was misunderstood by Garstang as well as the great majority of the students of Meroitic culture when they identified it as a swimming pool and the whole of complex M 94–194–195 as a “local variant” of the Roman bath. The more recently introduced definition *hammam* (Arabic “bath”)<sup>338</sup> merely replaces the erroneous English term with its not less infelicitous equivalent in another language. The identification of the tank and the (remains of) the apsidal room B as a *frigidarium* and a *tepidarium*, respectively, cannot be accepted, since they not only lack the architectural and technical features required for a bath but are also spatially disconnected. What about a *tepidarium* without water at all in the first period, and with one single, small inlet and no heating apparatus in the second?

I also suggested that room B was, in the first period, a rectangular hall with an apsidal wall at its southern end, further that in view of its size as well as on the basis of analogies in Hellenistic architecture it should be imagined as uncovered, i.e., the term “room B” does not refer to a roofed interior space. I associated its layout with the type represented by later buildings such as the Caesareum in Alexandria (?) and the Caesareum in Cyrene.<sup>339</sup> These sanctuaries were dedicated to ruler cult, and, in general terms, rooms of this type, i.e., open halls with an apsidal end wall incorporating ornamental seats in niches, were associated in the Hellenistic world with official-representative

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<sup>336</sup> Vlach 1984.

<sup>337</sup> Török 1997b 63–91.

<sup>338</sup> First: Hofmann – Tomandl 1986 47.

<sup>339</sup> Cf. Fraser 1972 I 284 f.

functions of the ruler and the cult of the royal ancestors.<sup>340</sup> At a later date a considerable part of the room was demolished, but its preserved portion was carefully included into the monumental architecture that also incorporated the tank building. The introduction of water into room B obviously modified its original significance at least insofar as the (cult) practice associated with the room is concerned. From a channel branch crossing the western part of the court an inlet was inserted into the wall between the first and the second niche from the west. It seems that the water flowed through this inlet directly on the horizontal surface of a step-like block placed between the footrests of the flanking niche seats.<sup>341</sup> The obviously small amount of water arriving here could not have fulfilled any function of a practical or decorative kind.

I suggested that it was the basin in M 195 that constituted the architectural and functional centre of complex M 95–194–194 throughout its history. I supposed erroneously that its bottom was unpaved<sup>342</sup> and, therefore, ground water could enter it, yet I argued at the same time that the tank was fed principally by a carefully built, vaulted aqueduct (marked K), which was able to carry a considerable quantity of water. The basin was separated on the western, northern, and eastern sides from the surrounding space by a colonnade with intercolumnar screen walls. In accordance with Rebecca Bradley's hypothesis of the hydrological picture of ancient Meroe City, I supposed that aqueduct K was directly connected with a Nile channel in the southern city area, but noted that it is very unlikely that the average water level of such a channel would have been only c. 1.50 m below the early and Middle Meroitic occupation levels in the "Royal Enclosure" area, for in this case the entire settlement or large parts of it would have been under water during the flood season. Therefore I found it more probable that *the water level reached the mouth of the aqueduct only in the time of high flood* and the aqueduct could only carry the water of the high Nile.

Accordingly, I compared the basin to Egyptian Late Period sacred lakes,<sup>343</sup> the impact of which on Meroitic libation tables is also well

<sup>340</sup> Cf. F.W. Deichmann: Exedra. *RAC* VI (1966) 1165–1174.

<sup>341</sup> See Török 1997b Pl. 15.

<sup>342</sup> For the stuccoed bottom, which was covered by a layer of debris at the time of my studies at the site in 1989, see Wolf, Simone *et al.* 2008 173 f.

<sup>343</sup> See Gessler-Löhr 1983.

known.<sup>344</sup> Besides the architecture and water supply of the basin, the “kiosk” overlooking it also points towards models in the circle of Egyptian Late Period sacred lakes. A podium or “terrace” of a presumably analogous appearance was adjoining the sacred lakes of Esna,<sup>345</sup> Dendera,<sup>346</sup> and Tod.<sup>347</sup> In all these cases a kiosk was standing on the podium or “terrace”, which overlooked the southern side of the pool. This kiosk was the scene of rites associated with the sacred lake. The rites performed in the inundation period in the kiosk at a sacred lake may be interpreted as related to the rites connected to the river and lake terraces situated in front of New Kingdom temples, where cult statues were brought in procession during certain festivals, offerings to the Nile were made, oracles were consulted and perhaps also sacral dramas were performed.<sup>348</sup> With one exception, the Egyptian sacred lakes were fed by ground water. Significantly, the exception is the basin at the southwest side of the Khnum Temple terrace at Elephantine. It was directly connected with the Nile and dates from the period before the reign of Nectanebos II (i.e., before 360 BC). As scales carved in its walls indicate it also served as a Nilometer. Literary sources attest that it was regarded at the same time as a symbolic Nile source and was destined to receive the water of the flood at New Year, when offerings were thrown into it.<sup>349</sup>

The terrace overlooking the pool at Elephantine is a variant of the kiosks associated with the above-mentioned sacred lakes. The supposed direct connection of the basin with the Nile *via* an aqueduct and a Nile channel on the one hand, and the association of the basin with a kiosk, on the other, indicate that M 195 united the cult functions of the symbolic Nile source at Elephantine with those of the sacred lakes and the associated kiosks. The enclosing of the tank by a colonnade with screen walls only further supports the sacral character of the

<sup>344</sup> Cf. C. Kuentz: Bassins et tables d’offrandes. *BIFAO* 81 (1981) 243–282 258 ff.; I. Hofmann: *Steine für die Ewigkeit. Meroitische Opfertafeln und Totenstelen*. Wien-Mödling 1991.

<sup>345</sup> Gessler-Löhr 1983 275.

<sup>346</sup> Gessler-Löhr 1983 333 ff., fig. 56/b, Pl. IV.

<sup>347</sup> Gessler-Löhr 1983 374 ff., fig. 68, Pl. IX.

<sup>348</sup> Cf. H. Jaritz: *Elephantine III. Die Terrassen vor den Tempeln des Chnum und der Satet*. Mainz 1980; *id.*: Nilkultstätten auf Elephantine. in: S. Schoske (ed.): *Akten des 4. internationalen Ägyptologenkongresses München 1985 II*. Hamburg 1989 199–203.

<sup>349</sup> Herodotus 2.28, cf. H. Beinlich: Die Nilquellen nach Herodot. *ZÄS* 106 (1979) 11–14; Gessler-Löhr 1983 391 ff.

building. The presumed models were also followed in the orientation of M 195: the water of the Nile flood arrived from the south and the kiosk overlooked the basin from the southern side. If the podium-like structure was indeed a kiosk, and if offerings were thrown from it into the basin—and both these assumptions were considered likely by me—the orientations within M 195 become completely meaningful: the theoretical worshipper and spectator turned towards south from where the Nile flood arrived, where, on the southern edge of the basin statues associated with the cults in the “water sanctuary” were standing, and where behind the statues offering rites were performed.

#### 2.4. *Quality and Workshop*

Within each comprehensive stylistic class, i.e., the Hellenistic/Hellenizing and the Egyptianizing, according to which the sculptures in the round from M 94–194–195 were listed in Chapter V.2.2.2, there occurs a wide range of qualities and stylistic variants. Though not openly stated, the generally poor quality and the seemingly misunderstood iconographical and stylistic features of the Hellenistic/Hellenizing pieces made an unpleasant impression on most students of Nubian culture and moved them to classify the “water sanctuary” decoration as “late” in the terms of Hellenistic chronology and as a foreign body in the terms of Meroitic art (cf. Chapter I).

Trying to find a better-justified place for the “water sanctuary” decoration and other Hellenizing works of art from Meroe, we need to bear in mind a simple principle. Namely, no realistic assessment of processes in ancient art can be achieved in disregard for the intricate relationship between quality, style and dating. Significantly, differences in material value and the quality of workmanship were not arbitrary or meaningless in Meroe: in both respects, the Meroites maintained an objectified dividing line between the royal and non-royal spheres. Ignoring this division, the art historian is deprived of basic tools when investigating the structure of “artistic production” or its style and chronology. This principle also implies that quality is not to be mistaken for style and differences in quality or style do not necessarily indicate chronological differences.

The relationship between quality, style, date, and workshop structure may be illustrated with the execution of the heads of a group of closely associated statues. The reclining figures (*Cats 11, 12* Pls 49, 50),

the fragments remaining probably from reclining figures (*Cats* 14–18 Pls 51, 52, 20, 21 Pls 54, 55), and the *kithara*-player (*Cat.* 7 Pl. 45) share a particular iconographical feature, namely, the diadem or fillet worn over a coiffure with incised straight or, rarely, wedge-shaped locks combed onto the forehead (*Cat.* 19 Pls 54, 55). In two cases (*Cats* 11 Pl. 48, 16 Pl. 51), however, the hair sits on the scalp like a tight-fitting cap. In these two heads, further in *Cat.* 14, a head with incised locks, the fillet is horizontal. In the rest of the heads it slopes from the front to the back of the head. With the exception of *Cats* 16 (Pl. 51) and 21 (Pls 54, 55), the heads are round without indicating the bone structure of the skull. The face is also round with full cheeks, almond-shaped eyes with bulging eyeballs encircled by narrow lids modeled in relief, and a long, triangular nose. The full lips are equally long. The deep depressions at the corners of the mouth give the impression of an archaic smile. The mouth is encircled by the continuous line of the depressions at its corners and the groove between lower lip and chin.

In spite of the overall stereotypy, these heads are the work of at least four individual masters of different skills and stylistic backgrounds. *Cat.* 11 (Pls 48, 49) represents the highest quality among the group discussed here. While the reclining figure to which the head belongs is of a Hellenistic type and the execution of the body and drapery shows some knowledge of the classical idiom, the head itself has no Hellenistic stylistic features (for the Hellenistic *iconography* of the eyes see Chapter V.4.5). The incised cosmetic line clearly indicates the master's training in traditional Egyptian sculpture, similarly to the eyebrows, which follow the line of the upper lids, or the long aquiline nose with its delicately modeled nostrils, or the nasolabial furrows and the disproportionately large, high-placed ears. *Cat.* 16 (Pl. 51) is the work of a similarly trained, yet less skilled master.

The master of *Cat.* 11 functioned as one of the leading masters of the "water sanctuary" decoration. His impact (and hand?) is obvious in the steatopygous figure and the drapery treatment of the *kitharoidos* (*Cat.* 7, Pl. 45), the *syrinx* player (*Cat.* 9A, Pl. 47), and the standing philosopher (*Cat.* 22, Pl. 56) as well. The horizontal diadem or fillet is also Egyptian, as opposed to the sloping Hellenistic diadem. The horizontal diadem in *Cat.* 14 indicates again the impact of the master of *Cat.* 11, but is certainly not his work.

Other heads show the influence of a second leading master, who was trained in Hellenistic sculpture. Under his guidance the artisan(s)

executing *Cats* 18 and 21 (Pls 52–55) made an attempt at a more naturalistic rendering of the bone structure of the skull and the facial features, yet they do not seem to have had any previous training in Hellenistic style sculpture. The artesans executing *Cats* 17 (Pls 52, 53) and 20 (Pls 54, 55) were apparently instructed by the same master, but in their case the result is even poorer.

Provided that all Hellenistic and Hellenizing sculptures listed in Chapter V.2.2.2 belong to the same decorative program, the master who instructed the artesans executing *Cats* 17, 18, 20 and 21 (Pls 52–55) may hypothetically be identified with (one of) the sculptor(s) who executed the statues displaying a better knowledge of the classical idiom than the reclining figures and the associated works, viz., *Cats* 1 (head of Dionysos, Pl. 40), 4, 5 (Silenus heads, Pls 43, 44), 6 (dancing Pan), 31 (heroic torso, Pl. 61) and perhaps *Cat.* 28, a Greek sphinx (Pl. 47, left). It may be concluded that the leading masters of the “water sanctuary” decoration program arrived from Egypt and organized a workshop at Meroe City which employed a number of native artesans of varying skills but equally unprepared for carving Hellenistic style statuary. The Egyptian master(s) trained in Hellenistic sculpture was (were) certainly not (a) first-class artist(s), neither was it the master of *Cat.* 11. While the iconographical program as a whole displays features that obviously point towards the Ptolemaic court (cf. Chapter 2.5), the Egyptian leaders of the workshop seem to have arrived from some provincial centre rather than from Alexandria.

Here the question emerges: after which kind of actual models could the masters have worked? The only reasonable answer seems to be that they have used small size, possibly terracotta, statuettes,<sup>350</sup> which allowed a wide space for the skills and experience of the individual masters in the rendering of the details, in both a positive and a negative sense.

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<sup>350</sup> For miniature Ptolemaic and later models for column capitals, see E. Young: Sculptors’ Models or Votives? *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 22 (1964) 246–256; McKenzie 2007 227.

## 2.5. *Date, Style, Program*

Quite different principles of composition, based on measurement rather than proportion, had long been exercised by Egyptian artists[.]<sup>351</sup>

In my publication of the Garstang records I distinguished three groups among the sculptures from M 94–194–195. According to this classification, the first group would consist of the Dionysiac figures, the seated philosophers (*Cats* 23, 24) and a part of the reclining figures (*Cats* 11, 12). The second, heads from reclining (?) figures (*Cats* 15, 17–21), a *kithara*- and a *syrinx*-player (*Cats* 7, 9A) and a standing draped figure (*Cat.* 22). Finally the third would consist of a cuirassed figure (*Cat.* 32), lion- and bovine protomes and all faience wall inlays. I dated the first group to the first half or the middle decades of the third century BC. As to the second group, I supposed that it either represents the work of masters contemporary with the first group or indicates that the original sculptural program was executed over a longer period of time. Finally I dated the third group to the second half of the first century BC–the early decades of the AD first century.

These divisions can no longer be maintained. Hinkel and Sievertsen's recent investigation of the relationship between the building chronologies of the "Royal Enclosure" wall and the "water sanctuary" (cf. Chapter V.2.1, 2) supports my dating of the first period "water sanctuary" to the first half of the third century BC. Though there are no archaeological contexts to prove it, stylistic arguments speak for the dating of a considerable part of the sculptural finds, including the Hellenistic pieces and the circle of the reclining figures to the same period. My dating of the third group was based on two considerations: firstly, on the hypothesis of hydrological changes resulting in datable first century BC–AD first century building activities west of the late Amun temple and in the necessity of a new water supply system for the "water sanctuary" (cf. Chapter V.1.2), and, secondly, on the erroneous assumption that *all* "water sanctuary" faience wall inlays have analogues from Natakamani's Gebel Barkal palace.<sup>352</sup> For inlays representing 'nh and/or s3 symbols or the protome of the lunar Apedemak we may indeed

<sup>351</sup> Boardman 1994 18.

<sup>352</sup> For the latter finds, see L. Sist: *Motivi ellenistici nell'architettura meroitica: nuove scoperte a Napata*. in: Caneva – Roccati (eds) 2006 475–481.

find parallels at Gebel Barkal, but in view of the stereotypy of these representations it remains uncertain whether they are contemporary with the “water sanctuary” finds or not. It is rather obvious, however, that the *tondi* with Hellenistic Maenad busts (*Cats* 36 Pl. 36, and 37 Pl. 33) can by no means be considered as stylistically analogous to or contemporary with any of the Gebel Barkal finds.

The German Archaeological Institute team argues for two decoration periods of the south, “show” wall of the tank building. According to the chronology suggested by Simone Wolf and her colleagues the principal element of the first period decoration was the painted representation of an elephant standing above a vine scroll; in the base zone there were five sandstone animal protomes. In the second period the elephant figure was maintained, but the vine scroll was overpainted with two snakes and a number of faience inlays, including *Cats* 36 and 37, the two *tondi* with Maenads, were placed between the sandstone animal protomes, and sculptures in the round (viz., the *kitharoedos*, the *syrix*-player and his pendant, and a reclining lion, *Cats* 7, 9A, 9B Pls 45, 47, and 34 Pl. 33) were erected on the south basin edge (cf. Chapter V.2.2.1). Supposing that the first decoration consisting of the elephant above the scroll and the sandstone animal protomes was part of the first building period of the “water sanctuary”, it may be dated to the first half of the third century BC. In view of the style of *Cats* 36 and 37 it may be suggested that Wolf’s second period decoration followed the first period decoration before long, perhaps some time in the second half of the third century BC.

In the following I shall present some observations, which may be relevant for the reconstruction of the decoration program and the dating of the sculptural finds. Due to the facts that the Hellenistic pieces *Cats* 1, 4, 5, 6, 28, and 31 are far from being first-class works and that the Hellenizing pieces use classical stylistic elements that are “translations” made by masters who were superficially, or not at all trained in the style of Hellenistic Egyptian art, the interpretation of the Hellenism of the “water sanctuary” sculptures is greatly restricted and remains rather subjective.

Let us start with the Hellenistic pieces. The head *Cat. 1* (Pl. 40) is fragment of a slightly under-life size male figure. The neck muscles indicate that the head was turned strongly towards the right and the raised left shoulder indicates the gesture of the arms. The leaf crown with the grapes is one of the attributes of Dionysos. The model of the figure may be suspected in the circle of Hellenistic statues of the



standing Dionysos. A bronze statuette of the god<sup>353</sup> from a late second-early first century BC Lower Egyptian find (also including bronze statuettes of an *aulos* player and two Maenads) presents itself for a comparison as to type and posture. We also know a Ptolemaic royal portrait in which the hair is decorated with Dionysos' grapes and ivy arranged around a diadem.<sup>354</sup> The powerfully modeled neck muscles and Adam's apple are similarly in the Hellenistic tradition and reproduce characteristic details of Alexandrian representations of the standing youthful Dionysos.<sup>355</sup> The integration of the frontal view with the profile views indicates that the sculptor was not inhibited by the Egyptian tradition of frontality like the masters of the reclining figures and the related statuary.

*Cat. 3* (Pl. 42) can be identified as a representation of the Greek goddess Aphrodite modeled on the "Capitoline type". The "Capitoline type" was created around the middle of the third century BC.<sup>356</sup> In *Cat. 3* the position of the right arm slightly differs from the canonical type, due probably to the soft material of the sandstone, which did not allow deep undercutting. The full cheeks and the thick, horizontally set lips as well as the lack of integration of the frontal and profile views of the head indicate that the statue was carved by an artisan who was better trained in Egyptian than Hellenistic sculpture. The rendering of the bone structure of the head, the eyes and the eyebrows reveals nevertheless his knowledge of classical forms. The modeling of the face has no close parallels among the "water sanctuary" statues. Hence it may either be supposed that *Cat. 3* is the only surviving work of its master or that it was carved at a later period of time.

The masters of *Cats 4* and *5* (Pls 43, 44), head fragments from statues representing Silenus, were trained in Hellenistic sculpture in Egypt, as is indicated, e.g., by the strong asymmetry of the face in *Cat. 5*. The torso *Cat. 31* (Pl. 61) represents the best artistic quality in the Hellenistic group. The fine and expressive modelling of the anatomical detail stands out from the average of the "water sanctuary" finds. While the influence of traditional Egyptian sculpture is completely absent, the impact of third century BC Hellenistic heroic nudes is obvious. It may

<sup>353</sup> *Gloire* 270 Cat. 213 (S. Descamps – P. Ballet).

<sup>354</sup> Kyrieleis 1975 178 No. E 12; Bianchi (ed.) 1988 155 f. Cat. 58 (Ptolemy XII Auletes).

<sup>355</sup> Alexandria 25781, marble sarcophagus from Gabbari, Adriani 1961 fig. 53.

<sup>356</sup> Cf. Havelock 1981 124 No. 90.

be regarded as a royal representation replicating a Hellenistic royal portrait<sup>357</sup> or, less probably, the image of a deity.

*Cat.* 32, the fragment of a standing male figure wearing a cuirass and a mantle resembling the Roman *paludamentum*, was dated by Garstang to the AD (*sic!*) first century on account of its resemblance to Augustus' Primaporta statue<sup>358</sup> and regarded as a representation of the emperor.<sup>359</sup> This identification is, however, unlikely. More probably *Cat.* 32 represents Horus clad in military dress. Since the type of Horus as warlord wearing cuirass and mantle emerged in the Ptolemaic period, the dating to the Roman period is not compulsory. There are no stylistic features in the statue fragment that would exclude a dating before the first century BC.

I place *Cat.* 2 (Pl. 41), fragment of the statue of a small boy, somewhat hesitatingly into the Hellenistic group. For such a classification speaks the degree to which the boy's right leg is advanced. The child Dionysos appears in several different forms and contexts in the Hellenistic statue complex from Memphis<sup>360</sup> (see below).

Carvings in a more or (in the majority of the cases) less successfully Hellenizing style form a far larger and stylistically coherent group of sculptures. I count to this group *Cats* 2 (figure of boy), 7 (*kithara*-player, Pl. 45), 8 (*aulos*-player, Pl. 46), 9A (*syrinx*-player, Pl. 47), 11 (reclining man, Pls 48, 49), 12 (reclining couple, Pls 50, 54, 55), 13 (reclining man), 14, 15, 17–21 (fragments of reclining [?] figures, Pls 52–55), 22 (standing draped male figure with scroll, Pl. 56), 23 (Pls 57, 58) and 24 (seated draped male figures with scroll), 36–38 (faience *tondi* with representations of Maenads, Pls 33, 36).

*Cat.* 11 represents the highest quality among these carvings. Its master may be regarded as one of the leading masters of the workshop (cf. Chapter V.2.4). It is through the rendering of the heavy, almost steatopygous body and the modeling of the drapery, where the folds of the classical garments are reduced to incised lines or parallelly running ribs that *Cat.* 11 is related to the majority of the above-listed sculptures. To *Cats* 14, 15, 17–21 it is related through a significant

<sup>357</sup> Cf. Adriani 1961 Nos 68–72, figs 137–142.

<sup>358</sup> U. Hausmann: Zur Typologie und Ideologie des Augustusporträts. *ANRW* II.12.2 (1981) 513–598; B. Schmaltz: Zum Augustus-Bildnis Typus Primaporta. *RM* 93 (1986) 211–243; D. Boschung: *Die Bildnisse des Augustus. Das römische Herrscherbild* I.2. Berlin 1993 s.v.

<sup>359</sup> Garstang 1913 80.

<sup>360</sup> Lauer – Picard 1950 189 ff.

iconographical feature, viz., the diadem or fillet. The cap-like hair<sup>361</sup> and the horizontal diadem or fillet<sup>362</sup> are features of traditional Egyptian sculpture and indicate the training of the master of *Cat. 11*. The fillet is also horizontal in *Cats 14* and *16*, while in *Cats 12, 15*, and *17–21* it is sloping in the Hellenistic manner.<sup>363</sup>

The modeling of the head of the reclining figure *Cat. 11* is highly relevant as to the placing of its master in the world of Ptolemaic sculpture at a point where Hellenistic elements are first adopted in traditional Egyptian art (cf. Chapter III.1.3). The rendering of the nasolabial furrows recalls the Kushite fold in Twenty-Fifth Dynasty portraiture.<sup>364</sup> This similarity has, however, no chronological significance. More significant is the treatment of the mouth with the deep depressions at its corners, which push the corners towards the cheeks and form a kind of archaic smile. These depressions serve the same effect as the drill holes at the corners of the mouth in late fourth-early third century BC Egyptian portraits.<sup>365</sup> The modelling of the narrow band-like eyelids is in the tradition of Egyptian Late Period sculpture. The cosmetic line too points towards traditional Egyptian (and Nubian) sculpture. Unusual is, however, the deep undercutting of the lids, which further emphasizes the enormous, bulging eyes, the upward-directed gaze of which is also notable. A similar undercutting occurs on the purely Egyptian-style *Cat. 16*.

Not only the fillet, also the upward staring large eyes associate the head with early Hellenistic royal portraits. The enormously large eyes follow the portraits of the early Ptolemies in which the oversized, radiant eyes (termed *Ptolemäeraugen* in the literature) belonged to the ruler's divine features. From the early third century BC the large eyes and the full face were associated in the portraiture of the Ptolemies with the notion of *tryphé*, i.e., royal abundance and munificence.<sup>366</sup> The aquiline nose associates *Cat. 11* with the Physkon type as well as a group of second century BC heads.<sup>367</sup> Like the rendering of the eyes, however, the beaked nose has no special chronological significance within third and second century BC Egyptian portraiture.

<sup>361</sup> Cf. R.S. Bianchi in: Bianchi *et al.* 1988 126.

<sup>362</sup> *Ibid.* 127.

<sup>363</sup> Kyrieleis 1975 69; Baines 2004 42.

<sup>364</sup> Cf. Russmann 1974 11 ff.

<sup>365</sup> Cf. Ashton 2001 22.

<sup>366</sup> Kyrieleis 2005 241 f.

<sup>367</sup> *ESLP* Nos 110, 111.

The fleshy breasts, protruding belly, heavy, muscular back, emphasized hips, and almost steatopygous buttocks indicate virile corpulence in a manner that connects *Cat. 11* formally to the verism of Egyptian Late Period sculpture.<sup>368</sup> This kind of corpulence also conveyed the notions of fertility and abundance in early Hellenistic sculpture, and it was used in Ptolemaic royal portraiture as a component of *tryphé*. From this particular aspect, Garstang's comparison of the figure with the Vatican Nile is correct, even if the iconographical and stylistic connections are only indirect.<sup>369</sup> Indeed, the blue-painted base of *Cat. 11* refers to water, more concretely the Nile, and hints at the conceptual connections between the reclining figures and the rites performed in the "water sanctuary" (see below).

*Cats 7, 9A, 12, 13, 22–24* are associated with *Cat. 11* through the treatment of the corpulent bodies covered by a tight-fitting drapery the folds of which are reduced to incised parallel lines or represented as tightly spaced parallel ribs. Though being stylistically close to each other, in quality they are markedly different. The best-quality piece among them is *Cat. 22*, which could be a work of the master of *Cat. 11*, while the *kitharoedos Cat. 7*, the central figure of the "show wall" statue program, and *Cat. 9A*, the *syrix*-player, are of a rather poor quality. While the Greek musical instrument is neatly reproduced in *Cat. 7*, the drapery shows indifference towards what was so central to classical training, namely, the impressive and correct rendering of the folds of the drapery and its relationship to the body. Yet before we would form a harsh judgement about the ignorance reflected by these draperies I refer, e.g., to the exceedingly arbitrary treatment of the overly stylized, geometrical drapery on a fine and expensive faience jug made for the cult of Arsinoë II around 270 BC in Alexandria.<sup>370</sup>

The model of *Cat. 7* may be supposed among the countless variants of Apollo *kitharoedos*, more closely among the types deriving from the striding draped Apollo attributed to Skopas, which was widely

<sup>368</sup> Cf. *ESLP* Nos 73, 104.

<sup>369</sup> Cf. R.M. Gais: Some Problems of River-god Iconography. *AJA* 82 (1978) 355–370; M.-O. Jentel: Neilos. *LIMC* VI.1 (1992) 720–726; VI.2 (1992) 424–429; Sandri 2006 305 f.

<sup>370</sup> BM GR 73.8–20.389, Pfrommer 1999 fig. 90. For a different, more competent, less stylized treatment of the drapery, see a jug with the representation of Berenice II, Grimm 1998 fig. 79/d. For the genre of the *Ptolemäerkannen*, see Thompson 1973; Pfrommer 1999 58 f.

copied in the Hellenistic world.<sup>371</sup> In spite of the original identity of the model, it is probable, however, that the Meroe City statue represents Dionysos *kitharoedos*,<sup>372</sup> not Apollo. The *syrix* in *Cat.* 9A is one of the instruments played by the members of Dionysos's cortège alongside with the *kithara* and the *aulos*. These instruments were also played at the cult festivals honouring the Ptolemies identified with, and claimed to descend from Dionysos.<sup>373</sup> The distance between a Hellenistic model and its "water sanctuary" rendering is rather dramatic in the case of the drapery of 9A, a triple ankle-length cloak which is apparently an awkwardly rendered and misunderstood Greek *chiton* worn under a high-belted *himation* with overfold. The ignorance of the meaning and structure of the model's costume is underlined by the painting giving the impression of three skirts worn above each other, for the *chiton* is painted blue, the *himation* red over, and yellow under the overfold. One may wonder if the costume of *ba*-statues from Karanog with three to six "skirts" or overfolds<sup>374</sup> is similarly a misunderstanding of the *chiton* plus *himation* with overfold or, what is of course more likely, a curious, otherwise unknown Meroitic fashion.

*Cat.* 8, the figure of a nude boy playing the *aulos* or double pipe, also belongs into the circle of Dionysiac musicians. His coiffure is similar to *Cats* 7, 12, 14, 15, 17–21, viz., incised lines indicate short, straight locks combed in the forehead in an early Hellenistic fashion. This simple hairstyle is characteristic for early Ptolemaic portraits. Ptolemy II appears with it in a limestone portrait from Athribis,<sup>375</sup> Ptolemy III is represented with this coiffure on his silver tetradrachm<sup>376</sup> as well as in portraits in the round.<sup>377</sup> The same hairstyle also occurs in a portrait of

<sup>371</sup> Cf. C. Kokkorou-Alewaras: Apollon. *LIMC* II.1 (1984) 321 ff.

<sup>372</sup> Cf. C. Gasparri: Dionysos. *LIMC* III.1 (1986) 463 and Nos 465 ff.; and see D. Restani: Dionysos tra αὐλός e κιθάρα: un percorso di iconografia musicale. in: F. Berti (ed.): *Dionysos: mito e mistero. Atti del convegno internazionale Comacchio 3–5 novembre 1989*. Comacchio 1989 379–395.

<sup>373</sup> Cf. Lauer – Picard 1955 246 ff.

<sup>374</sup> Woolley – Randall-MacIver 1910 Pls 1/G 187 (three), 3/G 183 (five), 5/G 182 (six).

<sup>375</sup> Myśliwiec 1998 fig. 94. Ld. még Stanwick 2002 50.

<sup>376</sup> Kyrieleis 1975 Pl. 16/4. See also Stanwick 2002 Pl. 50 (Ptolemy V or VI), Pl. 57 (Ptolemy VI?).

<sup>377</sup> Kyrieleis 1975 Pls 10/6, 7, 11.

Ptolemy V,<sup>378</sup> and is to be distinguished from seemingly similar, stylized coiffures appearing in first century BC royal portraiture.<sup>379</sup>

*Cats* 23 and 24 represent seated philosophers or poets holding a papyrus scroll. *Cat.* 22 is the impressive figure of a standing philosopher or poet, similarly holding a papyrus scroll in his right hand. Hellenistic types of the philosopher and the poet<sup>380</sup> also occur among the sculptures of the early Ptolemaic exedra in the Memphite Serapeum,<sup>381</sup> a monument, which, as we shall see, is not irrelevant for the understanding of the “water sanctuary” program.

In Simone Wolf’s reconstruction *Cats* 36 and 37, two *tondi* with the high relief representation of female busts, belong to the second decoration period of the “show wall”. The schematically rendered long locks of their centre-parted coiffure fall down on the shoulders in heavy tresses. Incised folds indicate a classical-style drapery. With their faces turned upwards in the posture of ecstasy the female figures may be identified as Maenads participating in Dionysos’ frenzied rites. The approximative rendering of the locks of the hair and the drapery as well as the modeling of the lips place the *tondi* closer to the Hellenizing than the Hellenistic group of carvings.

There were also purely traditional Egyptian style carvings found in the “water sanctuary” statuary. Though they constitute a small minority within the sculptural material, it would be mistaken to regard them as part of a separate decoration program and/or a separate chronological unit. This is particularly obvious in the case of *Cats* 25 and 26 (Pl. 59), fragments from two statues representing female (?) figures holding a conical vessel in front of their chest. The female member of the reclining couple *Cat.* 12 holds a similar vessel, lifting it to her and her partner’s lips.

*Cat.* 27 (Pl. 60) represents a goddess or a deified queen. Her traditional Egyptian bob wig and the triangular top of the back pillar, a type characteristic for late Ptolemaic period Egyptian statuary,<sup>382</sup> point towards an Egyptian master. The extraordinary shortness of the neck recalls a portrait of the deified Arsinoe II carved around 100 BC,<sup>383</sup> but

<sup>378</sup> Louvre MA 3532, Ashton 2001 54.

<sup>379</sup> Cf. Ashton 2001 96 f. *Cats* 28–31.

<sup>380</sup> Cf. Richter 1970 56 and Pls 259, 826.

<sup>381</sup> Lauer – Picard 1950 48 ff.

<sup>382</sup> E.g., *ESLP* No. 130.

<sup>383</sup> *ESLP* No. 123.

this detail may also indicate the poor skills of the artisan of the Meroe City fragment.

The Dionysiac context of the fine headless reclining lion *Cat. 34* (Pl. 33, centre) is indicated by its placing next to *Cat. 7*, the *kithara*-playing Dionysos. The falcon figure *Cat. 33* (Pl. 62) is an image of Horus, and has its obvious place in any program visualizing conceptions of the cult of the ruler and the dynastic ancestors, similarly to the Egyptian sphinx figures *Cats 29* and *30* and the Greek sphinx *Cat. 28* (Pl. 47).<sup>384</sup>

Reconstructing the “water sanctuary” decoration program we have to take into consideration the whole find material, not only the *in situ* discovered elements, even though we have no idea about the original place of the overwhelming majority of the sculptures from the cachette in M 195 and the other rooms of complex M 95–194–195. With the exception of a few finds such as *Cats 27* and *32* the above discussed sculptures seem to belong to one and the same program, and, if we accept Simone Wolf’s two-period “show wall” decoration chronology, it also seems probable that the second period program with the Maenad reliefs *Cats 36* and *37* followed the first period program still within the working period of the same generation of leading masters.

The iconographical program formed by the sculptures in the round, protomes, inlays, and paintings had more than one layer of meaning. As a whole it may be associated with the life giving and purifying quality of (Nile) water. The inlays with the ‘nh (“life”) and s3 (symbol of protection) hieroglyphs do not require special comments here. It may be supposed that in the painting of the south wall of the tank building the elephant figure was originally shown marching towards a striding, human-bodied and lion-headed Apedemak, god of fertility, an iconographical association also occurring at Musawwarat es Sufra<sup>385</sup> (cf. Chapter VI). The lion and bovine protomes may also be fitted into this context. Lion images, also without being identified with Apedemak, are at the right place in a water sanctuary. Discussing a

<sup>384</sup> Cf. Lauer – Picard 1955 212 ff. For the female sphinx in Alexandrian early Ptolemaic tombs, see Venit 2002 161 and *passim*.—It is worth adding here that a winged female sphinx adorns the block throne of the goddess Mut on King Amanikhabale’s AD first century votive stela from the late Amun temple at Meroe City: lunette with beginning of lines 1 and 2: Khartoum SNM 522, Wenig 1978 Cat. 122, *REM* 1038; lower half with the rest of the inscription: Moscow, Pushkin Museum inv. no. not available, *REM* 1001, both fragments: *FHN* III No. 192.

<sup>385</sup> Hintze *et al.* 1971 Pls 17, 50, 51, 81, 85, 93, cf. Žabkar 1975 6, 36 f.

type of Egyptian libation tables associated with the cult of the inundation Vivian Hibbs has shown that lion figures, protomes, masks, lion head-shaped spouts and gargoyles appeared in Egypt in the context of libation and of rites connected with the cult of the Nile because the inundation was dated in the Ptolemaic period not by calendar months but by the place occupied by the sun in the constellations. Texts of the period speak about high waters in the time when the sun is in the sign of the Lion.<sup>386</sup> Hibbs also discusses the symbolic lion head fountain from the dromos of the Memphite Serapeum (see below) and points out its close association with the child Dionysos whereas she also stresses the interconnections between the lion and Osiris.

The protomes representing bovids similarly belong to Apedemak's realm.<sup>387</sup> While the vine scroll from the first base register painting may be specially associated with Dionysos,<sup>388</sup> the snakes in the second period base register painting originate too from the iconographic repertory of the Apedemak cult: images of the lion god with a serpent's body are carved on the walls of his AD first century temple at Naqa.<sup>389</sup>

The reclining figures played, as their number, size, quality, iconographic and stylistic homogeneity indicate, a central role in the iconographical program. Provided that the classical reclining figure was adopted together with its Hellenistic funerary cult connotations, the multiplicity of such figures in the same program can be best explained in the terms of ancestor cult, which in this case (note the fillets) means of course a royal ancestor cult.<sup>390</sup> Also the drinking vessel in *Cat. 12* has mortuary connotations. In Greek and Etruscan funerary monuments the drinking vessel constitutes an organic part of the iconographic and religious conception<sup>391</sup> and it would be difficult to give a radically different yet still probable interpretation of the bowl in the statue from the cachette. The vessel also appears in the quality of a central iconographical element in the Egyptian-style statues *Cats 25* and *26*.<sup>392</sup> The drinking vessel is associated, however, with the life-giving power of

<sup>386</sup> Hibbs 1985 153 ff.

<sup>387</sup> Cf. Vlach 1984 575 and see the iconography of the Musawwarat es Sufra Apedemak temple.

<sup>388</sup> Cf. Manzo 2006.

<sup>389</sup> Gamer-Wallert 1983 140 ff., 186 ff.

<sup>390</sup> Cf. Vlach 1984 574 f.

<sup>391</sup> Kline. *RE* XI.1 (1921) 846–861 850 f. (Ziebarth).

<sup>392</sup> Conical vessels also appear in Napatan period representations of soldiers drinking milk, see Török 1997b 183 f. Nos 750–1, 2, figs 33, 34, Pl. 148.



water not only in the mortuary realm: it also alludes to the associations between the royal power and the beneficent Nile inundation.

The conceptual connections between dynastic ancestor cult, the inundation, and the renewal of royal legitimacy at the New Year could be perceived by the contemporary Meroite witnessing the rites performed in the “water sanctuary”, especially if s/he was informed about the significance of the reclining posture. The association of the reclining royal ancestors with Dionysos and the members of his cortège, with a heroic royal figure (*Cat.* 31, Pl. 61), the Horus falcon, the philosophers or poets and a Greek sphinx within the same decoration program was hardly a Meroitic invention. Its direct sources may be found in the dynastic ideology of the early Ptolemies<sup>393</sup> as it appeared in visual discourses such as the statuary in the symposium hall in Ptolemy IV’s palace boat, the *thalamegos* or the Hellenistic statue galleries from the Serapeum at Memphis.

In the symposium hall, or Dionysiac *oikos* of the palace boat the portraits of the deified Ptolemaic predecessors stood in the company of Dionysos, the divine ancestor of the dynasty. A statue of Aphrodite stood in the next room.<sup>394</sup> The iconography of the early Ptolemaic statuary<sup>395</sup> from the exedra and the processional way at Memphis was more complex<sup>396</sup> (cf. Chapter III.3). The exedra (Pl. 63)<sup>397</sup> displayed standing and seated statues of Greek philosophers and poets. Portraits of Pindar

<sup>393</sup> Cf. Samuel 1989 68 ff.; L. Koenen: The Ptolemaic King as a Religious Figure. in: A. Bulloch *et al.* (eds): *Images and Ideologies*. Berkeley 1993 38 ff.; Hölbl 2001 77 ff.; McKenzie 2007 51 ff.

<sup>394</sup> Kallixeinos in: Athen., *Deipn.* 5.196a–203b (trans. C.B. Gulick, London-Cambridge, Mass. 1961); Pfrommer 1999 69 ff., 93 ff.

<sup>395</sup> There is no consensus about the dating of the Serapeum statuary. Lauer – Picard 1955 246 ff. argue for a dating to Ptolemy I; in the review of their book F. Matz (in: *Gnomon* 29 [1957] 84–93) suggests a dating to the reign of Ptolemy IV. Hölbl 2001 281 ff. votes for 76 BC, the enthronement of Ptolemy XII. McKenzie 2007 119 dates it to the late second-early first century BC. Fraser 1972 I 255, II 404 note 512 considered it possible that the statuary was erected over a longer period of time, the earliest dating to the reign of Ptolemy II, when the Hellenistic building for the lamp bearers, the *lychnaption* was built (Lauer – Picard 1955 176 ff.). In view of the coherence of its iconography and style I prefer to date the exedra and processional way statuary as a whole to the first half of the third century BC, a dating better supported by the style of the statues than the other suggestions. For the dating cf. also D.J. Thompson 1988 116.

<sup>396</sup> Lauer – Picard 1955; A. Schmidt-Colinet: Exedra duplex. *Hefte des Archäologischen Seminars der Universität Bern* 14 (1991) 43 ff.

<sup>397</sup> Lauer – Picard 1955 Pl. 28.

(seated),<sup>398</sup> Demetrios of Phaleron (standing),<sup>399</sup> Hesiod (seated),<sup>400</sup> Homer (seated),<sup>401</sup> Protagoras (seated),<sup>402</sup> Thales (standing),<sup>403</sup> Herakleitos (seated),<sup>404</sup> Platon (standing)<sup>405</sup> could be identified.<sup>406</sup> The processional way or *dromos* leading to the Serapeum was flanked by figures of the Horus falcon,<sup>407</sup> two Sirens,<sup>408</sup> two female sphinxes,<sup>409</sup> further images of the child Dionysos riding a female panther,<sup>410</sup> a peacock (two statues),<sup>411</sup> the Cerberus of Sarapis,<sup>412</sup> and a female lion,<sup>413</sup> respectively. On the plinth of the last there is the representation of a source<sup>414</sup> referring to the vine-, milk-, and water miracles performed by the god at his mythical feast.<sup>415</sup> As already indicated above in Chapter III.3, the images of the philosophers in the exedra presented a symbol of Greek wisdom meeting the wisdom of Egypt, while the Dionysiac figures provided Greek clues for the comprehension of the chthonic aspects of Osiris-Apis, Wsir-ḥp, known as Sarapis to the Greeks. The experts composing the decoration of the “water sanctuary” had a fairly clear idea of the meaning of the Dionysiac and other models arriving from Egypt, so much so that they were able to place them in what was the iconographical program of a Meroitic sanctuary dedicated to dynastic cult united with the cult of the inundation and were also able to coordinate the work of the Egyptian leading masters and the Meroitic artisans recruited in Meroe.

<sup>398</sup> Lauer – Picard 1955 48 ff.

<sup>399</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>400</sup> *Ibid.* 90 ff.

<sup>401</sup> *Ibid.* 111 ff.

<sup>402</sup> *Ibid.* 120 ff.

<sup>403</sup> *Ibid.* 127 ff.

<sup>404</sup> *Ibid.* 137 ff.

<sup>405</sup> *Ibid.* 143 ff.

<sup>406</sup> Two standing figures flanking Homer who occupied the centre of the exedra could not be identified, the identity of a seated figure also remains obscure.

<sup>407</sup> *Ibid.* 210 ff.

<sup>408</sup> *Ibid.* 216 ff.

<sup>409</sup> *Ibid.* 210 ff.

<sup>410</sup> *Ibid.* 189 ff.

<sup>411</sup> Lauer – Picard 1955 194 ff.—For peacocks in the great triumphal procession of Ptolemy II, see Athen., *Deipn.* 5.196a–201b.

<sup>412</sup> Lauer – Picard 1955 234 ff.

<sup>413</sup> *Ibid.* 227 ff.

<sup>414</sup> Water flowing from a lion-mask shaped fountainhead, Lauer – Picard 1955 figs 124, 126.

<sup>415</sup> Lauer – Picard 1955 229; cf. Hibbs 1985 153 ff.

Here a unique Hellenistic relief deserves special mention.<sup>416</sup> The rather provincial quality sandstone sculpture comes from an unknown Theban context and represents the nude adolescent Dionysos lying on a *kline* and lifting a drinking vessel to his lips (Pl. 64). A large round spout under the *kline* indicates that the relief adorned a fountain. A hieroglyphic inscription beside the spout contains the wish “be in good health!”. Here there are united the reclining child Dionysos, the drinking vessel, and the abundantly running life-bringing water.

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<sup>416</sup> Luxor Museum of Ancient Egyptian Art J 33, J. Lauffray – S. Sauneron *et al.*: Rapport sur les travaux de Karnak. Activités du Centre Franco-Égyptien 1968–1969. *Kêmi* 20 (1970) 57–71, Pl. XIV; K. Parlasca in: Bothmer (ed.) 1979 Cat. 281.

## CHAPTER SIX

### THE GREAT ENCLOSURE AT MUSAWWARAT ES SUFRA

There are certain areas of scholarship [...] where the scantiness of evidence sets a special challenge to the disciplined mind [...] The isolated and uneloquent fact must be exhibited within a tissue of hypothesis subtle enough to make it speak[.]<sup>1</sup>

#### 1. *Kings and Gods at Musawwarat es Sufra*

##### 1.1. *The Building and its Function(s): 1*

The most impressive, and enigmatic, building ruins of Meroitic Nubia lie in the valley of Musawwarat es Sufra<sup>2</sup> in the western Butana (Keraba) c. 75 km southwest of Meroe City, 35 km east of the Nile, and 160 km northeast of the confluence of the Blue and White Nile.<sup>3</sup> Within an

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<sup>1</sup> Iris Murdoch: *The Nice and the Good*. (Vintage edn.) London 2000 165.

<sup>2</sup> Including the reports of the excavators, the literature uses indiscriminately the writings Musawwarat es Sufra, Musawwarat es-Sufra and Musawwarat-es-Sufra. In this book the first variant is observed.

<sup>3</sup> For the preliminary excavation reports of the German team directed by Professor Fritz Hintze see F. Hintze: Preliminary Report of the Butana Expedition 1958 Made by the Institute for Egyptology of the Humboldt University, Berlin. *Kush* 7 (1959) 171–196; *id.*: Vorbericht über die Ausgrabungen des Instituts für Ägyptologie der Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin in Musawwarat es-Sufra 1960–1961. *WZHU* 11 (1962) 441–488; *id.*: Musawwarat es Sufra. Vorbericht über die Ausgrabungen des Instituts für Ägyptologie der Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin, 1961–62 (Dritte Kampagne). *WZHU* 12 (1963) 63–77; Hintze 1968; Hintze 1971; see further the bibliography in Hintze *et al.* 1993. For the more recent excavations, see S. Wenig – P. Wolf: Feldarbeiten des Seminars für Sudanarchäologie und Ägyptologie der Humboldt-Universität in Musawwarat es Sufra. Erste Hauptkampagne, 16. 10. 1995–13. 1. 1996. *MittSAG* 8 (1998) 24–37; Zweite Hauptkampagne, 1. 2.–1. 4. 1996. *Ibid.* 38–49; Dritte Hauptkampagne, 13. 1. 1997–11. 4. 1997. *Ibid.* 9 (1999) 24–43; Vierte Hauptkampagne, 12. 1. 1998–1. 4. 1998. *Ibid.* 10 (2000) 28–48; H.-U. Onasch: Feldarbeiten des Seminars für Sudanarchäologie und Ägyptologie der Humboldt-Universität in Musawwarat es Sufra. Fünfte Hauptkampagne, Teil 1: 20. 02. 31. 03. 1999. *Ibid.* 11 (2001) 51–57; S. Wenig: Feldarbeiten des Seminars für Sudanarchäologie und Ägyptologie der Humboldt-Universität in Musawwarat es Sufra. Fünfte Hauptkampagne,

amphitheatre-shaped valley, 2 to 3 km across, with entrances on the north-east and south-west, there are situated the so-called Great and Small Enclosures,<sup>4</sup> the one-roomed Temple of Apedemak<sup>5</sup> erected by King Arnekhamani, who was contemporary with (the later reign of) Ptolemy III Euergetes I (246–222/1 BC) and (the earlier reign of) Ptolemy IV Philopator (221–204 BC);<sup>6</sup> further three smaller shrines (I D, II A,<sup>7</sup> II D) and two artificial water reservoirs or *hafirs*.<sup>8</sup> The buildings were constructed from sandstone, but the Small Enclosure also has some parts built of mud-brick. There are little remains of permanent habitation quarters and the burials recovered at the site date from the Neolithic and Post-Meroitic periods.<sup>9</sup> Before turning to the elements that display Hellenistic or Hellenizing influences in the architecture and decoration of the Great Enclosure we cannot dispense with a more detailed discussion of this unique building and its function(s).

The valley of Musawwarat es Sufra, 'Ibrp, 'Ipbr-<sup>h</sup> of Egyptian,<sup>10</sup> Aborepi (from 'Ipbr-<sup>h</sup>) of Meroitic texts,<sup>11</sup> is dominated by the imposing mass of the Great Enclosure extending over an area of c. 64,000

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Teil 2: 10. 01.–30. 03. 2000. *Ibid.* 13–15; for further preliminary excavation reports, see *MittSAG* 12 (2002) ff.

<sup>4</sup> The Small Enclosure was published by M. Fitzenreiter *et al.*: *Die Kleine Anlage (Meroitica 17,1)*. Wiesbaden 1999. There is no final publication of the 1960–1968 excavations at the Great Enclosure.

<sup>5</sup> Hintze *et al.* 1971, 1993; for the iconographical program cf. also L. Török: The Image of the Ordered World in Ancient Nubia. in: Kuhn – Stahl (eds) 2001 127–146; Török 2002a 187 ff.; Hallof 2005.—The temple was found in a badly ruined condition, its walls were rebuilt, its columns reerected by the Humboldt University mission.

<sup>6</sup> On the basis of the successive epithets in his Son-of-Re name, cf. Hintze 1962; *FHN* II Nos (124), (125).

<sup>7</sup> For the cult of shrine II A, see Török 2002a 201 ff.

<sup>8</sup> The *hafirs* were circular earthen walls with diameters of between 70–250 m and heights of max. 7 m. There are c. 800 registered *hafirs* in the Butana. M. Hinkel: Wasserbauten im Alten Sudan. *Das Altertum* 36 (1990) 29–36; *ead.*: The Water Reservoirs in Ancient Sudan. in: Bonnet (ed.) 1994 171–175. For the reservoirs at Musawwarat, see T. Scheibner: Neue Untersuchungen zur Wasserversorgung von Musawwarat es Sufra – Ergebnisse der Kampagne 2002. *MittSAG* 13 (2002) 22–35; *id.*: Neue Erkenntnisse zur Wasserversorgung von Musawwarat es Sufra (I). Das übergeordnete Wasserversorgungssystem – Teil I: Wassergewinnung und -speicherung. *MittSAG* 15 (2004) 39–64; *id.*: Archäologie, Verantwortung und Kulturerhalt – die Rettungskampagne am Grossen Hafir von Musawwarat 2005. *MittSAG* 16 (2005) 15–33.

<sup>9</sup> Excavations were conducted at burial sites between 1960 and 1968 and after 1995, see C. Jeuthé: Neuere Untersuchungen der Bestattungen im Wadi es-Sufra. *MittSAG* 15 (2004) 69–78.—Wolf 2001a 494 f. supposes that future archaeological work may change this impression.

<sup>10</sup> Hintze 1962 fig. 9 No. 11.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. *REM* 1111.

square m and in its preserved form consisting of monumental room complexes built upon artificial terraces and interconnected through long corridors, ramps, and numerous courtyards and gardens of various sizes (Pl. 65). It has a long building history, which started some time in the Early Napatan period.<sup>12</sup> The building complex remained in use until the AD first century and possibly beyond.<sup>13</sup> From the eight building periods distinguished originally by Fritz Hintze, the director of the 1960–1968 excavations,<sup>14</sup> only Period 6<sup>15</sup> is dated more or less precisely to the third quarter of the third century BC by cartouches of Arnekhamani found on columns in room 516.<sup>16</sup>

This dating is also corroborated by the large (over 80 cm high) painted Egyptian amphora with braided handles (Pl. 95) the sherds of which were discovered in the fill of the Period 6 terrace of Complex (1)<sup>17</sup> (cf. Chapter VIII.3). In papers written before I got acquainted with Enklaar's studies on the style and chronology of the Hadra vases<sup>18</sup> I dated the vessel to the early second century BC.<sup>19</sup> In view of Enklaar's chronology and on the basis of Gábor Schreiber's more recent

<sup>12</sup> The preliminary reports do not assign absolute dates to the individual building periods. The context of the calibrated radiocarbon date from Room 123 ( $443 \pm 80$  BC) is obscure, see F. Hintze: *Diskussionsbeitrag zum Thema "Meroitische Architektur"*. *Meroitica* 7 (1984) 332–346 338 f.; Hallof 2006 48 f. Recently T. Karberg (unpublished lecture at the *11th International Conference for Meroitic Studies*, 2008, Vienna) and C. Näser (unpublished lecture at the *12th International Conference for Nubian Studies*, 2010, London) suggested that the earliest building phase of the Great Enclosure postdates the end of the Napatan period and Period 6 dates from the reign of Natakamani and Amanitore. In their opinion the fragmentarily preserved throne name *hpr-k3-R'* belonged to Natakamani and not to Arnekhamani. A dating of the Period 6 buildings and their sculptural decoration to the AD first century appears completely unlikely and cannot be discussed here before the publication of Karberg's and Näser's papers. It may suffice to mention that the throne name *hpr-k3-R'* was also adopted by Malowiebamani in the mid-fifth century BC, *FHN* I No. (55), Ariteneyesebokhe in the AD late second–early third century, *FHN* III No. (228), and Teqorideamani around AD 253, *FHN* III No. (259).—For Karberg's suggestion of a late dating of Period 6 see also Karberg 2010 573 f.

<sup>13</sup> Wolf 2001b 23; cf. Edwards 1999a.

<sup>14</sup> Hintze – Hintze 1970. Hintze's Period 2 is eliminated (as part of Hintze's Period 5) by Wolf 2001b 18 ff.

<sup>15</sup> I refer to the periods as suggested in Hintze – Hintze 1970, but also reference will be made to their later modification.

<sup>16</sup> Hintze 1971 240, fig. 21 (drawing by K.-H. Pries). For an unlikely alternative suggestion for the reading of the cartouches, see T. Karberg's above-quoted papers.

<sup>17</sup> Wenig 1978 Cat. 219; Wenig – Fitzenreiter 1994 49 f. No. 50, fig. 20; Zeitler 1999.

<sup>18</sup> Enklaar 1985, 1986.

<sup>19</sup> Török 1987a 65 ff., 1987b 78 f.

researches on the decorated Hellenizing wares of the Ptolemaic period<sup>20</sup> I find this dating far too late and prefer instead a dating to the last third of the third century BC (see also Chapter VII.3). Such a dating also seems to be supported by a bronze coin of Ptolemy III Euergetes I (246–221 BC) found under the floor (?) of room 101.<sup>21</sup> Probes from the filling of the terrace on which the Period 6 central room complex was built provided 14 C dates between  $443-429 \pm 80$  and  $380 \pm 80$  BC.<sup>22</sup>

Before achieving its final form in Period 6, the Great Enclosure underwent a long series of rebuildings and was constantly extended. In its Period 6 form, the Great Enclosure consisted of four interconnected room complexes and over twenty walled open areas (courtyards and gardens).<sup>23</sup> The central Complex (1) was built around the peristyle building 101–102, called “central temple”, *Zentraltempel*, in the literature, which had two rows of columns at its front and was standing in a small courtyard (103). From the courtyard two representative room complexes opened at the NE (107–108) and SE (104–106). From the back of 101–102 a long corridor (515) ran to a two-columned room (516) from which a room (517) opened at NW, the window of which overlooked the largest courtyard (601). Rooms 516–517 also appear in the literature as “west chapel”, *Westkapelle*. Corridor 511–510 led from the NW corner of 113 to the room complex 507–509 standing in courtyard 506. The significance of building 507–509 is indicated by a large-size graffito on its SW front with the scene of a “sacred marriage”.<sup>24</sup>

Complex (1) was connected through the long corridor 124/214 to Complex (2) in the northern part of the Enclosure. In the centre of Complex (2) stood building 201–203 consisting of a portico with a double colonnade (203), a larger four-columned room with two windows opening in the direction of 101–102 (202), from which a smaller sanctuary-like room opened (201). The third unit, Complex (3), was a six-columned one-room building (301) with a columned portico (302). The floor of 301–302 was elevated c. 1 m above the courtyard, and was approached through a ramp (303).<sup>25</sup> There may be no doubt

<sup>20</sup> Schreiber 2003.

<sup>21</sup> Hintze – Hintze 1970 figs 25, 26; Hintze 1971 figs 22, 23.

<sup>22</sup> Hintze 1968 679.

<sup>23</sup> For the revised ground plan of the Great Enclosure, see Wenig 2008 fig. 3.

<sup>24</sup> Hintze, Ursula 1979 fig. 6.

<sup>25</sup> Wolf 2004 441 considers the possibility that Complex (3) postdates Period 6.

that building 301–302 was a cult temple. Complex (4) in the southern part of the Enclosure has the appearance of an administration building.<sup>26</sup> It was connected to complex (1) through the long corridor 409. The main gate of the Enclosure seems to have opened, however, in the eastern wall of courtyard 305.<sup>27</sup>

After Period 6 there were only restoration works carried out. The excavated remains do not leave much doubt that in Periods 1–6 the central feature of the Great Enclosure, the so-called “central temple”, was rebuilt in each (?) building period at the same site with a slightly changed orientation.<sup>28</sup> The rebuildings of the “central temple” determined rebuildings of other parts of the complex too. The long building history is divided into two main periods by the introduction of the erection of rooms and room complexes on artificial terraces in the course of Periods 4 and 5, i.e., before the reign of Arnekhamani.<sup>29</sup> The second main period radically differs from the first one also in that the “central temple” was no longer periodically pulled down and rebuilt.

It seems that the function of the Great Enclosure did not basically change between the first and the last building period. The unparalleled ground plan of the Period 6 complex (and of the earlier building periods now known thanks to the Humboldt University excavations) renders the definition of this function rather difficult, however. The definition is not made easier by the absence of inscriptions (except for secondary inscriptions in Meroitic cursive) or the restricted nature of the iconographic evidence, either. This is nicely shown by the variety of suggestions made by the early travellers. Linant de Bellefonds, the early nineteenth century discoverer of the ruins, meant that it was “une espèce de couvent où collège”.<sup>30</sup> Frédéric Cailliaud also made a similar suggestion.<sup>31</sup> According to Lord Prudhoe it “was a Palace of

<sup>26</sup> Cf. Eigner 1999, 2004 32 ff.

<sup>27</sup> D. Eigner: *Das Emblem des Apedemak am Haupteingang der Grossen Anlage von Musawwarat es Sufra*. in: Arnst – Hafemann – Lohwasser (eds) 2001 107–110; Eigner 2004 36 ff.—There was a further gate on the north wall of courtyard 601 and the ground plan (fig. 1) in Wolf 1997 also shows a gate in the south wall of courtyard 415.

<sup>28</sup> Hintze – Hintze 1970.—For the archaeological evidence from the early building periods, see Hallof 2006.

<sup>29</sup> Wolf 2001b 21; cf. Hallof 2006 138.

<sup>30</sup> Linant de Bellefonds 1958 119.

<sup>31</sup> Cailliaud 1823–1826 III 158.



a king...built here for his diversion in the chase".<sup>32</sup> Pückler-Muskau similarly identified it as a palace, this time of the "gebildeten und lebenslustigen Candace".<sup>33</sup>

[D]ie Überreste eines grossen königlichen Lustschlosses mit allem nötigen Zubehör an Wohnungen, Höfen, Ställen usw., denen noch zwei kleine, höchst zierliche Tempel (ganz in der Art wie bei uns eine Hofkapelle) angehängt worden waren und welchen gewiss in dem pittoresken, fruchtbaren Tale auch einst die umgebenden Gärten nicht fehlten.<sup>34</sup>

Another early traveller saw in it a hospital "particularly for those suffering from malaria".<sup>35</sup> Still somewhat in a nineteenth century spirit, Peter Shinnie suggested in 1967 that the Great Enclosure was "a centre for the training of elephants for military and ceremonial purposes".<sup>36</sup> The definition, which was espoused by the majority of the modern authors, comes from Fritz Hintze, the director of the excavations conducted in the valley of Musawwarat es Sufra between 1960 and 1968:

Musawwarat war ein Pilgerzentrum, wo sich zu bestimmten Zeiten im Jahr viele Menschen versammelten, um ein heiliges Fest zu feiern und ihren Göttern zu opfern. Vier Hauptgottheiten wurden hier verehrt; und zwar zwei einheimische meroitische Götter: der Löwengott Apedemak und der menschengestaltige Sebiumeker, und zwei ägyptische Götter: Amon-Re und Arensnuphis.<sup>37</sup>

While the reference to Amun-Re is omitted in the later literature and Arensnuphis is considered a Nubian rather than Egyptian deity, Stefan Wenig re-formulated Hintze's definition as follows:

the Great Enclosure of Musawwarat was not a mere centre of pilgrimage, but a Kushite cult-place of the highest rank. The religious festivals, which were celebrated here after the harvest or possibly after the rain season, were attended by numerous pilgrims from all over the country and also by the Court. This lends an exceptional significance to the complex. It may have been a kind of national shrine (to use a modern term), a sanctuary that was so important for the religious-spiritual existence of Kushite society that it was rebuilt over and over, with old parts being demolished and new complexes placed in their stead.<sup>38</sup>

<sup>32</sup> Mss. quoted by Wenig 1999a 24.

<sup>33</sup> H. Fürst von Pückler-Muskau: *Aus Mehemed Ali's Reich 3. Theil. Nubien und Sudan*. Berlin 1844 181.

<sup>34</sup> Pückler-Muskau 1985 591.

<sup>35</sup> G. Hoskins: *Travels in Ethiopia*. London 1835 109.

<sup>36</sup> Shinnie 1967 94.

<sup>37</sup> Hintze – Hintze 1970 50.

<sup>38</sup> Wenig 2001 86 (=1999a 41).

In a more recent paper Wenig builds a colourful interpretation of the national shrine on a supposed interconnection between building 201–203, which he associates as a temple with the queen, and building 507–509<sup>39</sup> with the “sacred marriage” graffito on its front and with a vessel found in room 509 which was identified as an ancient variant of the modern *hofrat el-dukhan*, an instrument of women’s cleansing smoke bath:

Taking into consideration the famous erotic graffito on the outer wall [...] there can be only one conclusion: the Sudanese smoke-bath [was] practiced already [...] in the Great Enclosure. But who was the woman to be allowed to do such things in the Great Enclosure? It could have been a priestess [...] but it is more spectacular to assume that it was the queen herself [who] after discharging her duties in Temple 200, cleansed herself in a smoke bath and then met the king for intercourse [...] With this finding it became clear that the Great Enclosure was [...] a religious place, a holy shrine dedicated to fertility, and a place to beget the royal successor. People did not stay in the Great Enclosure for long. Priests and workers lived in huts like the nomads nowadays. But the thousands of graffiti on the walls indicate that many people surely attended the fertility festivals there.<sup>40</sup>

In the 1990s also some alternative identifications were suggested. Patrice Lenoble argued<sup>41</sup> that the Great Enclosure was a *paradeison*-like complex the courtyards of which served for the keeping of wild animals, and where hunting “rites” associated with the royal cult were performed. The present writer suggested that the “central temple” (i.e., peristyle building 101–102) was a throne room rather than a divine cult temple<sup>42</sup> and the Enclosure may have been a seasonal royal residence, i.e., a hunting palace.<sup>43</sup>

In more detailed studies I argued later that the definition “pilgrimage centre” sounds rather vague. This is all the more so that the supposed temples 101–102 and 201–203 not only stand in small enceintes which are too small for large crowds, but also access to them is restricted

<sup>39</sup> D. Eigner: Bauaufnahme der Räume 507–509 (“Heilige Hochzeit”) der Grossen Anlage von Musawwarat es Sufra. *MittSAG* 13 (2002) 14–21.

<sup>40</sup> Wenig 2008 245. For the “kultische Hochzeit und göttliche Zeugung des Thronfolgers” see already Wolf 2001a 493 f.

<sup>41</sup> P. Lenoble: *Meroe – Naqa – Musawwarat es Sufra*. Khartoum 1991 11; *id.*: *A Brief Guide to Naqa, Musawwarat-es-Sofra, Meroe*. Khartoum 1994 22 f.

<sup>42</sup> Török 1990 157.

<sup>43</sup> Török 1992 124.

architecturally as well as symbolically.<sup>44</sup> Such a definition is also contradicted by the architecture of buildings 101–102 and 201–203. Namely, room 101 has two entrances and four large “windows” with a low parapet; room 202 one entrance and two “windows”. The “windows” of 101 or 202 do not conform with the architecture of a cult temple: in fact, no Kushite temple or chapel deviates in this respect from the cult temple or chapel types known from Egypt.

Room 101 has two deep wall niches, one in the main axis in the main (NW) wall, another one in the centre of the SW wall, oriented “towards” Complex (2). Both niches had wooden doors. Whichever definition of room 101 we choose, their function remains obscure: if it was a cult temple, the main wall niche may be supposed to have been the naos in which the deity’s permanent cult image was kept. In this case, the sidewall niche remains unexplained, unless it is considered a naos prepared for a visiting deity. If room 101 was devoted to the cult of the living ruler, the side niche may have been prepared for the queen (?). In the Apedemak temple the cult statue of Apedemak was kept in a wooden naos standing in front of the centre of the main wall,<sup>45</sup> while the remains of the naos of his *synnaos*, Sebiuwerker, if it existed at all, could not be identified. In Queen Shanakadakheto’s Temple F at Naqa there was a deep niche with wooden doors in the centre of the main wall: no niche was prepared for the visiting Apedemak whose visit was represented, however, on the SE wall of the temple.<sup>46</sup>

The arrangement of the niches in room 101 recalls the analogous arrangement of niches in Chapel H in Taharqo’s Amun temple at Kawa, an oblong room north of the principal sanctuary and decorated with reliefs on all four walls. At Kawa the niche in the main (E) wall is located in the centre of a scene representing the king offering the image of the goddess Ma’at to Ptah. There can be little doubt that the object(s) placed in the niche were in some way integrated within the scene. The second niche, which is located in the centre of the north wall, “rests” on the emblematic representation of the king’s Horus name, and is situated between the scenes of Taharqo’s acknowledge-

<sup>44</sup> As far as can be judged on the basis of the published ground plans, the architectural interconnections between the main units 400, 100, 516–517, and 200 may be characterised as ceremonially restricted/concealed rather than public-monumental, which is especially obvious in the case of the complicated access to complex 200.

<sup>45</sup> K.-H. Priese: Die Architektur. in: Hintze *et al.* 1993 20–69 63 f.

<sup>46</sup> For the iconographical program of Temple F, see Török 2002a 207 ff.

ment by Amun and his induction into the sanctuary of the Double Crown. It deserves special emphasis that Chapel H was obviously dedicated to the cult of the living ruler and not to a divine cult.<sup>47</sup> Eventual connections between Kawa and Musawwarat es Sufra will be touched upon later in this chapter.

The interconnections between room clusters (1)–(4) clearly possess a ceremonial, yet not a public-processional character. The routes destined for processional movements of *small* crowds are especially conspicuous along corridor 408–409–113 from complex 400 to complex 100 and along corridor 124/214 from complex 100 to complex 200. It deserves special emphasis that while the porticoed building 301–302, which was doubtless a sanctuary, stood in the centre of a temenos and had an axial approach, both 101–102 and 201–203 were approached through narrow corridors from the lateral side of the courtyard surrounding them.

In conclusion, I suggested<sup>48</sup> that room complexes 100 and 200 should be viewed as places built for the cult of the living ruler (and possibly his consort) within what could be defined as a “desert palace”, which also incorporates a temple of unknown cult (301–302). I also noted that the side (NE) door of room 101 opened towards 201–203 and was crowned with the protome of three female deities.<sup>49</sup> Thus while the protomes of Amun of Kawa,<sup>50</sup> Arensnuphis and Sebiuwerker above the main entrance associate room 101 with the king, the triple protome above the side entrance of 101 suggests that Complex (2) was associated with the queen who, arriving from there, would use the side entrance of 101. When suggesting that the Enclosure was a sort of royal “desert palace”, I emphasize, however, that a royal palace is in any case a sacral building where the person of the ruler stands in the centre of cultic activities. The term “desert palace” refers here to the charismatic quality of the ruler as desert hunter and warrior, a quality unanimously stressed by the prominence of Apedemak, Arensnuphis and Sebiuwerker in the buildings of Musawwarat es Sufra.<sup>51</sup> The same

<sup>47</sup> For the iconography of Chapel H, see Török 2002a 113 ff., for Ptah in the iconographical program of the Kawa temple *ibid.* 89 ff.

<sup>48</sup> Török 2002a 173 ff.

<sup>49</sup> Wenig 1999a fig. 17, cf. Hintze – Hintze 1970 63.

<sup>50</sup> For the iconography of Amun of Kawa at Musawwarat, see Török 2002a 83 ff., 179 ff., 188 with note 642.

<sup>51</sup> For Apedemak, Arensnuphis, and Sebiuwerker as warriors and desert hunters cf. Gamer-Wallert 1983 146 f.; Wenig 1993 199 f.

quality is also clearly indicated in the secondary iconographical message of the building, viz., in the hundreds of graffiti (both drawings and Meroitic cursive inscriptions) on the walls of the Great Enclosure.

## 1.2. *Excursus: Building 600 at Naqa*

The architectural type represented by the peristyle building 101–102 with its doors and windows and column bases in the shape of animal figures can no longer be regarded as unique since the remains of the foundations of a similar edifice<sup>52</sup> were documented in the course of a surface survey carried out in 1995–1996 in the central area of the town of Naqa. The remains of the building were already noted by the Lepsius expedition and appear marked site 600 in the *Denkmäler*.<sup>53</sup> While the finds and results of the 1995–1996 survey<sup>54</sup> remain so far unpublished, the ground plan of the building is known from two drawings, which differ in some details. Wildung and Schoske published in 1999 a drawing, which records the laying of the preserved uppermost courses of the burnt brick-faced mud brick foundation walls (Pl. 66).<sup>55</sup> One year earlier a reconstructed ground plan had been published in a preliminary report (Pl. 67).<sup>56</sup> This drawing, though it was based on incomplete observations made at an earlier phase of the site survey, also contains informations about the structure of the building's central room, which are missing from the later drawing.

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<sup>52</sup> For column bases in the shape of animal figures from Naqa I can refer only to my memory of the slides accompanying an unpublished lecture held in 1998 in Boston. For its abstract (which does not mention the building in question, however), see R. Frey: The Ongoing Architectural Survey of Naga. Abstract of unpublished paper in: T. Kendall – P. Der Manuelian (eds): *Ninth International Conference of Nubian Studies. August 21–26, 1998. Abstract of Papers*. Boston 1998 60 f.

<sup>53</sup> LD I 143.

<sup>54</sup> E.g., Knudstad – Frey 1998 194 mention fragments of two hardstone statues and circular column bases. The site plan of the Lepsius expedition marks a *Statue* lying to the east of the building.

<sup>55</sup> Wildung – Schoske 1999 fig. 80. An excavation photograph of the building remains: *ibid.* fig. 81. The captions call the building *Gebäude 900*; in the text of the book there is no reference to it.

<sup>56</sup> Knudstad – Frey 1998 fig. p. 195, upper half. It is numbered, as in LD, [Building] 600.

Building 600 was part of a large building complex<sup>57</sup> consisting of room clusters of a character similar to the numerous palatial buildings observed at Naqa by the Lepsius expedition and later surveys.<sup>58</sup> The (main) entrance of building 600 and the pylon door of the nearby Temple 700 were directly coordinated so that the first stood “on the starboard side” of the latter (cf. Chapter V.1). In turn, the pylon door of Temple 700 was coordinated with the entrance of the Amun temple. This particular relationship between the Amun temple built by Natakamani and Amanitore in the AD first century does not necessarily define the dating of [Building] 600: the orientation of the Amun temple may well have preserved the orientation of an earlier shrine.<sup>59</sup>

A peristyle surrounded building 600 with eight columns on stone bases and brick stylobates on all sides. The square hall had, similarly to building 101 at Musawwarat es Sufra, very thick walls, with two openings on the north, two openings on the east, one opening on the south side, and a deep wall niche in the west wall; its roof was supported by four columns. It cannot be decided which opening was a door and which one a “window”. The building stood somewhat off-centre in a square precinct the northwest corner of which was occupied by a room with thick walls and an entrance at the south. This room seems to have been a later addition, since its east wall stands partly on the stylobate of the western colonnade. In front of its door two square bases were discovered. This configuration is not dissimilar from the relationship between building 101–103, court (?) 108 with the column

<sup>57</sup> The building parts south of [Building] 600 are marked [Building] 2200, cf. Knudstad – Frey 1998 194, fig. p. 195.

<sup>58</sup> Cf. the recent satellite view of Naqa in M. Baud: *Méroé, un monde urbain*. in: Baud – Sackho-Autissier – Labbé-Toutée (eds) 2010 211–224 fig. 289.

<sup>59</sup> In 1999 a stela of Queen Amanishakheto was discovered in the hypostyle of the Amun temple; another stela of the same queen was found in 2000 in its naos (*REM* 1294/A-B, Wildung 2000 22 f., figs pp. 20 f.; *REM* 1293/A-H, Wildung 2000 22 f., fig. p. 23). Since Amanishakheto ruled three generations before Natakamani and Amanitore, it was suggested (Wildung 2000 23, with reference to a communication by K.-H. Priese) that these finds call for a revision of the royal chronology (see also D. Wildung in: Welsby – Anderson [eds] 2004 180 f.). Such a radical solution does not seem necessary, for it is more likely that the Amanishakheto stela were transferred to the Amun temple from an earlier shrine. Under the walls of the Apedemak temple built by Natakamani and Amanitore at Naqa remains of an earlier temple building have recently been identified (Wildung – Schoske 1999 49 f.). The reerection of pharaonic and earlier Kushite inscriptions and statuary in later temples is a frequently attested Kushite tradition. See Török 2002a 297 ff.

statues, and “chapel” 107 at Musawwarat es Sufra. The existence of column statues at Naqa can, of course, not be proven. To the gate of the precinct opening towards Temple 700 a ramp<sup>60</sup> was leading up from the road that connected the two buildings with each other.

### 1.3. *The Gods of Musawwarat es Sufra*

Before turning to the more recent contributions concerning the function(s) of the Great Enclosure, a short introduction to the principal gods of Musawwarat es Sufra should stand here. For detailed investigations I refer to the works of Erich Winter,<sup>61</sup> Steffen Wenig,<sup>62</sup> L.V. Žabkar,<sup>63</sup> Christian Onasch,<sup>64</sup> and Jochen Hallof.<sup>65</sup>

At Musawwarat es Sufra, in the reliefs of the front colonnade of building 101–102 (Pls 68–73)<sup>66</sup> the king receives insignia of his power (scene 10a, Pl. 73) and victory over his enemies from Apedemak (scene 8b, Pl. 71). Scene 10a is the pendant of scene 7a, which depicts his election by Amun of Kawa (see in more detail in Chapter VI.1.4). The iconographical program of the Apedemak temple articulates a similar cult dualism: besides Apedemak, for whose cult the temple was erected, also a Nubian Amun receives equal weight and legitimates the king and the dynasty in identical contexts. Though wearing the crown associated with Amun of Napata, the Nubian Amun appears on the north front in the company of Satis, the traditional consort of Amun of Kawa. Moreover, it is Amun of Kawa who appears in the centre of

<sup>60</sup> For its type cf. the stairs leading to the north entrance of palace B 1500 at Gebel Barkal, Hinkel – Sievertsen 2002 fig. IX.68.

<sup>61</sup> E. Winter: Arensnuphis. Sein Name und seine Herkunft. *RdE* 25 (1973) 235–250.

<sup>62</sup> Wenig 1974, 1993, 2001.

<sup>63</sup> Žabkar 1975.

<sup>64</sup> Onasch 1990; 1993.

<sup>65</sup> J. Hallof: Zur Charakterisierung des Gottes Arensnuphis nach Zeugnissen aus Nubien und Meroe. in: Kuhn – Stahl (eds) 2001 147–160; Hallof 2005; J. Hallof: Den Göttern so nah. Der Tempel von Philae bildete die ideologische und religiöse Grenze zwischen Nubien und Ägypten. *Antike Welt* 37 (2006) 59–66.

<sup>66</sup> Pl. 68: Hinkel – Sievertsen 2002 Pl. IX.78 (numbering of front colonnades according to Wenig 1999a fig. 10); Pl. 69: Török 2002a Pl. XII; Pl. 70: *LD V* 72/a; Pl. 71: Wenig 1993 fig. 179; Pl. 72: Wenig 1974 fig. 13; Pl. 73: Wenig 1993 fig. 192.

the two triple protomes discovered at the temple,<sup>67</sup> where the solar (south side) and the lunar Apedemak (north side) are flanking him.

The wall and column reliefs of the Apedemak temple hint at the lion god's double nature as a hunter/warrior and a creator god.<sup>68</sup> Besides Apedemak, the reliefs of the south front and the southern half of the west façade also emphasize the triumphal aspect of Amun of Thebes, Sebiuameker, Arensnuphis, Horus, and Thoth, while the reliefs of the opposite, northern, half of the exterior display Apedemak and his consort, Thoth and his consort, Amun of Nubia (Kawa), Satis, Horus, Isis and Sebiuameker as gods of fertility and/or creator gods. The triumphant warrior Apedemak carries bow and quiver and presents the king with captives.<sup>69</sup> The reliefs on columns Nos 2 and 3 of the outer colonnade in front of building 101 stress Apedemak's aggressivity (see Chapter VI.2.2). Amun of Kawa—who presented the kings of the Napatan period with his powerful bow in the course of the enthronement ceremonies performed at Kawa<sup>70</sup>—also appears with bow and quiver in the Apedemak temple.<sup>71</sup>

In the AD first century Apedemak temple of Naqa Apedemak would appear as warrior and desert hunter in the possession of a further attribute, viz., the water skin,<sup>72</sup> which we find at Musawwarat es Sufra as an attribute of Sebiuameker, Arensnuphis (see below), and Amun of Kawa.<sup>73</sup> At Naqa it also would appear as an attribute of Amun of Napata.<sup>74</sup> The earliest evidence for the water skin as an attribute of, and a gift from, a deity may be found in the Nastasene Stela (second

<sup>67</sup> Berlin 24300: Hintze – Hintze 1970 fig. 22 (with erroneous legend); Wenig 1975b 425 No. 435; Khartoum SNM 18890: Kormysheva 2006 222 f. No. 224.

<sup>68</sup> For the creator god, see the text Hintze 1962 31 No. 13. In the column reliefs his warrior and hunter image predominates; he appears in scenes 3/3/3 (Hintze *et al.* 1971 Pl. 85=Török 2002a fig. 32), 5/3/3 (Hintze *et al.* 1971 Pl. 93=Török 2002a fig. 34), 6/2/2 (Hintze *et al.* 1971 Pl. 97=Török 2002a fig. 35) in a non-aggressive mood (the two last-mentioned scenes are, appropriately, in the northern half of the temple; 6/2/2 is the scene first seen when one enters the sanctuary).

<sup>69</sup> Apedemak temple, south front, west front: Hintze *et al.* 1971 Pl. 17, interior south and north wall: *ibid.* Pl. 51; column scenes 2/2/4, *ibid.* Pl. 81 (=Török 2002a fig. 31), 4/2/2, 4/3/1, *ibid.* Pl. 89 (=Török 2002a fig. 33).

<sup>70</sup> E.g., inscription of Irike-Amannote from Year 1–2, Kawa IX, *FHN* II 71, line 52; Nastasene Stela, *FHN* II No. 84, line 24.

<sup>71</sup> West front: Hintze *et al.* 1971 Pl. 51; column scene 4/2/4, Hintze *et al.* 1971 Pl. 89=Török 2002a fig. 33.

<sup>72</sup> Gamer-Wallert 1983 Bl. 10/a.

<sup>73</sup> Apedemak temple, column scenes 4/3/3, 5/2/1, Hintze *et al.* 1971 Pls 89, 93=Török 2002a figs 33, 34.

<sup>74</sup> Gamer-Wallert 1983 Bl. 11/a, right.



half of the fourth century BC) where it is recorded that as an episode of his investiture Nastasene received a water skin from Amun of Pnubs (Kerma).<sup>75</sup>

No representations or texts earlier than the monuments from Musawwarat es Sufra can be connected concretely to the lion god Apedemak, whose image seems to have been designed in the second half of the third century BC by learned priests, including experts arriving from, or trained in, Philae.<sup>76</sup> Certain attributes of Apedemak such as his coat and the ribbons tied at his elbows<sup>77</sup> indicate, however, that the roots of his cult reach back as far as a native lion cult of the New Kingdom period.<sup>78</sup> In his hymn from the Apedemak temple at Musawwarat es Sufra<sup>79</sup> he appears as nb Twʾirk, “Lord of Naqa” and nb ʾIpbr-ḥ, “Lord of Musawwarat es Sufra”, showing his special connection with the Butana region<sup>80</sup> and suggesting that his cult may have originated in that region.

The hunter and warrior gods Arensnuphis and Sebiuwerker appear in association with Apedemak in both the Great Enclosure and the Apedemak temple. In the column reliefs from Room 516 Arensnuphis and Sebiuwerker are the protectors of Arnekhamani’s Son of Re name (see below). In the column reliefs of building 101–102 Arensnuphis and Sebiuwerker are playing the principal roles in the legitimation and investiture of the ruler (for details, see below), and their close association with the function(s) of building 101–102 is also demonstrated by the triple protome from the lintel of its main entrance where the protome of Amun of Kawa is flanked by the protomes of Sebiuwerker (south side) and Arensnuphis (north side).<sup>81</sup>

<sup>75</sup> *FHN* II 84, line 26. The word ḥriw (determinative: animal hide) was interpreted earlier tentatively as “aegis”. For its interpretation as water skin, see now K. Zibelius-Chen: Die Königsinsignie auf der Nastasen-Steile Z. 26. *MittSAG* 13 (2002) 112–118 116 ff.

<sup>76</sup> Hallof 2005 *passim*, esp. 38.

<sup>77</sup> Apedemak temple column scene 2/2/4, Hintze *et al.* 1971 Pl. 81=Török 2002a fig. 31.

<sup>78</sup> Török 1990 171 ff.

<sup>79</sup> Hintze 1962 fig. 9 No. 11; Hintze *et al.* 1993 fig. 30/a, b; *FHN* II No. 126.

<sup>80</sup> Also stressed by his epithet “Awe of whom is great (...) within Kense [i.e., Upper Nubia]”. See previous note.

<sup>81</sup> Khartoum SNM 19466, Hintze – Hintze 1970 fig. 23 (with erroneous legend); Wenig 1975b 425 No. 434; Kormysheva 2006 221 No. 223. The photographs published in the 1970s show the carving in a far better state of preservation than Kormysheva’s illustration.

The iconography of Arensnuphis displays a close relationship with the Egyptian Onuris but Arensnuphis is certainly not a Meroiticised Onuris.<sup>82</sup> The Egyptian god lent only his iconography to the Nubian deity. According to Christian Onasch,<sup>83</sup> the Egyptian and Nubian forms of the originally Nubian god Arensnuphis existed concurrently in Kush until the early third century BC when they were fused. Yet the process of “Kushitization” of the Onuris image is already indicated by reliefs in Temple B at Kawa, which may be dated to the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty or Early Napatan period.<sup>84</sup>

Sebiumeker shares with Apedemak the Apedemak temple at Musawwarat es Sufra, where he is called nb 'Ipbr-*nh*, “Lord of Musawwarat es Sufra”, in the hymn accompanying his image on the south front<sup>85</sup> in a manner that one may be tempted to view the temple as dedicated to the cults of Apedemak *and* Sebiumeker. Indeed, the rear wall is decorated with monumental relief representations of the triumphant warrior Apedemak (south side) and the life-giving Sebiumeker (north side), and is inscribed with their hymns.<sup>86</sup> The reliefs served the popular worship, i.e., functioned as cult images of a contra-temple.<sup>87</sup> The priestly experts composing the inscriptions of the temple adopted an Egyptian Osiris hymn for Sebiumeker.<sup>88</sup> His Double Crown and the role in which he appears in the reliefs from the Great Enclosure and the Apedemak temple closely connect him to royal and dynastic legitimacy, but his actual association with a particular insignia of royal power, viz., the tasselled cord, indicates that behind his image as it was formulated in the third century BC there was a native hunter god whose attribute was a lasso, similarly to Arensnuphis.<sup>89</sup> His identity as a divine hunter is also indicated by the water skin he is carrying in his column statue (Pl. 80, right) from Room 108 of the Great Enclosure.<sup>90</sup>

<sup>82</sup> Onasch 1993 247 f.

<sup>83</sup> Onasch 1990 63 f.

<sup>84</sup> Cf. Török 2002a 139 ff., 148 ff.

<sup>85</sup> Hintze 1962 fig. 911 No. 14.

<sup>86</sup> Hintze *et al.* 1971 Pl. 16/c; Hintze 1962 43 Nos 12, 14–17.

<sup>87</sup> Cf. W. Guglielmi: Die Funktion von Tempeleingang und Gegentempel als Gebetsort. Zur Deutung einiger Widder- und Gansstelen des Amun. in: Gundlach – Rochholtz (eds) 1994 55–68; Török 2002a 259 ff.

<sup>88</sup> Hallof 2005 39 f.

<sup>89</sup> Török 1990 168 ff.

<sup>90</sup> Wenig 1974 fig. 7.

As shown by Jochen Hallof,<sup>91</sup> the archives and the learned priests of Ptolemaic Philae played a key role not only in the composition of the texts accompanying the reliefs of the Apedemak temple but also in the formation of their theology and iconography. In his analysis of the texts from the Apedemak temple, Hallof also demonstrates that their learned compilers knew and made a creative use of inscriptions from Lower Nubian temples. The above survey does not leave much doubt that the experts responsible for the iconography and texts of Musawwarat es Sufra were actors in a large-scale intellectual and political process in the course of which a new dynasty of southern origins set new accents in Meroitic religion and renewed Meroitic kingship ideology.

The prominence of Amun of Kawa in the reliefs from Musawwarat es Sufra gives the impression that the priesthood and the temple archives of Kawa played a special role in this process. They established intricate theological associations between the Nubian Amun gods, especially Amun of Kawa, and the “new” deities of southern origins. They also amalgamated the conceptions of kingship centred on the Nubian Amuns and on the dual cults of Amun of Thebes/a Nubian Amun with a renewed royal ideology that placed in its centre the dualism of fertility and aggressivity that characterised the re-shaped ancient southern warrior/hunter deities. In this way they created a quite remarkable intellectual tradition, which organically united Nubian and Egyptian elements.

#### 1.4. *The Building and its Function(s): 2*

In recent papers discussing the Great Enclosure Steffen Wenig,<sup>92</sup> Pawel Wolf<sup>93</sup> and Dieter Eigner<sup>94</sup> argue for the definition of the Great Enclosure as an ensemble of divine cult temples, chapels, and subsidiary buildings and energetically dispute Lenoble’s and my suggestions. As a principal argument, Wenig, Wolf and Eigner point out that the Great Enclosure was built entirely from sandstone, and stone would have been

<sup>91</sup> Hallof 2005.

<sup>92</sup> S. Wenig: Kommentar zu L. Török: Ambulatory Kingship and Settlement History (=Török 1992). in: Bonnet (ed.) 1992 137–140; Wenig 1999a=Wenig 2001; Wenig 1999b; Wenig 2008.

<sup>93</sup> Wolf 1997, 1999, 2001a, 2004, 2006 249 f.

<sup>94</sup> Eigner 1999=Eigner 2001.

the material exclusively of temples, while palaces and urban dwellings would only have been built from burnt or mud brick.<sup>95</sup> Ceremonial palaces such as the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty and Napatan B 1200<sup>96</sup> and the Meroitic period B 100<sup>97</sup> at Gebel Barkal and the Meroitic M 750 at Meroe City<sup>98</sup> contradict the exclusive association of stone with temples, however. Such an exclusive association is also weakened by the architecture of the Small Enclosure, as also Pawel Wolf admits it.<sup>99</sup> Wolf presented recently a poetic definition of buildings 101–102 and 201–203:

Auf der Zentralterrasse befand man sich in einem engen, säulenbestandenen und überdachten Vorraum zu einem geheimnisvollen, finsternen Zentralbau, dessen Fenster lediglich den (realen) Blick auf die die Zentralterrasse umgebenden Mauern, Kapellen und Nebenräume freigaben. Nur der Blick eines hier wohnenden Gottes schweifte durch diese Fenster ins Umland, überblickte das Tal von Musawwarat und das Reich von Meroe. Das könnte die Erklärung für die Existenz dieser Fenster [...] sein. Ebenso verhält es sich mit den beiden Fenster im Tempel 202. Sie ermöglichten lediglich auf kultisch-ritueller Ebene eine Blickverbindung zum eigentlichen Zentrum der Anlage, dem Zentralsanktuar 101.<sup>100</sup>

In Wolf's view building 101–102 was thus the sanctuary of a male deity, viz., Apedemak, while building 201–203 was the temple of a goddess, viz., Apedemak's consort, Amesemi.<sup>101</sup> As to temple 301–303, he suggests that

[i]nnerhalb dieser topographischen Anordnung der einzelnen Gebäudekomplexe würde es nun sehr gut passen, wenn sich der Tempel für die kindliche Komponente der Göttertriade, das Mammisi oder Geburtshaus, rechterhand der Hauptachse des Zentralheiligtums befindet.<sup>102</sup>

<sup>95</sup> Cf. also Wolf 2001a 477 ff.

<sup>96</sup> G.A. Reisner: The Barkal Temples in 1916. *JEA* 6 (1920) 247–267 262 ff.

<sup>97</sup> Dunham 1970 Plan II.

<sup>98</sup> Török 1997b 181 ff.

<sup>99</sup> Wolf 2001a 478.

<sup>100</sup> Wolf 2001a 496.

<sup>101</sup> For the name of Apedemak's consort, who is represented with a falcon on her head, see the stela of Queen Amanishakheto from the Amun temple at Naqa, REM 1294A–B, D. Wildung: Wiedergeburt eines Tempels. Naga 2000. *aMun* 2/6 18–23 (2000) 22 f., figs pp. 20–21, 23; C. Rilly: Poursuite de la constitution du Répertoire d'Épigraphie Méroïtique (REM). *MNL* 27 (2000) 1–30 6, figs 20–23.

<sup>102</sup> Wolf 2001a 490.

As an alternative, Wolf also assumes that the lord of temple 301–303 was King Talakhamani.<sup>103</sup> As an argument for this hypothesis, he refers to three unpublished Meroitic secondary inscriptions from the Enclosure with the invocation of a Talakhamani, who is probably identical with the fifth century BC King Talakhamani, stressing that since otherwise only deities are invoked at Musawwarat es Sufra, Talakhamani must have been deified and must also have had a divine cult “als göttlicher Abkomme der Amesemi und des Apedemak”—which is a circular argument, however. In another paper<sup>104</sup> Wolf argues on the basis of the 37 (out of a total of 120–130)<sup>105</sup> Meroitic graffiti from the Great Enclosure containing the name of Apedemak that

[t]he Great Enclosure [...] has the most examples of this god's name, and no other deity is called upon within the graffiti. This strongly suggests that the complex was devoted to Apedemak and that he must have been the main deity of the Great Enclosure. Since not one graffito mentions the name of Amun, we conclude that Central Temple 100 must have been a temple of Apedemak and not of Amun.<sup>106</sup>

At the same place Wolf also argues that

[i]f the Great Enclosure was a kind of central place for worship of Apedemak, this would explain the lack of comparable monuments in Egypt and elsewhere in the Sudan, as well as from the Napatan time [...] Apedemak is the only indigenous Meroitic deity who was prominent enough so that we can assume that a monument like the Great Enclosure would have been built for his worship.<sup>107</sup>

Curiously, here Wolf seems to completely forget that some 500 m from the Great Enclosure there stands a perfectly “normal” temple of Apedemak built by the same King Arnekhamani whose cartouches are to be read in Room 516 of the Period 6 building.

From among the arguments for the identification of Complexes (1) and (2), Wenig assigns special importance to the architectural elements employed in them such as the torus moulding, cavetto cornice, wall pillar/pilaster and uraeus frieze, suggesting that all these are diagnostic

<sup>103</sup> For the documents of the historical King Talakhamani, see *FHN* II No. (67).

<sup>104</sup> Wolf 2004 442 f.

<sup>105</sup> There are different numbers of inscriptions referred to in the different papers mentioning the secondary inscriptions from Musawwarat es Sufra.

<sup>106</sup> Room 101 as temple of Amun: Hintze 1968 676.

<sup>107</sup> Wolf 2004 443.

for cult buildings and may appear only in the architecture of temples and tombs.<sup>108</sup> At the same time, however, Wenig also admits that

architectural elements such as *torus* mouldings and *cavetto* cornices occur also in buildings that are rightly deemed royal residential palaces—I am especially thinking of the complexes of Wad Ban Naqa and building B. 1500 at Gebel Barkal.<sup>109</sup>

The garden discovered in courtyard 117 in front of Complex (1) is also interpreted in favour of the “pilgrimage centre” definition:

Due to the lack of roots [in the planter pits], and since the filling layers of the planter pits do not show any disturbance, it seems probable that the plants survived only a relatively short period of time. On the other hand, the layer stratification of some of the pits shows that they were reused several times. If we combine these pieces of information, we cannot really imagine a permanently cultivated luxury garden. We can only suspect a sacred garden area, kept carefully clean and re-cultivated only intermittently on the occasion of specific events. These events might have been important religious and/or royal festivals [...] During the preparation for these festivals, the gardens were rearranged, replanted and recultivated. After the celebrations, the plants were allowed to die off, being left without regular watering and attention until the next festival.<sup>110</sup>

While Wolf allows here that the gardens may also have been arranged for royal festivals, he leaves the question unanswered: who may be the deity, whose shrine is “inhabited” and kept in working order only for a short period of time each year but is left unattended, and his gardens dying, in the rest of the year. The most likely answer would be: it is the living ruler of Meroe, whose divinity was clearly articulated for

<sup>108</sup> Wenig 1999a 30 ff.=Wenig 2001 78 ff.

<sup>109</sup> Wenig 2001 81.—Both buildings referred to are residential palaces erected in later periods (Wad ban Naga: late 1st century BC–early AD 1st century; B 1500: middle of the AD 1st century) and it is rather arbitrary to explain the presence of such elements as the *torus* moulding and the *cavetto* cornice in their architecture with the hypothesis that in both buildings there were “integrated temples in palaces”, for such a hypothesis is not supported by their ground plan. For Wad ban Naga, see Vercoutter 1962. For B 1500, see S. Bosticco: *Les récentes fouilles du complexe 1500 au Gebel Barkal*. *Meroitica* 10 (1989) 777–782; S. Donadoni: *Italian Excavations at the Gebel Barkal in 1987*. *Nubica* 1/2 (1990) 149–152; *id.*: Donadoni 1993; Roccati 1997, 2008; and cf. I. Vincentelli: *Notizie preliminari sulle cretule del palazzo di Natakamani*. *OA* 28 (1989) 129–153; *ead.*: *A Group of Figured Clay Sealings from Jebel Barkal (Sudan)*. *Or* 61 (1992) 106–121; *ead.*: *A Discharge of Clay Sealings from the Natakamani Palace*. *Kush* 16 (1993) 116–141; A. Roccati: *Hellenism at Napata*. in: Kendall (ed.) 2004 384–388.

<sup>110</sup> Wolf 2004 439.

the contemporaries in the reliefs of the front colonnade of building 101–102.

Interpreting the Great Enclosure as a complex of shrines, the excavators stressed its unique character given the extreme paucity of (preserved) pictorial decoration and the almost complete absence of inscriptions. Except for the column reliefs in front of room 101 and the “triple protomes” inserted in its door lintels, further the monumental column statues of Arensnuphis and Sebiuemker in court 108,<sup>111</sup> the colossal images guarding temple 301–303, the lion- and elephant figures supporting columns in front of room 101<sup>112</sup> and in room 108,<sup>113</sup> and the parapet wall terminal in the form of an elephant in room 108<sup>114</sup> there is, in fact, no primary decoration in the Great Enclosure that could be interpreted as an organic and functional iconographic element of a building dedicated to the cult of deities. The silence of the walls of the Enclosure appears the more significant if we realize that temples II A<sup>115</sup> and II C<sup>116</sup> (=Temple of Apedemak) at the same site have an “orthodox” relief decoration.

For the function(s) of the room complex with building 101–102 in its centre the column reliefs from room 516 and from the colonnade in front of room 101 are equally important. Two columns supported the ceiling of room 516. Their decoration is known from a reconstruction presented by Karl-Heinz Priebe.<sup>117</sup> Priebe’s reconstruction reveals that the column shafts were decorated with reliefs in four registers. The bottom register contained animal figures, the second and the third the large cartouches of Arnekhamani and figures of deities, respectively. No fragments seem to have survived from the fourth, top, register of either column. Another reconstruction drawing of Priebe<sup>118</sup> seems to indicate that the second and third registers of each column contained two symmetrically composed “scenes” which were coordinated in a traditional manner with the axis of corridor 515 and room 516. Look-

<sup>111</sup> Wenig 1974 Pl. VII/b, c.

<sup>112</sup> Hintze 1968 figs 21, 22; Wenig 1978 fig. 38.

<sup>113</sup> Wenig 1999b fig. 10; Wenig 2001 Pl. 8.

<sup>114</sup> Illustrated, e.g., Hintze 1968 fig. 5; Hintze – Hintze 1970 fig. 20.

<sup>115</sup> S. Wenig: Das Gebäude II A von Musawwarat es Sufra. *Meroitica* 7 (1984) 183–187; Török 2002a 201 ff.

<sup>116</sup> Hintze *et al.* 1971, 1993.

<sup>117</sup> In: Hintze 1971 figs 20, 21.

<sup>118</sup> Of “column 3” in: Wenig 1974 fig. 14. I am unable to find an indication in the preliminary reports which of the two columns is being referred to.

ing towards the “window of appearance”,<sup>119</sup> one faced the Son of Re name of King Arnekhmani (?) in the third (upper) register and his Throne name in the second (lower) register of the columns. The names were read symmetrically from the axis outwards. On the column reconstructed by Priese, the Son of Re name is flanked by Arensnuphis who is accompanied by a winged goddess, probably Tefnut, (left) and by Sebiuameker (right); the rest of this register is badly damaged. In the register below, the Throne name is flanked by two divine couples, on the left, Amun of Napata and Mut (?), both extending a large ‘nh sign in their right hand towards the cartouche; on the right, Amun of Kawa and Anukis, presenting similarly ‘nh symbols.<sup>120</sup> The second scene in the lower register could also be partly reconstructed. In its centre stood a large falcon, representing doubtless the king assimilated with Horus, protected by the winged cobra goddess Wadjet of the Lower Egyptian crown in a papyrus calyx (left) and the vulture goddess Nekhbet of the Upper Egyptian crown (right, destroyed). The emblematic representation of the divinized king recalls, e.g., Taharqo’s Horus name in Room H of Kawa Temple T at Kawa.<sup>121</sup> There can be hardly any doubt that, if room 516 was connected to the cult of a deity, this deity was the king.

Dynastic succession and royal legitimacy stood at the centre of the iconographical program of the front colonnade of Room 101. The four columns of the inner row of the double colonnade were of the palm column type and were decorated, above the palm leaf base, with two (?) figural relief registers. The upper (!) register probably had a subsidiary character displaying emblematic figures: Lepsius’s drawing (Pl. 70)<sup>122</sup> records antithetical pairs of seated lion figures with offering stands, lotus flowers, and kneeling winged goddesses. The lower register had two scenes on each column, one facing the court, the other the main entrance of room 101. To my mind, the inversion of the two traditional kinds of column relief registers indicates that the designers

<sup>119</sup> Or from the window towards the rear wall of Room 101? I am unable to say which direction is intended in Priese’s reconstruction drawing. It would seem, however, that the two scenes in the same registers had the same meaning, both depicting in an emblematic manner the divinization of the king.

<sup>120</sup> In Priese’s reconstruction Amun of Kawa holds a sistrum which, if the reconstruction is in this point correct, would be unique.

<sup>121</sup> Macadam 1955 95, Pl. XXII; Török 2002a 116 ff.

<sup>122</sup> LD V 72/a.



of the colonnade deviated deliberately from the canon in order to distinguish building 101–102 from a traditional divine cult temple.

All scenes show the king before a deity or a divine couple. In some scenes a god or a goddess also protects the king. There is, however, only one scene in which the king presents an offering to a god and this particular offering, a pectoral,<sup>123</sup> only further corroborates what is also obvious from the rest of the scenes, viz., that the column scenes constitute an investiture cycle. I repeat here my earlier description of the cycle,<sup>124</sup> insisting that, as opposed to Wenig's opinion, it does not simply reproduce (or excerpt) the iconographical program of a cult temple such as, e.g., the Apedemak temple at Musawwarat es Sufra.<sup>125</sup>

The first scene depicts the act of the "election" of the crown prince as heir to the throne by Amun of Kawa and Satis (7*a*, Pl. 70, right).<sup>126</sup> The god touches the right elbow of the prince. Between the two figures is the representation of a child god in the lotus calyx, a form of Horus-son-of-Isis, turning towards the prince. The scene represents the "election" of the king as heir to the throne by an Amun god who appears, like Amun of Napata and Amun of Pnubs, as the divine father of the ruler in the coronation reports. In scene 7*b*<sup>127</sup> ("back", Pl. 70, left) the heir already appears as king in possession of a scepter, wearing the Kushite cap-crown and diadem with the double uraei and the ram's horn curling around his ear. He is dressed in the shoulder-fastened royal coat and wears sandals and is embraced by Horus, who is accompanied by Isis, and Thoth. Isis presents him with the Lower Egyptian crown. In scene *a* ("front", Pl. 71, right) of column 8<sup>128</sup> we see the king again in full regalia wearing the Kushite scullcap with an uraeus and a ribbon hanging down at the back, the horn of Amun curling around his ear, the Kushite necklace with ram's heads, the tripartite royal costume and sandals. He appears before Sebiuwerker in the protection of Isis who affirms his kingship by touching his crown ribbons. In front

<sup>123</sup> For the significance of the pectoral offering cf. p. 212.

<sup>124</sup> Török 2002a 180 ff.

<sup>125</sup> Wenig 1999a 35 ff. Wenig answers the question, why is the investiture represented in front of Room 101 instead of its interior, with a hypothesis that is not supported by any evidence, viz: "im vorliegenden Fall der Pronaos mit in das Kultgeschehen eingebunden wurde. Da der obere Abschlussfries von Säule 8 einen Uräenfries zeigt, den wir auch bei den anderen drei Säulen anzunehmen haben, wird die Handlung *in* den Tempel verlegt", *ibid.* 38.

<sup>126</sup> For the numbering of the columns, see Pl. 68.

<sup>127</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>128</sup> Wenig 1993 fig. 179=Wenig 2001 fig. 12=Török 2002a fig. 27.

of the god, emerging from a lotus calyx, a cobra wearing the Double (?) Crown extends its wings protectively towards the king. Unlike the other column scenes, in this scene the king's names were inscribed in now lost prominent cartouches. The horn of Amun symbolizes the king's divine nature and his incorporation into the god. In scene *b* ("back", Pl. 71, left)<sup>129</sup> the king receives power over his enemies from Apedemak who is accompanied by his consort Amesemi, the "goddess with the falcon(s)". In scene *a* ("front", Pl. 72, right) of column 9<sup>130</sup> the king, wearing the Kushite royal dress and carrying a bow, is conducted by Arensnuphis into the presence of a ram-headed god<sup>131</sup> who wears the *atef* crown and who touches his right elbow. This god is probably Amun of Kawa,<sup>132</sup> from whom the ruler receives a bow at his investiture in Kawa.<sup>133</sup> In scene *b* ("back", Pl. 72, left)<sup>134</sup> of the same column the king, protected by a falcon, receives the tasselled cord, i.e., the fastening device of the royal coat, from Sebiuemeker who is accompanied by a goddess. In scene *a* ("front", Pl. 73, right) of column 10<sup>135</sup> the king, protected now by a falcon, stands with his coat unfastened before Apedemak. A prince accompanies him. Finally in scene *b* ("back", Pl. 73, left)<sup>136</sup> the king offers a pectoral to Amun of Napata who is accompanied by Mut. Mut extends the 'nh symbol towards the king's nostrils, i.e., presents him with life. The king sports Arensnuphis' tall feather superstructure fastened to his scullcap-crown and wears sandals and the costume of the High Priest.<sup>137</sup>

The four "front" scenes fit into a symmetrical arrangement (Pl. 69) insofar as on the outer columns 7 and 10 the king (on column 7 as heir apparent) turns, according to the traditional scheme, towards room

<sup>129</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>130</sup> Wenig 1974 fig. 13=Wenig 2001 fig. 13=Török 2002a fig. 28.

<sup>131</sup> Wenig 1974 140: Khnum-Re; Wenig 1999a 35: Amun-Khnum; Török 1997a 439: Amun of Kawa.

<sup>132</sup> Amun of Kawa wears the *atef* crown in column scene 5/2/1 in the Apedemak temple at Musawwarat es Sufra; Nubian Amun(s) wearing the *atef*: *ibid.* column scenes 1/2/4, 3/2/4, 6/2/3.

<sup>133</sup> Irike-Amannote inscription, Kawa, *FHN* II No. 71 lines 52 f.

<sup>134</sup> Wenig 1974 fig. 13=Wenig 2001 fig. 13=Török 2002a fig. 28.

<sup>135</sup> Wenig 1993 fig. 192=Wenig 2001 fig. 14=Török 2002a fig. 29.

<sup>136</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>137</sup> Török 1997a 440: tripartite costume in which the wrap-over is conspicuously fastened by an elaborately tied tasselled cord. This interpretation does not account, however, for the front panel of the king. For possible analogues see the interior wall reliefs of the Musawwarat es Sufra Apedemak temple, Hintze *et al.* 1971 Pl. 51–52/a,b S wall scene 3, N wall scene 1.

101's main axis, i.e., towards its interior. In the two inner column scenes (8*a* and 9*a*) he appears between two deities, yet the symmetry is not complete because in both scenes he turns towards the left, which is the "wrong" direction for column 9. Here the king's direction is obviously determined by a more important symmetry, since the figure of Sebiuameker on column 8 corresponds to the figure of Arensnuphis on column 9. But the king cannot turn towards the latter, because in scene 9*a* the actual act of investiture has to be performed by Amun and not by Arensnuphis.

In the "back" scenes the king should stand with his back towards the axis of Room 101. This rule is vindicated on columns 8, 9 and 10 but not on column 7. The "wrong" direction can be explained in this case too by the iconographical context. The scene in question represents a fusion of the rites of the king's induction into a sanctuary and his coronation.<sup>138</sup> In the scene of induction the king is shown traditionally being conducted by Horus and Thoth into a sanctuary. The coronation scene shows him being crowned there by the crown goddesses.<sup>139</sup> In the actual scene the king is doubtless shown being conducted into Room 101 itself and being crowned there. The relief shows the direction of his movement realistically instead of yielding to a traditional prescription.

The directions in scene 7*b* also reveal that, despite the symmetrical composition of the "front" scenes, the reliefs as an iconographic complex were not arranged for being viewed from the main axis of Room 101. The actual arrangement is clearly indicated by the themes of scenes 7*a* and 10*b*. 7*a* is the election of the heir apparent, thus, it represents the initial episode of the investiture process, while 10*b*, the offering of the pectoral, presents an emblematic image of the fulfilment of royal duties and is thus the last scene from the same cycle. The election in 7*a* is logically followed by the induction and coronation in 7*b*. Now, if we want to identify the next episode, it must be taken into account that according to Kushite kingship dogma, the ruler received his royal power from the "incarnations" of his divine father Amun

<sup>138</sup> For the Egyptian rite of the *bs-nswt*, "the King's Induction", see A.H. Gardiner: *The Coronation of King Haremheb*. *JEA* 39 (1953) 13–31 15; W.J. Murnane: *Opetfest. LÄ IV* (1981) 574–579 576; J.-M. Kruchten: *Les annales des prêtres de Karnak (XXI–XXIII<sup>e</sup>s dynasties) et autres textes contemporains relatifs à l'initiation des prêtres d'Amon*. Leuven 1989 165 ff.

<sup>139</sup> Like in Room H of the Kawa temple, Macadam 1955 Pl. XXII.

in the sanctuaries of the Amun gods of Napata, Kawa, and Pnubs. His assimilation with, or “election” by other gods concerned particular aspects of his divinity and royal power, but only Amun of Napata, Amun of Kawa and Amun of Pnubs were described or visualized as the ultimate sources of the whole of his kingship. Consequently, the induction in scene 7*b* refers “realistically” to Room 101 as a place of the confirmation of royal power, but in terms of both the myth of the state and the investiture as a ritual process it can refer only to the king’s investiture by Amun in general and by the individual Amun gods in particular.<sup>140</sup> Thus, it cannot be expected that the investiture by Amun, as the next episode of the cycle, be represented here, especially since Musawwarat es Sufra was the dwelling place of Apedemak, Arensnuphis and Sebiuwerker, as it is also sufficiently emphasized in the column reliefs themselves. Instead, it is more logical to expect the confirmation of the king’s royal power by a local god as a sequel to the induction. The scene implies at the same time that “between” the induction and the confirmation Amun invested the king into his office. Indeed, both in scene 7*b* and in the “front” relief of column 8, the king stands in possession of his full regalia and with the ram’s horn curling around his ear which explicitly manifests his divinization by and assimilation with Amun. And in 8*a* he faces Sebiuwerker.

In sum, the relief cycle indicates that Room 101 was a place where the king’s power, which derived ultimately from his divine father Amun, was confirmed by the deities of Musawwarat es Sufra, Arensnuphis and Sebiuwerker, prominent in the Great Enclosure, and by Apedemak, the third “local” god, who resided in his own temple outside the Great Enclosure. A particularly clear formulation of the theological concepts connected to the function of room 101 is embodied in the triple head sculpture placed originally above its main entrance. The sculpture represents a ram-headed Amun god wearing the sun disk of Amun of Kawa between Sebiuwerker and Arensnuphis.<sup>141</sup>

Viewing the “front” scenes of the cycle as a compositional unit, we cannot fail to notice that the first (7*a*) and the last (10*a*) scene, viz., the election of the heir apparent and the tying-on of the royal coat by Apedemak, comprise the two pillars of a mighty arch symbolizing the unity of predestination and fulfilment. Scene 10*a* also conveys a

<sup>140</sup> For the evidence and its interpretation, see Török 1997a 215 ff.

<sup>141</sup> Khartoum SNM 19466, Wenig 1978 fig. 42.

further concept of great significance. This is the only scene where the king appears in the company of a prince. There can be hardly any doubt that the prince is the next heir apparent, the next member in the eternal chain of divine rulers. A similar correspondence prevails between the first and the last of the “back” scenes: in the first (7*b*) the king is induced in a sanctuary where he is crowned; in the last (10*b*), having received full legitimation, he officiates as High Priest. His Arensnuphis-crown in the last scene also symbolizes his assimilation with the hunter god.

## 2. *The Freedom of Imitation*

### 2.1. *The Ground Plan*

Several types occurring in the rich corpus of mason’s marks from the Great Enclosure (so far more than 7500 marks were recorded) have their analogues from the Ptolemaic building periods of the temples of Khnum and Satet at Elephantine and Mandulis at Kalabsha.<sup>142</sup> In one of his preliminary excavation reports Fritz Hintze also recorded mason’s marks that resemble letters of the Greek alphabet.<sup>143</sup> Friedrich Hinkel demonstrated that, alongside the traditional Egyptian metrology, the Graeco-Egyptian metrology was also adopted by the third century BC builders at Musawwarat es Sufra: as it seems, Graeco-Egyptian metrology spread from here to construction works in other parts of the Meroitic kingdom.<sup>144</sup> According to Burstein,

Greek mason’s marks and the use of Greek systems of measurements indicate that the Meroitic kings employed Greek artisans and architects on some of the most important building projects of the period, including a number of royal pyramids, much of the great enclosure at Musawwarat es-Sufra, and the nearby temple of Apedemak. Contemporary Meroitic scholarship paints a more complex picture, one that emphasizes the

<sup>142</sup> T. Karberg: Bericht über die Aufnahme der Steinmetzzeichen der Grossen Anlage. *MittSAG* 11 (2001) 38–40; Karberg 2010 571 f.

<sup>143</sup> Hintze 1968 figs 17, 18.

<sup>144</sup> Hinkel 1987 (“Graeco-Egyptian” is my term here).—For Meroitic metrology, see Hinkel 1981; 1982; 1984; 1987; 1989; 1991. Cf. also F.W. Hinkel: Überlegungen zur Bausubstanz, Architektur und Funktion des Gebäudes Meroe 245. *AoF* 12 (1985) 216–232.

independent and creative character of the Meroitic response to contact with Ptolemaic Egypt in both the political and cultural spheres.<sup>145</sup>

It is characteristic indeed for the Meroitic response that the Graeco-Egyptian artisans and architects who used Graeco-Egyptian mason's marks in the organization of construction work at Musawwarat es Sufra and employed Graeco-Egyptian metrology in their architectural designs did not create any sort of purely "Greek" buildings. What they did was a liberal use of not-traditional architectural elements and forms borrowed from Ptolemaic Egyptian architecture, on the one hand, and a creative modification of traditional Egyptian/Meroitic forms in a Hellenizing manner, on the other. The ground plan of buildings 101–102 and 201–203, the style of the architectural members, and the decoration equally show that the Egyptian architects and artisans did not work alone at Period 6 Musawwarat es Sufra: actually, their work was strongly influenced by native architects and artisans.

In this chapter we shall discuss the artificial terraces upon which the complexes centering on buildings 101–102 and 201–203 were erected, the ground plan of building 101–102 and the design of the columns in its front colonnade, and the remains of the sculptural decoration found in the Great Enclosure (with the exception of the reliefs discussed in the previous chapter). Before the final publication of the ongoing German excavation, conservation, and preservation works one can rely only on the photographs and drawings published by the members of the German team in their preliminary reports further on some drawings made in the nineteenth century by Linant de Bellefonds, Cail-liaud, Tremaux, Hoskins, and the artists of the Lepsius expedition. Conclusions drawn on such an unstable basis cannot go very far.

Before going down to the discussion of the Hellenizing elements in the Period 6 Great Enclosure (Pl. 65, Chapter VI.2.2), we have to deal briefly with the anomalous features of its architecture. First of all, it is striking how little role is played by axiality and symmetry in its spatial structure. The individual centres of the Enclosure, viz., buildings 101–102, 201–203, 301–302 are in themselves symmetrical buildings with a longitudinal axis, but they do not possess axial approaches. Though the main gate opening in the east wall of courtyard 305 is in the continuation of the axis of building 101–102, in reality there is no direct way leading from the gate to its entrance.

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<sup>145</sup> S.M. Burstein: *The Kingdom of Meroe*. in: Burstein 1995 127–146 137.

Axiality is also deliberately avoided in the communication between the individual central buildings or in the architecture of the courts around 101–102 and 201–203 and the representative rooms opening from them. It seems that the rejection of axiality and symmetry in the spatial interconnections or in the design of the larger room units was a feature of the pre-Period 6 buildings too: a feature that separates the Great Enclosure from monumental pharaonic as well as Ptolemaic Egyptian architecture. It is a feature that also separates the structure of the Great Enclosure from the Kushite conceptions that determined the creation and interpretation of interconnections between the places of a sacred landscape, between the edifices of a settlement, between the individual parts of a monumental building, or between the images on the walls of a temple.<sup>146</sup>

It was mentioned in the previous chapter that rooms and room complexes were erected on artificial terraces first in the course of Periods 4 and 5, i.e., prior to the reign of Arnekhamani. Most writers on the Great Enclosure attach a special importance to the *Terrassenbauweise*.<sup>147</sup> This is doubtless justified if one departs from the rarity of buildings erected on artificial terraces or podia in Nubian architecture or from the lack of *close* analogues in Egyptian architecture. The artificial terraces of the Great Enclosure create a marked hierarchy of floor levels within a labyrinthine complex of rooms and room clusters. The room complex around building 101–102, also including rooms 516–517, the buildings around 201–203, temple 301–302, and complex 400 were elevated above the ground level of the courtyards and gardens. They were approached by means of ramps, and interconnected through walled corridors, which were similarly elevated above ground and separated from all lower-lying parts of the Enclosure.

The terraces fulfilled thus a *conceptual and practical function* of separating buildings on a higher level from rooms and courtyards on a lower one. The hierarchy established in such a manner could be *realized*, but was not *conspicuous*: the terraces and the buildings standing upon them could not be perceived as visible monumental architectural units because they were too closely surrounded by the maze of subsidiary buildings and perimeter walls. Let us compare the principal

<sup>146</sup> Cf. Török 2002a 7–330 *passim*.

<sup>147</sup> Most recently, Karberg 2010 573 f. suggested that the terraces at Musawwarat had not a practical reason but were modeled on Lower Nubian terraces, especially the terrace in front of the Augustan temple of Mandulis at Kalabsha.

building complexes of the Great Enclosure to the late first century BC Temple M 250 at Meroe City (Pl. 74).<sup>148</sup> M 250 is a typologically clear and optically conspicuous case of an edifice standing on a high podium in the centre of a peristyle court which itself also stands on a high terrace.<sup>149</sup> Here all hierarchical differences are clearly visible. The case of the AD first century Amun temple at Naqa<sup>150</sup> is similar: here not only a multi-roomed temple stands on a large artificial terrace, but also the processional way and a processional kiosk are situated on the terrace which is a distinct architectural and symbolic feature of the sanctuary complex. The relationship between the individual components of the building complex is optically clearly articulated and is well visible from the surrounding city areas.

In earlier studies I have hypothesized that the Musawwarat es Sufra *Terrassenbauweise* as well as the architecture of M 250 have their roots in Egyptian New Kingdom, Third Intermediate Period, and Ptolemaic architectural types. The predecessor building of the first century BC M 250 had probably been built in Aspelta's reign in the form of a cella on the top of a high podium the walls of which were decorated with relief registers.<sup>151</sup> The type is reminiscent of the altars associated with the Aten cult and erected in the reign of Amenhotep IV/Ekhnaton on top of podia. The podia were surrounded by parapets (the outer faces of which were decorated with reliefs) and approached by ramps or steps flanked by balustrades.<sup>152</sup> While individual details of this type of altar architecture such as, e.g., the balustrades ending in three-dimensional divine images derived from earlier forms (cf. Chapter VI.2.2), the special Amarna context of the sun rituals performed by the king shaped the type as a whole. An apparently less ornamentally executed Aten temple was erected in the late reign of Ekhnaton in the northern part of the fortified Nubian town of Sesebi.<sup>153</sup> It was built in the form of an

<sup>148</sup> Wildung (ed.) 1997 fig. 61.

<sup>149</sup> For the building and its decoration, see Hinkel 2001; Török 2004.

<sup>150</sup> Wildung – Schoske 1999 figs 50, 72.

<sup>151</sup> F.W. Hinkel: Conjectural Reconstruction of Temple Meroe 250. Unpubl. paper presented at the 8th International Conference for Meroitic Studies 8–13 September 1996 London.

<sup>152</sup> Shaw 1994.

<sup>153</sup> H.W. Fairman: Preliminary Report on the Excavations at Sesebi (Sudla) and Amarah West, Anglo-Egyptian Sudan 1937–8. *JEA* 24 (1938) 151–156; R.G. Morkot: The Excavations at Sesebi (Sudla) 1936–1938. *BzS* 3 (1988) 159–164.



open court of altars (measuring  $11.7 \times 11.7$  m) on a 2 m high platform<sup>154</sup> so that the offering rites performed at the altars were visible from the surrounds. Though the original form of the edifice as a whole remains unknown, its typological similarity to the Aten temples at Amarna is obvious.<sup>155</sup>

Another building type cited as a possible inspiration for the *Terrassenbauweise* at Musawwarat es Sufra and for the architecture of Temple M 250 at Meroe City is the edifice erected by Taharqo at the north-east corner of the Amun-Re-Montu temple at Karnak North, close to the temple door. The edifice, which was surrounded on three sides by columns with screen walls between them, stood on a high platform. It was reached by a ramp and entered through a pylon.<sup>156</sup> Dieter Arnold suggests<sup>157</sup> that the edifice was a throne kiosk associated with royal jurisdiction.<sup>158</sup>

In connection with the unusual architecture of the ambulatory surrounding the cella of Meroe City Temple M 250 also one of the temples at Karnak was cited.<sup>159</sup> Namely, on the lower part of the north, east, and south fronts of Ptolemy III's and VIII's temple for Opet at Karnak a seemingly misplaced cavetto cornice runs.<sup>160</sup> It is a sort of fictive and symbolic architecture, for the cavetto marks the top of the raised platform on which the temple stands. Above the cavetto there is even a dummy parapet, which does not belong, however, to a real ambulatory, for the walls of the temple rest directly upon it. No such architectural marking of the eventual (physical and symbolic) division between the terraces/podia and the buildings standing on them is known to me from the publications on the Great Enclosure. The absence of any horizontal moulding on the front of room 517 over-

<sup>154</sup> A.M. Blackman: Preliminary Report on the Excavations at Sesebi. *JEA* 23 (1937) 145–151; *PM* VII 173 f.; D. Arnold: *Lexikon der ägyptischen Baukunst*. Zürich 1994 72.

<sup>155</sup> Cf. B.J. Kemp: *Ancient Egypt. Anatomy of a Civilization*. London – New York 1989 276 ff.

<sup>156</sup> C. Robichon – P. Barguet – J. Leclant: *Karnak-Nord IV (1949–1951)*. Le Caire 1954 5 f., 106–109.

<sup>157</sup> Arnold 1999 54.

<sup>158</sup> For the area in front of the Egyptian temple as place of (oracular) jurisdiction in the Graeco-Roman period see C. Traunecker: *L'appel au divin: la crainte des dieux et les serments de temple*. in: J.-G. Heintz (ed.): *Oracles et prophéties dans l'antiquité. Actes du colloque du Strasbourg 15–17 juin 1995*. Paris 1997 35–54 49 ff.

<sup>159</sup> Török 2004.

<sup>160</sup> Arnold 1999 figs 110, 111.

looking court 601 that would mark the elevated floor level of room 517 is a significant feature of the Great Enclosure architecture.<sup>161</sup>

It may be concluded thus that while the *Terrassenbauweise* was destined to separate the room complexes that stood upon the terraces physically as well as symbolically from the rest of the Great Enclosure, it cannot be regarded as having been inspired by actual building types such as the sun altars of the Amarna period or the high kiosk of Taharqo at the Amun-Re-Montu temple at Karnak. No typological connection seems to have existed between temple M 250 at Meroe City and the complexes 101–102 and 201–203 of the Great Enclosure, either. The anomalous features of the architectural structure of the Great Enclosure have no parallels in Egyptian or Kushite architecture: they derive from a tradition, which we cannot locate or explain for the time being.

Let us now turn to less anomalous features. Building 201–203, if we disregard the large windows of room 202, repeats a common sacral building type consisting of a columned porch, a hall the roof of which is supported by two rows of columns, and an inner room. The double colonnade of its porch is an analogue of the double colonnade at the front of 101. Apart from its four windows, also building 101–102 represents a common, yet in this particular case ambiguous, ground plan type, which can be described in the terms of both the Egyptian *Tempel mit Umgang* and the classical *peripteros* with a double colonnade at the front.<sup>162</sup> This ambiguity of the ground plan also prevails in the architectural forms employed in the building (see Chapter VI.2.2).

Disregarding here the double colonnade of the front for a moment, as the closest typological analogue the ancient Egyptian pr-mst, the *mammisi* (=Arabic “birth house”) of the Egyptological literature, presents itself.<sup>163</sup> In the pr-mst the birth of a child god was celebrated. The child god worshipped in the pr-mst was an incarnation of the rising sun and was identified from the New Kingdom onward with the young ruler and, in more general terms, the eternal renewal of kingship. In this sense, the pr-mst was a shrine of the royal cult. Before the early

<sup>161</sup> See Wenig 1999a fig. 19.

<sup>162</sup> Cf. Borchardt 1938; G. Haeny: *Basilikale Anlagen in der ägyptischen Baukunst des Neuen Reiches*. Wiesbaden 1970.

<sup>163</sup> A. Badawy: The Architectural Symbolism of the Mammisi-Chapels in Egypt. *CdE* 38 (1933) 78–90; Borchardt 1938 3 ff.; F. Daumas: *Les mammisis des temples égyptiens*. Paris 1958; id.: *Les mammisis de Dendara*. Le Caire 1959.

Ptolemaic period the birth house was a simple cella with an anteroom. The Ptolemaic and Roman *mammisi*<sup>164</sup> was a peripteral building with L-shaped pillars instead of columns at the corners. This latter detail may, however, not have been an absolute rule, as it is indicated by the corner columns of the Augustan birth house in the precinct of the temple of Kalabsha in Lower Nubia (!).<sup>165</sup>

Arnold<sup>166</sup> suggests that the floral capitals of the Egyptian *mammisi* referred to the papyrus thicket where Horus was born and nursed according to the Chemmis legend, a legend closely connected to the Egyptian myth of the king's birth and education.<sup>167</sup> The Chemmis legend is also referred to in a Twenty-Fifth Dynasty royal inscription, in which it is said of Tanwetamani that he came forth from Meroe City "as Horus came forth from Chemmis".<sup>168</sup> The architectural type of the Late Period and Ptolemaic pr-mst associated with the cult of the king and the royal dynasty may well have appeared suitable for a shrine in which the Meroitic ruler's legitimacy is affirmed according to the kingship ideology emerging in the Early Meroitic period.

Building 101–102 is not the only *peripteros* in Meroe. The first century BC peripteral temple at Basa in the Butana had Alexandrian-type corner pillars with Corinthian capitals (cf. Chapter IX). The peripteral temple G at Naqa<sup>169</sup> (date not known) had a double colonnade at the front. Both temples had a front colonnade with a wider intercolumnium in the temple axis. It seems that both temples were dedicated to Apedemak.<sup>170</sup> If so, it may well have been the association of building 101–102 with Apedemak and royal legitimacy that provided the model for the subsequent association of the *peripteros* type with the cult of Apedemak.

Finally it is to be noted that typologically temple 301–303 stands apart from the rest of the Great Enclosure. It is connected to Meroitic temple architecture through the monumental figures of Arensnuphis and Sebiuwerker guarding its entrance. It seems that it was the front of 301–303 that inspired the pylon reliefs of the Apedemak temple

<sup>164</sup> For a list, see Arnold 1999 288.

<sup>165</sup> Arnold 1999 287, fig. 247; Hölbl 2004 127, fig. 193. Cf. *PM* VII 20 (73).

<sup>166</sup> Arnold 1999 287.

<sup>167</sup> Cf. Bergman 1968 137 ff.

<sup>168</sup> *FHN* I No. 29, lines 6 f.

<sup>169</sup> *LD* I 145.

<sup>170</sup> Cf. F.W. Hinkel: Ein neues Triumphalbild des meroitischen Löwen. in: Endesfelder – Priese *et al.* (eds) 1977 175–182.

with the monumental relief representations of Arensnuphis (northern or right side tower) and Sebiuemker (southern or left side tower).<sup>171</sup> Musawwarat es Sufra is the source of significant innovations in this respect: temple 301–303 is the earliest Kushite sanctuary where divine guardians occupy the place that had been occupied in New Kingdom temples by the colossal cult images of the living king. This development may have been inspired by the reappearance of colossal royal statues in Ptolemaic architecture<sup>172</sup> rather than by more remote Twenty-Fifth Dynasty and Napatan models (cf. Chapter VI.2.2). A columned portico, descendant of the Late Period, especially Twenty-Fifth Dynasty type entrance porch was also erected in the Late Napatan-Early Meroitic period in front of Temple 700 at Gebel Barkal.<sup>173</sup> Nevertheless, the fine architectural members of the fronts of 301–303, first of all the slender half-columns and polygonal pillars supporting the entablature, which gave the impression to K.-H. Priese of a “representation” of a tent built of light materials<sup>174</sup> point rather towards the architecture of third century BC Egypt as the main source of inspiration. This is also indicated by the Bes figure supporting a wall pillar on the W front.<sup>175</sup>

## 2.2. *Forms and Styles*

### 2.2.1. *Innovations in Architectural Forms*

Room 101 with its corner mouldings and the inclination of its walls corresponds to the Kushite/Egyptian canon, similarly to the columns of the NE, NW, and SW colonnades with their undecorated shafts and bell-shaped capitals. The straight, unfluted shafts correspond to the standard Ptolemaic Egyptian type,<sup>176</sup> as does the shape of the capitals. The column bases are, however, unusual insofar as the traditional bipartite base (a tapering circular member upon a flat ring member)<sup>177</sup>

<sup>171</sup> Wenig 1993 96 ff.

<sup>172</sup> Cf. Arnold 1999 150.

<sup>173</sup> Cf. G.A. Reisner: The Barkal Temples in 1916. *JEA* 5 (1918) 99–112 103; Török 2002a 157 ff.

<sup>174</sup> In: Hintze – Hintze 1970 fig. 5.

<sup>175</sup> Wolf 2004 fig. 4, cf. the Bes figure at a wall column shaft of Ptolemy II's porch in front of the first pylon, temple of Mut, Karnak: Arnold 1999 162, 301, fig. 263.

<sup>176</sup> Cf. McKenzie 2007 125.

<sup>177</sup> Cf. McKenzie 2007 fig. 202.

stands upon a higher circular member with oblique profile,<sup>178</sup> which is decorated with a high relief frieze<sup>179</sup> (Diagram 1, and see below the comments on column No. 5):

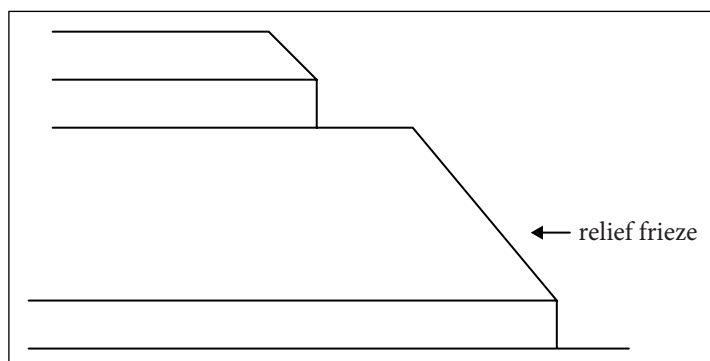


Diagram 1. Profile of column bases, Musawwarat es Sufra, Great Enclosure, outer front colonnade 102 (no scale)

The double colonnade at the front of room 101 has unusual features. The four columns of the inner colonnade are of a Kushite/Egyptian type as to the leaf crown from which their bulbous, relief-decorated shaft emerges. Yet they are uncommon as to the animal figures functioning as their base (see below) and also on account of the subsidiary register of emblematic figures, which is placed above and not below the main relief register (cf. Chapter VI.1.4 and see Pl. 70). The six columns of the outer front colonnade were fluted in a special fashion and around the base of the shafts of Nos 2–5 (for the numbering, see Pl. 68) there was a figural relief frieze.

The early nineteenth century explorers found the peripteral colonnade in a badly ruined condition. Except for seven standing columns of the NE colonnade (Nos 1, 23–28), also including the almost completely preserved fluted E corner column (No. 1, see below), Linant

<sup>178</sup> That the columns of both the front and the NE colonnades have this kind of base is well visible in Cailliaud 1823–1826 I Pl. XXV.

<sup>179</sup> In *LD V* 71/d the column stands directly upon this member, but it seems to me that the same column is recorded more precisely in Cailliaud 1823–1826 I Pl. XXX/5.

de Bellefonds,<sup>180</sup> Tremaux,<sup>181</sup> and Cailliaud<sup>182</sup> could record only one incomplete standing column in the inner colonnade (No. 7) and two incomplete standing columns in the outer colonnade (probably Nos 5, 6). The rest of the columns were fallen, but not all completely destroyed. The Humboldt University team reassembled the relief-decorated shafts of all four columns of the inner colonnade (Nos 7–10, cf. Chapter VI.1.4), and several fluted drums from columns of the outer colonnade were also salvaged.<sup>183</sup> In turn, a relief-decorated column base with the lower part of the shaft<sup>184</sup> (No. 5) known from nineteenth-century drawings is now lost, while the condition of another relief-decorated base (belonging probably to No. 2)<sup>185</sup> recorded by Cailliaud<sup>186</sup> and the Lepsius expedition<sup>187</sup> has considerably deteriorated in the meantime.<sup>188</sup>

The nineteenth century discoverers recorded remains of three from the six columns of the outer front colonnade, viz., Nos 1, 2, and 5. From No. 1 (Pl. 75, left), which is standing today at the E corner of the *peripteros*, the base is partly, the shaft completely preserved. The lower part of its floral capital is also preserved. Cailliaud recorded the proportions and details of the column rather precisely.<sup>189</sup> The base is decorated in an unusual manner with the high relief representation of a snake. The straight shaft has a classical style fluting, but the spacing of the flutes is not orthodox. The neckbands dividing the fluted shaft from the capital derive from the cords banding the neck of the traditional Egyptian bundle column, but their interior decoration (scale pattern, lance-shaped leaves, bead string) derives from the classical repertoire. This is also the case of column No. 5 (Pl. 75, centre), which

<sup>180</sup> Linant de Bellefonds 1958 Pl. XIX.

<sup>181</sup> Wenig 1999a fig. 5.—Tremaux's drawing shows the almost completely preserved fluted column at the place of No. 2. Hoskins's drawing gives the same impression, see Wenig 1999 fig. 6. Cailliaud has it at the place of No. 1. To-day it is reerected as No. 1.

<sup>182</sup> Cailliaud 1823–1826 I Pl. XXV.

<sup>183</sup> See Wenig 1999b figs 3, 5.

<sup>184</sup> Cailliaud 1823–1826 I Pl. XXX/5; *LD* V 71/d.

<sup>185</sup> Judging by the indefinite place where it is shown in the nineteenth century drawings, it could also have belonged to No. 3, yet its iconography supports rather the other option.

<sup>186</sup> Cailliaud 1823–1826 I Pl. XXX/5, 6.

<sup>187</sup> *LD* V 71/d, e.

<sup>188</sup> Cf. Wenig 1999b fig. 3.

<sup>189</sup> In Cailliaud 1823–1826 I Pl. XXX/4. Hoskins turned it into an Egyptian papyriform column.

was recorded by Cailliaud<sup>190</sup> and (somewhat less precisely) the Lepsius expedition (Pl. 76, top).<sup>191</sup> Bands decorated with classical style leaf friezes divided the fluted shaft into three sections.

These bands “tying together” the flutes on the shaft and the neck-bands reveal that the designer of column No. 1 “Hellenized” an Egyptian column by playfully replacing the banded stems of the lotus bundle (see the lotus capital!) with the flutes of a classical column shaft. The structure of the Egyptian bundle column is followed to small details: e.g., on No. 1 the neck coils expose the upper end of the “stems” in an orthodox fashion. The denser flutes on the base of the shaft of No. 1 (and presumably on the lost No. 6) with their accentuated upper ends replace the tall leaf crown from which Egyptian column shafts grow out. The place of this leaf crown is occupied on Nos 5 and 2 (Pls 75, right and 76, bottom) by a figural relief. It is likely that the rest of the columns in the outer colonnade, i.e., Nos 3 and 4, had an identical design.

The unusually tight spacing of the flutes on the lower third of No. 1 and on the shaft of No. 5 (?) resembles the unorthodox decorative treatment of flutes on Achaemenid columns<sup>192</sup> (cf. Chapters III.1.1, IV). On the whole, the manner in which the designer put together Egyptianizing columns from elements of classical style columns (and not vice versa!) fits into the experimenting spirit of the early Ptolemaic architecture of Alexandria and presents another example for the Egyptian adoption of Greek forms (cf. Chapters III.1.1–2, III.3). The columns of the outer colonnade were *Egyptian* columns in spite of their classical elements. The reason for this was probably that for the builders of the Great Enclosure the traditional Egyptian columns and their members carried symbolic and religious meanings and functioned as basic elements of the “grammar of the temple”.<sup>193</sup> In contrast to the Egyptian columns, the classical orders did not carry similar meanings.

The incompletely preserved capital of No. 1 was a bell-shaped lotus bundle capital with closed heads. The fine rendering of the lotus blossoms recalls, albeit in a reduced form, the lotus calyx capitals of

<sup>190</sup> Cailliaud 1823–1826 I Pl. XXX/5.

<sup>191</sup> LD V 71/d.

<sup>192</sup> For the 5th century BC columns of the palace at Persepolis, cf. Boardman 1994 31 ff.

<sup>193</sup> Cf. Kurth 1975; D. Kurth: *Die Dekoration der Säulen im Pronaos des Tempels von Edfu*. Wiesbaden 1983; *id.*: *Treffpunkt der Götter. Inschriften aus dem Tempel des Horus von Edfu*. München 1994; Arnold 1999 292 ff.

Ptolemy III's birth house at Philae.<sup>194</sup> Ptolemaic Egyptian type capitals of a comparable quality and carved similarly from local sandstone were also found at Meroe City.<sup>195</sup> A now lost two or three-story (?) composite "lily" capital with volutes<sup>196</sup> displays the same disposition for visual associations and puns, which is also demonstrated by the creation of hybrid columns with the use of classical elements that resemble the replaced Egyptian elements. The sculptor of the capital from Meroe City inserted heads of the crioform Amun of Kawa between the "lilies" of the top story: the contour of the ram heads with the horns and sun disk repeats the outline of the lilies with volutes.<sup>197</sup>

Let us now return for a moment to columns Nos 5 and 2. Through unknown mediation, the figural relief band running around the lower part of their shaft was probably inspired by a remote model, viz., the Hellenistic figural column base type known from the temple of Artemis at Ephesos.<sup>198</sup> The relief on the now lost shaft of column No. 5 (Pls 75, centre and 76, top) represented dancing nude male figures (warriors?) seen from the back. The direction of their movement reveals that they were shown dancing "before" the lord of building 101. From its base relief two fighting warriors, one carrying a round shield, and the figures of two fallen warriors (?) were recorded in the first half of the nineteenth century. The iconography of the reliefs appears rather enigmatic. A dancing nude male figure appears in one of the scenes on a faience cylinder ("column cap"?) from Meroe City site M 200, which belonged to a series of similar cylinders decorated with figures of deities and ritual scenes (Chapter V.1.5, Cylinder III, Pls 26, 27). The dancing figure is shown on the cylinder in the company of a larger male figure who beats with his fingers the rhythm of the dance in the manner that was—and still is—usual in the Eastern Mediterranean. The scene was interpreted as representation of an Egyptian-type temple dance<sup>199</sup> performed perhaps by a nmw-dwarf, i.e., a professional performer of the *Göttertanz* in Egyptian temples. Another iconographical parallel is provided by column scenes 1/2/3 and 1/2/4 in the Apedemak temple at Musawwarat es Sufra depicting dancers at a temple festival.<sup>200</sup> These

<sup>194</sup> Cf. Arnold 1999 figs 158, 254.

<sup>195</sup> Török 1997b 214 Nos 959–7, 8, Pls 174, 175.

<sup>196</sup> For the type emerging probably in the reign of Ptolemy III, cf. McKenzie 2007 125 ff.

<sup>197</sup> Török 1997b Pl. 175.

<sup>198</sup> Cf. Bieber 1961 28, figs 66–68.

<sup>199</sup> Cf. E. Brunner-Traut: *Tanz. LÄ VI* (1985) 215–231 225.

<sup>200</sup> Hintze *et al.* 1971 Pl. 79=Török 2002a figs 30/a, b.



latter scenes were part of the representations, which received the visitor entering the temple.<sup>201</sup>

The high relief frieze on the drum preserved from column No. 2 (Pls 75, right and 76, bottom) represents nine deities. One may identify the following gods and goddesses in the drawing of the Lepsius expedition (Pl. 76, bottom, from left to right): 1. Striding ram-headed Amun of Kawa carrying a bow in his left hand and a sword in his right hand; 2. Striding Apedemak carrying a bow in his right hand and a sword in his left hand. The winged cobra goddess of the Double Crown protects him. In column scene 8a (Pl. 71, right) “behind” Apedemak’s figure the same goddess is shown emerging from a lotus calyx and extending her wings protectively towards the king.<sup>202</sup> 3. Frontally standing Arensnuphis with a bow in his right hand and a water skin under his left arm. 4. Frontally standing fertility goddess wearing the sun disk, probably Tefnut, in a naos. 5. To the right of the naos there is the figure of the striding falcon-headed Horus<sup>203</sup> with a shield and sword and a quadruped, probably a gazelle, on a leash. His shield bears the bust of a male figure. In the Apedemak temple at Musawwarat es Sufra not only Arensnuphis is represented as a gazelle hunter:<sup>204</sup> in a bottom register column scene we also see Horus riding a winged lion-bodied, human-headed sphinx (Tefnut?) and killing two gazelles with his spear.<sup>205</sup> 6. To the right of Horus is the striding Sebiuwerker with a bow in his left hand and a water skin under his right arm. 7–9. Next stands a child god (8) protected by two fertility goddesses (7, 9), all of them shown frontally. The child god wears the Double Crown on the horns of Amun and carries the flail in his right hand. He is identical with Horus-the-Child, who is probably integrated here with the Meroitic heir to the throne. The figure is coordinated with column scene 7a situated directly behind column No. 2, which depicts the election of the crown prince by Amun of Kawa: between the god and the heir Horus-the-Child is shown squatting in a lotus calyx. He wears the Double Crown and holds the flail.

<sup>201</sup> Cf. Török 2002a 199 f., Pl. XIV.

<sup>202</sup> Wenig 1993 fig. 179=Wenig 2001 fig. 12=Török 2002a fig. 27.

<sup>203</sup> For his sun disk with the uraei, see the figure of Horus on the north front of the Apedemak temple at Musawwarat es Sufra, Hintze *et al.* 1971 Pl. 17/b. In Török 2002a 180 I have erroneously Re-Harakhte.

<sup>204</sup> Column scene 4/2/3, Hintze *et al.* 1971 Pl. 89=Török 2002a fig. 33.

<sup>205</sup> Scene 6/1/3, Hintze *et al.* 1971 Pl. 97=Török 2002a fig. 35.

Considering the direction into which the striding figures are moving, we may conclude that the column relief was oriented so that in the centre of the front stood the child god flanked by the two fertility goddesses. As if emerging from building 101, Sebiuwerker and Horus moved towards the trio from the left, Amun of Kawa and Apedemak from the right. In the centre of the back half, i.e., turning towards the interior of the temple, were standing the goddess in the naos, probably Tefnut, and her consort Arensnuphis. The naos defines the goddess as mistress of a sanctuary other than building 101. It is tempting to see in the front trio fertility goddess-Horus the Child-fertility goddess an allusion to the function of building 101. In turn, the goddess in the naos is an allusion to the function of building 201–203.

The columns of the outer colonnade are characteristic for a workshop in which architects and sculptors trained in both traditional Egyptian and Hellenistic Egyptian architecture and sculpture were employed. As it seems, there were two groups of artisans. The masters in the first group were better prepared for works in Hellenistic style, such as the friezes on No. 5. The masters in the second group were better versed in the traditional style, as it is demonstrated by the decoration of column No. 2 and the inner colonnade reliefs. Yet both groups had some knowledge of the other style too, and were able to equally follow instructions formulated by Egyptian and Meroitic priests and Greek (or Greek-Egyptian) leading masters, as shown by the Egyptian posture of the Hellenistic style dancers on No. 5 or the frontal postures and the classical style shield in the traditional style frieze on No. 2.

### 2.2.2. *Innovations in Architectural Sculpture*

Though there are no analogues in Egypt of building 101–102, the fashion in which its designers amalgamated traditional Kushite, Egyptian, Achaemenid and Hellenistic forms and styles does not differ from the fashion in which hybrid architectural forms and works of art were created in Ptolemaic Egypt. Yet there occur also features in the architectural sculpture from Period 6 Great Enclosure, which evade any closer stylistic classification, while their iconography still fits completely into the conceptions conveyed by the reliefs of the Great Enclosure and the Apedemak temple. The features in question are (1) the bases in the shape of animal figures of columns Nos 8 and 9 in the

inner front colonnade of building 101–102<sup>206</sup> (Pl. 77)<sup>207</sup> and a similar, but unfinished base from room 108;<sup>208</sup> (2) the wall terminal in the shape of an elephant statue from room 108<sup>209</sup> (Pl. 78);<sup>210</sup> (3) the elephant heads supporting the corner columns of portico 302;<sup>211</sup> (4) the monumental engaged statues of Arensnuphis and Sebiuemker guarding the entrance of temple 301<sup>212</sup> (Pl. 79);<sup>213</sup> (5) the column statues of Arensnuphis and Sebiuemker from room 108<sup>214</sup> (Pl. 80);<sup>215</sup> and (6) the triple protomes above the entrances of room 101<sup>216</sup> (Pl. 81).<sup>217</sup> A triple protome was also decorating the lintel of the entrance to the temple of Apedemak.<sup>218</sup> In the following I shall comment on (1)–(5). For (6) cf. Chapters VI.1.1, 1.3, 2.2.3.

(1) The figural column bases from the inner colonnade in front of room 101 (Pl. 77) and the unfinished base from room 108 are decorated with the high relief figures of an elephant and a lion. Both animals appear at Musawwarat es Sufra in aggressive as well as triumphal contexts, preferably in the base register of an iconographical program. Their figures from the inner front colonnade of building 101–102 are in harmony with the aggressive-triumphal themes of the outer colonnade. The lion is associated with the lion god Apedemak. Yet, alongside the griffin, the lioness figure of Hathor-Tefnut also appears in the scenes of the bottom register of the column reliefs from the Apedemak temple. These scenes constitute a cycle of illustrations to the Myth of the Sun's Eye.<sup>219</sup> The Myth describes how Hathor-Tefnut dwelling in the guise of a lioness in the distant south was persuaded to return to

<sup>206</sup> Hintze – Hintze 1970 fig. 21=Wenig 2001 Pl. 7.

<sup>207</sup> Wenig 1999a fig. 26.

<sup>208</sup> Wenig 1975b 426 No. 436; Wenig 1999b fig. 10; Wenig 2001 Pl. 8.

<sup>209</sup> Hintze – Hintze 1970 fig. 20; Wenig 1999a fig. 28; Wenig 2001 Pl. 6; Wenig 2008 fig. 12.

<sup>210</sup> Wenig 1999a fig. 28.

<sup>211</sup> Hintze – Hintze 1970 fig. 5.

<sup>212</sup> Hintze – Hintze 1970 figs 5, 19.

<sup>213</sup> Wenig 1999a fig. 14.

<sup>214</sup> Sebiuemker: Hintze – Hintze 1970 fig. 24; Wenig 1974 fig. 7. Arensnuphis: Wenig 1974 fig. 6; Wenig 1999a fig. 27; S. Wenig: Die Restaurierungskampagne der SAG 2001 in Musawwarat es Sufra. *MittSAG* 13 (2002) 6–13 fig. 9. Cf. also Wenig 1974 Pl. VII/b, c.

<sup>215</sup> Drawings of the now badly damaged statues by K.-H. Priese.

<sup>216</sup> Main entrance: Hintze – Hintze 1970 fig. 23. Side entrance: Wenig 1999a fig. 17.

<sup>217</sup> Wenig 1975b No. 434.

<sup>218</sup> Hintze – Hintze 1970 fig. 22.

<sup>219</sup> Cf. Török 202a 193 ff.

Egypt.<sup>220</sup> While starting from the association of the griffin with Amun<sup>221</sup> and of the lion with Apedemak,<sup>222</sup> the priests who designed the decoration of the Apedemak temple also built up an elaborate edifice of iconographic puns using the ambivalence of the lion/lioness figures.<sup>223</sup> The Twenty-Fifth Dynasty rulers, who were represented wearing Onuris's crown, i.e., the symbol of the god who appeased and brought back the distant goddess to Egypt, had already discovered the political relevance of the Egyptian Myth of the Sun's Eye.<sup>224</sup> Appropriating Onuris's crown they appeared as divine saviours of Egypt "coming from the south", an association, which explains the popularity of Onuris in Kush as well as his association with Arensnuphis.

In the interior south wall relief of the Apedemak shrine Apedemak is shown leading a lion on a leash;<sup>225</sup> on the north wall a lion is sitting at his throne.<sup>226</sup> On the main, west wall the enthroned Apedemak holds a lion and an elephant on a leash. The animal figures are represented in the base register "under" the throne of the god. In the same scene also the ruler is shown standing over a lion and an elephant figure.<sup>227</sup> On the western (counter-temple) front Apedemak is standing on the back of two war elephants.<sup>228</sup> On the south half of the interior east wall we see a representation of two elephants and three prisoners who are tied on a cord, the end of which is held by Sebiumeker in the main register scene above. One of the elephants<sup>229</sup> and all prisoners turn towards the entrance, which means that the power over

<sup>220</sup> Papyrus Leiden I 384, F. de Cenival: *Le mythe de l'oeil du soleil. Transliteration et traduction avec commentaire philologique (Demotische Studien 9)*. Sommerhausen 1988; cf. M.J. Smith: *Sonnenauge. Demotischer Mythos vom. LÄ V* (1984) 1082–1087.

<sup>221</sup> Žabkar 1975 71 ff. discusses the Musawwarat es Sufra griffins as manifestations of the power of Apedemak, suggesting that the entire relief program was dominated by the "overwhelming presence" of the lion god. Onasch 1993 234 disagrees with Žabkar and suggests that the griffin symbolizes the king.

<sup>222</sup> Žabkar 1975 62 ff. discusses the lion representations of the bottom column relief register as form(s) of Apedemak conceived under the iconographic and theological influence of Egyptian Mahes motifs.

<sup>223</sup> For this ambivalence see especially column scenes 1/1/1 (Hintze *et al.* 1971 Pl. 79=Török 2002a fig. 30) and 3/1/2 (Hintze *et al.* 1971 Pl. 85=Török 2002a fig. 32, with Bes playing the harp!), both associated vertically with Tefnut herself.

<sup>224</sup> Russmann 1974 33 f.

<sup>225</sup> Hintze *et al.* 1971 Pl. 51/a.

<sup>226</sup> Hintze *et al.* 1971 Pl. 51/b.

<sup>227</sup> Hintze *et al.* 1971 Pl. 51/c.

<sup>228</sup> Hintze *et al.* 1971 Pl. 17/c.

<sup>229</sup> According to Wenig 1993 114, the two elephants faced each other.

them is presented by the god to the king when he enters the sanctuary. In one of the column reliefs Apedemak's consort Amesemi stands on the back of an elephant (second column register);<sup>230</sup> in another scene an elephant is guarding Apedemak's throne (top column register);<sup>231</sup> and, rather surprisingly, Sebiuwerker is depicted riding an elephant in one of the bottom register scenes.<sup>232</sup> Next to this latter scene there is a representation of Apedemak riding a lion, which is devouring a prisoner.<sup>233</sup>

The above-listed representations suggest that the column bases in the form of lion and elephant figures were not adopted as architectural/sculptural types from some unknown model. It is more likely that they were created *ex novo* as three-dimensional "translations" of a special iconographical formula articulating the power of the god and the king over the lion and the elephant within the context of the (re-) formulated visual theology of the Nubian hunter-warrior deities: the beasts are "under the feet" of the deity and the ruler. The lion "carrying" the god and the king, being kept on leash or even destroyed by them may equally be explained in the terms of traditional Egyptian/Kushite triumphal iconography and the iconography of the magical power of the god and the king over the animal world.

The appearance of the elephant in the reliefs from Musawwarat es Sufra elevated a recent political development on the level of god-king relationship. The newly created temple iconography of the beast sacralized the power of the king over the elephant- and ivory trade with Ptolemaic Egypt (cf. Chapter IV), which secured an income that significantly contributed to the "Early Meroitic renaissance" and was reaching its climax in the decades preceding the building of the Apedemak temple and the Period 6 Great Enclosure. The iconographical discourse on the god-king-elephant nexus operates in the Apedemak temple with images that could be easily perceived on the basis of traditional triumphal representations, but this circumstance does not diminish its intellectual and artistic excellence.

(2) The monumental elephant figure from room 108 (Pl. 78) functions as a wall terminal in the same fashion as the three-dimensional divine images terminating Egyptian New Kingdom balustrades, such

<sup>230</sup> Scene 2/2/4, Hintze *et al.* 1971 Pl. 81=Török 2002a fig. 31.

<sup>231</sup> Scene 3/3/2, Hintze *et al.* 1971 Pl. 85=Török 2002a fig. 32.

<sup>232</sup> Scene 6/1/1, Hintze *et al.* 1971 Pl. 97=Török 2002a fig. 35.

<sup>233</sup> Scene 6/1/2, Hintze *et al.* 1971 Pl. 97=Török 2002a fig. 35.

as the balustrades of the upper terrace of the Hatshepsut temple at Deir el Bahari.<sup>234</sup> It remains of course unknown, if the Musawwarat es Sufra wall terminal was an independent Meroitic invention, or is rather to be explained as an unusual case of archaizing. The parapets of the ramp leading up to the porch of temple 301–303 also ended in three-dimensional lion images.<sup>235</sup> Close stylistic connections between building 101–102, room 108 and temple 301–303 are also indicated by (3) the elephant protomes supporting the corner columns of the portico in the latter, which demonstrate a remarkable artistic inventiveness.

(4) and (5) Large-scale monolithic (!) sandstone sculptures of Arensnuphis and Sebiuemker were standing in room 108 (Pl. 80), where they functioned perhaps as guardians in front of room 106, which the excavators call, similarly to rooms 104 and 106, a “chapel”. Each statue was carved in one piece with a column, giving the impression that it stands “in front” of the column. The columns were bundle columns with neck rings and crowned curiously with palm capitals. According to Priese’s reconstruction<sup>236</sup> (Pl. 82)<sup>237</sup> the crown plumes of Arensnuphis (and probably also Sebiuemker’s Double Crown) reached to the top of the column capital, it would thus seem that the gods “supported” the ceiling of the room, i.e., the sky.<sup>238</sup>

Considered generally a unique feature of the Great Enclosure, the unification of a monumental three-dimensional image with a column is doubtless another case of the inventiveness of the architects and sculptors working at Musawwarat es Sufra during the second half of the third century BC. Such a combination is not without precedents, however. Models for it were presented by the monumental pillar statues of rulers, which appeared in Hatshepsut’s reign in the decoration of the fronts of “Houses-of-Million-Years”.<sup>239</sup> In the Ramesside period pillar statues, so-called “Osiride” statues stood in the forecourts of the cult temples and served the popular cult of the living ruler.<sup>240</sup> In the Nubian rock temples pillar statues were standing in the inner halls as well. Especially likely models for the Musawwarat es Sufra column

<sup>234</sup> H. Winlock: *Excavations at Deir el-Bahri 1911–1931*. New York 1942 fig. 14; Shaw 1994 112 ff., fig. 2.

<sup>235</sup> Hintze – Hintze 1970 fig. 19.

<sup>236</sup> Hintze – Hintze 1970 fig. 4=Wenig 2001 fig. 15.

<sup>237</sup> Wenig 1999a fig. 27.

<sup>238</sup> Cf. Kurth 1975.

<sup>239</sup> Arnold 1992 25, 34.

<sup>240</sup> E.g., Medinet Habu, First Court, Ramesses III: Arnold 1992 fig. p. 25.

statues are the “Osiride” pillars, images of the deified ruler, in the hypostyle of the Great Temple at Abu Simbel<sup>241</sup> and in the forecourts and hypostyles of the shrines of Gerf Hussein<sup>242</sup> and Wadi es-Sebua.<sup>243</sup> Jochen Hallof has demonstrated that the texts of the Apedemak temple at Musawwarat es Sufra were composed principally on the basis of texts from Ptolemaic Philae<sup>244</sup> and New Kingdom temples in Lower Nubia.<sup>245</sup> Given this connection, it is perhaps not unlikely that the column statues from room 108 represent conceptual and formal variations on the theme of the “Osiride” pillars standing in Lower Nubian rock temples.

Let us return for a moment to the statues of Arensnuphis and Sebiuemker standing at pylon fronts. As noted before (Chapter VI.2.1), temple 301–303 is probably the earliest Meroitic sanctuary the entrance of which is guarded by monumental statues of the two hunter-warrior gods (Pl. 79). Colossal statues of the ruler guarded the gates of Egyptian New Kingdom temples. The original place of the large-size hardstone statues of Twenty-Fifth Dynasty and Napatan rulers from the great Amun temple at Napata and the temple of Amun of Pnubs at Kerma (see Chapter II) is not known. So much seems probable that an unfinished colossal (6–7 m high) grey granite statue of King Atlanersa (2nd half of the seventh century BC)<sup>246</sup> from Gebel Barkal was intended for the gate of temple B 700.<sup>247</sup> Colossal royal statues in front of the temples or in their forecourts functioned as intermediaries channeling popular religiosity and pious contact between men and the gods.<sup>248</sup> The cult significance of the royal images is revealed by their iconography and hinted at by indirect indications: e.g., the text of the Harsiyotef Stela (first half of the fourth century BC) speaks about the great Amun temple B 500 at Napata as “House-of-Thousand

<sup>241</sup> S. Donadoni – H. El-Achirie – C. Leblanc: *Le Grand temple d'Abou Simbel*. Le Caire 1975.

<sup>242</sup> J. Jacquet – H. El-Achirie – M.A.L. Tanbouli *et al.*: *Gerf Hussein I–III*. Le Caire 1974–1978.

<sup>243</sup> H. Gauthier: *Le temple de Ouadi es-Sebouâ*. Le Caire 1912.

<sup>244</sup> See recently Zaki 2009 70 ff., 126 ff.

<sup>245</sup> Hallof 2005.

<sup>246</sup> *FHN* I No. (30).

<sup>247</sup> Dunham 1947, 1970 33; Török 2002a 161 f.

<sup>248</sup> For the Egyptian evidence concerning the royal statues in temples cf. L. Bell: The New Kingdom “Divine Temple”: The Example of Luxor. in: Shafer (ed.) 1997 127–184 146 ff. and see K. Sethe: Das alte Ritual zur Stiftung von Königsstatuen bei der Einweihung eines Tempels. *ZÄS* 70 (1934) 51–56.

[i.e., Million]-Years”, using a term that referred in New Kingdom texts to a temple as a place of the cult of colossal cult statues.<sup>249</sup> By the fourth century BC, large-size hardstone royal statues were no longer erected in Kush. With the eclipse of the cult of royal statues carved from granite, an alternative tradition was created at Musawwarat es Sufra by endowing Arensnuphis and Sebiuemker, gods of the Meroitic south and lords of Musawwarat es Sufra, with the functions of temple guardians and intermediaries in popular cult.

Another alternative seems to be represented by two colossi from the temple of Tabo on the island of Argo south of Kerma. The pair of granite monoliths of colossal size<sup>250</sup> was intended to guard the gate of the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty temple at Tabo,<sup>251</sup> but was probably never erected.<sup>252</sup> Both colossi have back slabs of a stela-like shape, presenting a clear indication that their models were Egyptian New Kingdom royal colossi. Vincent Rondot convincingly argues in a recent paper<sup>253</sup> that the north colossus (Pl. 83)<sup>254</sup> represents a crown prince whose identity is also hinted at by the small Harpocrates standing at his right leg, while the south colossus portrays his deceased royal predecessor. It may be added to Rondot’s arguments that the investiture cycle represented in the reliefs of the colonnade in front of building 101–102 (Pl. 69) has a similar configuration insofar as the investiture process starts at the north end of the colonnade and progresses towards the south. Rondot’s interpretation of the Tabo statues presents us with a splendid new example for the dynastic ideology emerging in the Meroitic period. Vincent Rondot dates the Tabo colossi to the AD first or second century on the basis of the classical-type leaf crown encircling the crown of the deceased king, comparing it to similar crowns represented in Egyptian mummy portraits of the Roman period. It

<sup>249</sup> FHN II No. 78 lines 56 ff. Cf. D. Arnold: *Wandrelief und Raumfunktion in ägyptischen Tempeln des Neuen Reiches* (Münchner Ägyptologische Studien 2). Berlin 1962 62 f.; D. Arnold: Vom Pyramidenbezirk zum Millionenjahrhaus. *MDAIK* 34 (1978) 1–8; R. Stadelmann: Tempel und Tempelnamen in Theben-Ost und -West. *ibid.* 171–180; G. Haeny: Zur Funktion der “Häuser für Millionen Jahre”. in: Gundlach – Rochholz (eds) 1994 101–106; *id.*: New Kingdom “Mortuary Temples” and “Mansions of Millions of Years”. in: Shafer (ed.) 1997 86–126, 270–281.

<sup>250</sup> Khartoum SNM 23982 (south colossus), 23983 (north colossus), height: 7.0 m.

<sup>251</sup> D. Dunham: Four Kushite Colossi in the Sudan. *JEA* 33 (1947) 63–65.

<sup>252</sup> Cf. Rondot n.d.

<sup>253</sup> Rondot n.d. I am indebted to Vincent Rondot for kindly granting me access to a preprint of his paper.

<sup>254</sup> Wenig 1975b No. 430.



seems to me, however, that, as a dating criterion the crown alone is not sufficient, the less so that similar mortuary crowns were also used in the Hellenistic period. Being unable to identify actual stylistic or iconographical features of the colossi that would be possible only in the Late Meroitic period, I would prefer to maintain a mid- or late third century BC dating of the Tabo sculptures, which would be more in agreement with the modeling of the face and the proportions and treatment of the body in them.<sup>255</sup>

Large-size monolithic (!) sandstone statues of Arensnuphis (height 2.28 m)<sup>256</sup> and Sebiameker (height 2.23 m)<sup>257</sup> (Pl. 84) stood at the front (?) of the earlier period Temple M 600 at Meroe City, which was overbuilt by the later temple in the AD first century.<sup>258</sup> The heavy, squat body and the disproportionately large head of the better-preserved Sebiameker figure give an archaizing impression, but the large eyes without eyebrows, the rendering of the lips and philtrum, the drilled holes in the upturned corners of the mouth, and the chubby belly suggest the influence of later Egyptian style Ptolemaic sculpture. The rendering of the coil of the cobra on the front of the Red Crown similarly refers to Ptolemaic models.<sup>259</sup> The columnar back pillar of the statues indicates that they were not integrated in the pylon but stood in some distance in front of it, not unlike the column statues from the Great Enclosure, which were standing in a distance of c. 3 m in front of the door of “chapel” 107.

If my view of the complex royal/sacral function of the Great Enclosure is not mistaken, these column statues indicate that the connotations, which the *guardian* statues of the warrior/hunter gods inherited from the colossal images of the living ruler as intermediary were prominent to such an extent that statues of Arensnuphis and Sebiameker could have been inserted into the iconographical program of the ceremonial quarters of royal residences too. A case in point are the over life-size striding figures of Arensnuphis and Sebiameker, which

<sup>255</sup> Cf., e.g., BM EA 1190, height 0.55 m, Stanwick 2002 99 f., fig. 8.

<sup>256</sup> Edinburgh, Royal Scottish Museum 1910.110.36, Garstang – Sayce – Griffith 1911 Pls XV/1, XVIII/1, 2; Wenig 1974 135 f., Pl. VIII/b; Török 1997b 172 No. 600–2.

<sup>257</sup> Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek Æ.I.N. 1082, Garstang – Sayce – Griffith 1911 Pls XVII/2, left, XVII/2, XVIII/3; Wenig 1974 135 f., Pl. VIII/a; Török 1997b 172 No. 600–3.

<sup>258</sup> For the building chronology, see Török 1997b 170 ff.

<sup>259</sup> Cf. *ESLP* No. 128.

flanked the door of building M 282<sup>260</sup>=KC 102<sup>261</sup> at Meroe City. Shinnie and Anderson suggest that the building was a cult temple. Derek Welsby convincingly argues,<sup>262</sup> however, that M 282/KC 102 was a columned hall with a ramp leading up to it and giving access to the rooms of a palatial building, which may be compared typologically to the late first century BC-early AD first century palace at Wad Ban Naga<sup>263</sup> or the AD first century palace B 1500 at Gebel Barkal.<sup>264</sup> From the statues the finely modeled feet of either Sebiuameker or Arensnuphis and the head of Sebiuameker<sup>265</sup> (Pl. 85)<sup>266</sup> are preserved. The publication of Shinnie's fieldwork at Meroe City presents only a small excavation photograph showing the sculpture half covered by a dislocated column drum.<sup>267</sup> More useful photographs were published in two exhibition catalogues<sup>268</sup> and in the catalogue of the Sudan National Museum.<sup>269</sup> The god was represented wearing the Double Crown with one uraeus surmounted by a sun disk. Around the crown a band is tied.<sup>270</sup> The god has a beard curved in front. His large, slanting, almond-shaped eyes and plastically rendered eyebrows are stylized. The narrow, straight nose and the short, pouting lips are heavily damaged. Similarly to other representations of Sebiuameker,<sup>271</sup> the hairline is visible underneath the crown. The lower half of the oval face, the rounded cheeks and the chin are carefully modeled. The ears are enormously large. The stylistic closeness of the fragment from KC 102 to a head attributed to Ptolemy XII<sup>272</sup> (80–58, 55–51 BC) suggests a dating to the second half of the first century BC.

<sup>260</sup> Török 1997b 130 f.

<sup>261</sup> Shinnie – Anderson (eds) 2004 44 ff.

<sup>262</sup> Welsby 2005 89.

<sup>263</sup> Vercoutter 1962.

<sup>264</sup> Donadoni 1993 fig. 1; Roccati 2008 fig. 4.

<sup>265</sup> Khartoum SNM 24564, height 0.62 m.

<sup>266</sup> Wildung (ed.) 1997 Cat. 298.

<sup>267</sup> Shinnie – Anderson (eds) 2004 fig. 39. C. Näser: The Small Finds. *ibid.* 215–350  
<sup>267</sup> does not provide, either, any further information on the finds.

<sup>268</sup> Wildung (ed.) 1997 280 f. Cat. 298; Welsby – Anderson (eds) 2004 170 Cat. 152.

<sup>269</sup> Kormysheva 2006 174 f. No. 160.

<sup>270</sup> Cf. the relief representation of Sebiuameker on the south half of the interior east wall of the Apedemak temple at Naqa, Wenig 1974 Pl. IX/a; Gamer-Wallert 1983 Bl. 9/b.

<sup>271</sup> E.g., in the triple protome from the Great Enclosure at Musawwarat es Sufra, Khartoum SNM 19466, Wenig 1975b 425 No. 434; Kormysheva 2006 221 No. 223.

<sup>272</sup> Brooklyn Museum of Art 37.1489E, height 0.36 m, Stanwick 2002 124, figs 167, 168.

In a less fine execution, similarly mannered eyes and eyebrows also appear on *ba* heads from Lower Nubia.<sup>273</sup> This may have the implication that the particularly interesting genre of the elite tomb statues representing the soul of the deceased, the roots of which may be traced back to Early Meroitic royal burials,<sup>274</sup> unfolded under the iconographical and stylistic influence of the art of the royal centres.

### 2.2.3. *On the Style of the Sculptures in the Round from Musawwarat es Sufra*

Were they better preserved, the sandstone column statues of Arensnuphis and Sebiuwerker (Chapter V.2.2.2 [5], Pl. 80) would doubtless be counted among the finest Meroitic sculptures. They were found in such a badly damaged condition, however, that hardly more than tentative observations could be made about their style. Priese's delicate drawings of their reassembled fragments do not leave much doubt that in both statues the carefully rendered garments (Arensnuphis's long haltered tunic with feathered decoration and his kilt with the image of a falcon; Sebiuwerker's haltered short tunic decorated with a scale pattern and visible only on the torso and his kilt similar to that of Arensnuphis) were extremely tight-fitting in order to emphasize the sensually modeled body forms, which were rendered in an exaggerated, yet not unpleasant fashion, especially the round thighs, the broad, square shoulders and the massive muscular arms. The large, incorrectly placed ears of Arensnuphis are also conspicuous.

The mannered treatment of the relationship between body and drapery reminds of the high quality traditional style sculpture of the early Ptolemaic period.<sup>275</sup> The inspiration of the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty and Napatan rendering of the human body is also likely. Arensnuphis and Sebiuwerker in the triple protome from the main entrance of room 101 (Chapter VI.2.2.2 [6], Pl. 81) have similarly enormous ears as Arensnuphis from room 108, and their feminized oval face, full cheeks, long nose, pouted mouth with drilled depressions (cf. Chapter

<sup>273</sup> E.g., Wenig 1978 Cat. 154 (from Karanog), Cat. 156 (from Faras, grave 2502).

<sup>274</sup> On the Meroitic elite tomb types with *ba*-statue, see Török 2009 422 ff.

<sup>275</sup> Cf. B.V. Bothmer: *Egyptian Antiquities*. in: E. Swan Hall (ed.): *Antiquities from the Collection of Christos G. Bastis*. New York 1987 65 ff. Cat. 23, 24; *ESLP* 116 ff.; Bianchi 1988 98 ff.; Josephson 1997 *passim* and esp. 41 ff.; Ashton 2001 19 ff.

V.2.5) in the corners, large almond-shaped eyes, and columnar neck belong into the same stylistic tradition as the rendering of the body in the column statues. The tension between the hieratic distortion of the human body and the exaggeratedly sensual rendering of its anatomically correct individual parts is striking, especially if we compare these features of the Musawwarat sculptures to the treatment of the human shape in Ptolemaic statuary.

The column statues and the triple protome from the Great Enclosure are not the only indications for the high-quality Meroitic reception of archaizing early Ptolemaic sculpture. The impact of early Ptolemaic sculpture is also obvious in the case of the fine bronze statue of a deified<sup>276</sup> Early Meroitic ruler from Tabo<sup>277</sup> (Pl. 86).<sup>278</sup> This is the only royal portrait in the round preserved from the Early Meroitic period. Its rendering of the human figure displays a remarkable hybridity. On the one hand, the heavy, muscular limbs represent the same exaggeration of Old and Middle Kingdom models as the column statues. On the other hand, the ideal beauty<sup>279</sup> of the youthful, round, feminized face<sup>280</sup> shows the impact of mainstream Thirtieth Dynasty-early Ptolemaic sculpture. That the column statues from Musawwarat es Sufra and the bronze statue from Tabo are not isolated achievements but products of a general stylistic trend that was ultimately shaped in Nubia is demonstrated by their close connections with the reliefs from the Apedemak temple at Musawwarat es Sufra<sup>281</sup> (Pl. 87).<sup>282</sup> The divine and royal

<sup>276</sup> Suggested with reference to the gilding of statues of deified Ptolemaic kings and queens, cf. F. Daumas: *La valeur de l'or dans la pensée égyptienne*. *RHR* 149 (1956) 1–17.

<sup>277</sup> Khartoum SNM 24705, height 0.50 m. C. Maystre: *Tabo I. Statue en bronze d'un roi méroïtique Musée National de Khartoum, Inv. 24705*. Genève 1986; cf. Wenig 1978 85, fig. 63 (dated to the first century BC); Wildung (ed.) 1997 Cat. 270 (dated to c. 200 BC); Baud – Sackho-Autissier – Labbé-Toutée (eds) 2010 Cat. 229 (dated to the second century BC).

<sup>278</sup> Baud – Sackho-Autissier – Labbé-Toutée (eds) 2010 Cat. 229.

<sup>279</sup> Cf. Assmann 1991 148 ff.

<sup>280</sup> A fine bronze head of a goddess from Kawa, BM 63585 (M.F.L. Macadam: *The Temples of Kawa I. The Inscriptions*. London 1949 Pl. 38 No. XLIV, *id.*: *The Temples of Kawa II. History and Archaeology of the Site*. London 1955 Pls XCI, XCII; Wenig 1978 Cat. 133) also belongs to this group of stylistically related monuments. Since it is inscribed for Arnekhamani, the builder of the Apedemak temple of Musawwarat es Sufra, it further corroborates their dating to the second half of the third century BC.

<sup>281</sup> Hintze *et al.* 1971.

<sup>282</sup> Wenig 1975b No. 424.

figures in the monumental reliefs decorating the exterior and interior walls of the Apedemak temple display the same proportions, the same sensual rendering of the human body, the same feminized beauty of the faces, and the same treatment of the detail as the column statues or the triple protome from the main entrance of the central hall in the Great Enclosure or the Tabo bronze.

## CHAPTER SEVEN

### FROM MASS-PRODUCT TO LUXURY AND BACK. DECORATED FINE POTTERY AND MEROITIC VASE PAINTING

The notion that good = Greek: bad = copyist, native or provincial, can be dismissed as a basic principle though it must sometimes, even often, have been true where it was classical forms that were reproduced.<sup>1</sup>

#### 1. *Academic Access to Decorated Fine Pottery*

In the first publication of a Meroitic pottery assemblage coming from an archaeological excavation, D. Randall-MacIver and C. Leonard Woolley were pleasantly impressed by the quality of the pottery they rescued from the cemetery of Shablul in Lower Nubia, which was, as we learn from the associated mortuary inscriptions,<sup>2</sup> the family burial ground of Meroitic envoys to Roman Egypt.<sup>3</sup> Randall-MacIver and Woolley even considered the painted decoration of the Shablul finds as a key to the understanding of the Meroitic intellect:

[N]aturalism is the keynote of the series, and the naturalism of style is most prominent just where the subject must necessarily be local and not copied from foreign sources—when it is the crocodile, the guinea-fowl, the giraffe. [...] It would seem that we have to do with a people loving nature, observing it, and trying to represent it faithfully, as, after his lights, did the Naqada potter [...] At heart unsophisticated and primitive [...] this people is subject to the mixed influences of civilizations already formed, and contact with them develops at a late date phenomena which there had come to light early in their history.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Boardman 1994 320.

<sup>2</sup> REM 0366–0387, cf. Török 2002b 71.

<sup>3</sup> REM 0370, 0373, 0386, 0387.

<sup>4</sup> D. Randall-MacIver – C.L. Woolley: *Areika*. Oxford 1909 38.

Though it remains within the limitations of the patronizing culture-historical perspective of the day,<sup>5</sup> this view is not less sympathetic to the Meroitic than the Naqada potter. Thanks to the excavations in the south of the kingdom and the archaeological surveys and excavations in Lower Nubia, the evidence greatly increased in the course of the next decades. As a consequence of the evident and necessary primacy of archaeology in the nascent Nubian studies, pottery was considered a category of archaeological finds that functions as one of the archaeologist's most important tools in defining the cultural position and date of an archaeological context. Accordingly, the main concern was the establishment of typologies of pottery forms, decorations, and wares, in which there was little, if any, place for the stylistic and iconographical analysis of decorative motifs and structures. Replacing the early typologies based on assemblages from individual sites such as Karanog<sup>6</sup> and Faras<sup>7</sup> in Lower Nubia or the cemeteries at Meroe and Barkal,<sup>8</sup> from the 1960s William Y. Adams laid down the bases for a modern typology that embraces geographically as well as chronologically the whole of Meroitic pottery production,<sup>9</sup> a work which is being continued ever since by newer generations of experts. More recently masterly efforts were made at the establishment of the chronology of Early Meroitic ware and form types.<sup>10</sup> As a tradition, writers on the archaeology of ancient Nubia agree that decorated pottery is one of the most independent artistic achievements of the Meroites, but do not enter into its art historical discussion.

The journey from Randall-MacIver and Woolley's culture-historical interpretation to the quest for an art historical interpretation was long and had to pass through some depressing landscapes. In the knowledge of the rich and varied material discovered by Garstang at Meroe

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<sup>5</sup> For Nubian studies in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, see L. Török: *Kush: An African State in the First Millennium BC*. *PBA* 87 (1995) 1–38.

<sup>6</sup> Woolley – Randall-MacIver 1910.

<sup>7</sup> Griffith 1924, 1925.

<sup>8</sup> Dunham 1957, 1963.

<sup>9</sup> Adams 1964; W.Y. Adams: *Progress Report on Nubian Pottery I. The Native Wares*. *Kush* 15 (1968) 1–50; *id.*: *Progress Report on Nubian Pottery II. The Imported Wares* (manuscript); *id.*: *Pottery Wares of the Ptolemaic and Roman Periods at Qasr Ibrim* (manuscript); Adams 1986.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. Williams 1991; Rose 1996; P.J. Rose – L. Smith: *The Pottery*. in: D.N. Edwards: *Gabati. A Meroitic, Post-Meroitic and Medieval Cemetery in Central Sudan*. London 1998 138–177; Edwards 1999a, 1999b.

City and by others in Lower Nubia, including Randall-MacIver and Woolley's splendid finds from Karanog and his own not less splendid finds from Faras, in 1925 F.Ll. Griffith combined his scholarly classification of Meroitic pottery with an ahistorical partiality that gave little chance to a fair estimation of the native vase painters' achievement:

The pottery from the Meroitic graves [...] is partly imported from or through Egypt, and wheel-made, thin, hard, and well-burned [...] At the other extremity is the native hand-made black pottery [...] Between these may be placed an immense variety of wares, some hand-made but mostly wheel-made, smoothed or pebble polished, and often elaborately painted. Very few of these can be matched from Egypt or even the Dodecaschoenus; the commonest and most typical forms [...] are peculiar to the Meroitic region; and we cannot doubt that they afford another instance of the expenditure of primitive and barbaric skill on the decoration of pottery, which skill would have been diverted to other materials, metal-work, etc., among a more advanced people.<sup>11</sup>

A similar interpretation of pottery decoration as an expression of cultural behaviour was no longer possible after the 1960s when archaeologists who were now prepared to deal with "peripheral" cultures in a post-colonial fashion assessed the evidence collected in the course of the great UNESCO Campaign. Limited, however, to survey and rescue activities, the UNESCO Campaign had little opportunity to explore stratified sites. Thus while its contribution to the typological knowledge of native and imported pottery was definitive,<sup>12</sup> it did not result in a firm and detailed pottery chronology. Wenig acknowledged in his 1978 essay (see Chapter I) that "fine Meroitic wares are generally decorated with paintings that show some Hellenistic influences borrowed from contemporary Egypt", but noted at the same time that

[a]lmost nothing is known of the development of painted Meroitic pottery. Neither the studies of Griffith nor the pioneering works of Adams have solved the problems of dating. We are still unable to say in general which ceramic paintings are earlier and which later.<sup>13</sup>

This uncertainty was caused partly by the lack of evidence from stratified sites and partly by Adams's refusal of Griffith's general dating of the early ceramics from the Faras cemetery to the second-first century

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<sup>11</sup> Griffith 1925 73.

<sup>12</sup> See Adams 1986.

<sup>13</sup> Wenig 1978 95.



BC.<sup>14</sup> Adams suggested a much later, AD first-fourth century range for the decorated wares discovered at Faras and other sites in Lower Nubia.<sup>15</sup> Adams's late chronology of the Meroitic finewares was determined by a hypothesis suggested first by Firth<sup>16</sup> and maintained by later writers,<sup>17</sup> according to which Lower Nubia was uninhabited between the mid-Eighteenth Dynasty, when a radical decline in the average Nile level would have started, to the AD first-second century, when the repopulation of the area became possible thanks to the introduction of artificial irrigation assisted by the *saqia* wheel.<sup>18</sup> Consequently, the decorated Meroitic fineware sequence discovered in Lower Nubia cannot have started before the AD first-second century. A "hydrological crisis" in the later New Kingdom is, however, clearly contradicted by flood level records from Egypt.<sup>19</sup> Säve-Söderbergh and Trigger suggested that the native population's "disappearance" from the mid-Eighteenth Dynasty onward is largely an optical illusion caused by its material and religious "acculturation" and subsequent material impoverishment.<sup>20</sup> It was also shown that Lower Nubia was, even if not densely, inhabited in the Napatan and Early Meroitic periods.<sup>21</sup>

<sup>14</sup> Griffith 1924, 1925.—Wenig agrees in general terms with Griffith's rather than Adams's datings, but does not follow them consequently. First BC–AD first (Wenig 1978 Cat. 248), AD first (*ibid.* Cats 234, 235–243, 253, 255), AD first to second (*ibid.* Cat. 225, 258, 259), or AD second century (*ibid.* Cat. 233) datings are suggested without arguing for an underlying chronological structure.

<sup>15</sup> Adams 1964; W.Y. Adams: Progress Report on Nubian Pottery I. The Native Wares. *Kush* 15 (1967/68) 1–50; *id.*: Ceramics. in: Hochfield – Riefstahl (eds) 1978 126–133; Adams 1986.

<sup>16</sup> Firth 1912 21 ff.

<sup>17</sup> Griffith 1924 115 ff.; Trigger 1965 112 ff.; K.W. Butzer: Nil. *LÄ* IV (1981) 480–483 482.

<sup>18</sup> For the history of Lower Nubia between the New Kingdom and the early Meroitic period, see Säve-Söderbergh 1941; Trigger 1976; Desanges 1978; K. Zibelius-Chen: *Die ägyptische Expansion nach Nubien. Eine Darlegung der Grundfaktoren*. Wiesbaden 1988; S.T. Smith: *Wretched Kush. Ethnic Identities and Boundaries in Egypt's Nubian Empire*. London-New York 2003; Desanges 2008; Török 2009 157–426.

<sup>19</sup> K.W. Butzer: *Studien zum vor- und frühgeschichtlichen Landschaftswandel der Sahara* III. Mainz 1959 113; R. Fairbridge: Nile Sedimentation above Wadi Halfa in the Last 20,000 Years. *Kush* 11 (1963) 96–107; B.G. Trigger: The Cultural Ecology of Christian Nubia. in: Dinkler (ed.) 1970 347–379 355; H. Jacquet-Gordon: Review of Adams *et al.* 1976. *OLZ* 77 (1982) 451–454.—For the Nile level records, see J. v. Beckerath: The Nile Level Records at Karnak and their Importance for the History of the Libyan Period (Dynasties XXII and XXIII). *JARCE* 5 (1966) 43–55.

<sup>20</sup> T. Säve-Söderbergh: Die Akkulturation der Nubischen C-Gruppe im Neuen Reich. *ZDMG Suppl.* I (1969) 12–20; Trigger 1976 131 ff.

<sup>21</sup> B.G. Haycock: The Later Phases of Meroitic Civilization. *JEA* 53 (1967) 107–120; *id.*: Landmarks in Cushite History. *JEA* 58 (1972) 225–244; K.-H. Priese: *Articula.*

At the time of the Brooklyn exhibition the reassessment of the textual evidence relating to the settlement history of Lower Nubia was already under way. The rehabilitation and then the extension toward the late third-early second century BC of Griffith's general dating of the early pottery from the Faras cemetery and the drawing up of a general chronology of Meroitic vase painting starting as early as in the late (?) third century BC resulted, however, from the analysis of more recently discovered, or recently reassessed<sup>22</sup> ceramic assemblages. Researches concerning pottery chronology also benefited from the publication of Garstang's finds from Meroe City,<sup>23</sup> the discovery of a pottery workshop at Musawwarat es Sufra,<sup>24</sup> David Edwards' analysis of the ceramic finds from the later sections of the Begarawiya West cemetery,<sup>25</sup> and the concurrent confrontation of Meroitic vase painting with Ptolemaic Egyptian wares that were found to have influenced its formation.<sup>26</sup>

## 2. Handmade Early Meroitic Finewares

In the light of the chronology of some more recently excavated cemeteries south of the Second Cataract (Abri-Missiminia, Amir Abdalla) and in the southern Triakontaschoinos (Qustul Cemetery Q, Ballana Cemetery B) also the cultural characteristics and chronological position of the cemeteries excavated in the first half of the twentieth century in the Dodekaschoinos (Aswan, Awam Cemetery 89, Dakka Cemetery 98) and south of Takompso/Maharraqa (Wadi es-Sebua Cemetery 150, Korosko/er-Riqa Cemetery 163, Karanog, Faras, Buhen) may now be better understood.<sup>27</sup> Bruce Williams demonstrated<sup>28</sup> that the earliest

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*ÉtTrav* 7 (1973) 155–162; *id.*: Zur Ortsliste der römischen Meroe-Expeditionen unter Nero. *Meroitica* 1 (1973) 123–126; B.G. Haycock, F. Hintze, N.B. Millet, K.-H. Priese, P.L. Shinnie and L. Török in: Adams *et al.* 1976; K.-H. Priese: Studien zur Topographie des 'äthiopischen' Niltals im Altertum und zur meroitischen Sprache. *EAZ* 16 (1976) 315–329 (cf. also *id.*: Orte des mittleren Niltals in der Überlieferung bis zum Ende des christlichen Mittelalters. *Meroitica* 7 [1984] 484–497).

<sup>22</sup> Williams 1985, 1991.

<sup>23</sup> Török 1997b.

<sup>24</sup> Edwards 1999a.

<sup>25</sup> Edwards 1999b.

<sup>26</sup> Cf. Török 1987a, 1987b, 1994; 1997b 281 ff.; Schreiber 2003.

<sup>27</sup> For the evidence, see Woolley – Randall-Maclver 1910; Woolley 1911; Randall-Maclver – Woolley 1911; Griffith 1924; 1925; Firth 1927; Emery – Kirwan 1935; Williams 1985.

<sup>28</sup> Williams 1985; 1991b.

tombs at Qustul Cemetery Q resembled typologically, and were contemporary with the Late Napatan-Early Meroitic burials at Abri-Missiminia and Amir Abdalla. Distinctive Nubian pottery, namely, black polished handmade vessels with incised or impressed decoration occurred in a great richness only in the next phase of the development of the Amir Abdalla cemetery.<sup>29</sup> At Qustul similar wares appeared first together with Nubian jewelry and cosmetic objects and late third-early second century Theban pottery.<sup>30</sup> The earliest phases of Faras correspond closely to early Qustul as to tomb and burial types as well as to the presence of the distinctive decorated handmade wares.

The value of fine decorated handmade wares is indicated, e.g., by their presence in third-century BC royal tombs at Meroe,<sup>31</sup> in high-quality ceramic assemblages from Meroe City,<sup>32</sup> or in elite funerary equipments from the cemetery of Faras in Lower Nubia.<sup>33</sup> A good example for the centralized production of high quality handmade wares is presented by a particularly fine vessel from Meroe City,<sup>34</sup> which has an analogue from Faras tomb 607, a burial dating to the second half (?) of the third century BC.<sup>35</sup> A frequently illustrated late first century BC-early AD first century jar decorated with the impressed figures of long-horned cattle and a herdsman was discovered in Queen Amanishakheto's palace at Wad ban Naga<sup>36</sup> (Pl. 88).<sup>37</sup>

Handmade decorated wares from all periods of ancient Nubian pottery making are traditionally regarded as domestic productions of their consumers. The hypothesis according to which the production of handmade wares "was in the hands of the women in the family, or in more advanced communities village potters were producing for a restricted number of people"<sup>38</sup> is contradicted by the wide distri-

<sup>29</sup> V.M. Fernandez: Early Meroitic in Northern Sudan. The Assessment of a Nubian Archaeological Culture. *Aula Orientalis* 2 (1984) 43–84; Fernandez 1985.

<sup>30</sup> For Qustul grave Q 159, see Williams 1991 I fig. 67, cf. Schreiber 2003 Nos 100, 223.

<sup>31</sup> E.g., Dunham 1957 figs 11, 20.

<sup>32</sup> E.g., Török 1997b figs 67/6–1, 196–1, 68/198–15 to 18, fig. 72/176–1, fig. 81/195–13, Pl. 233/x-ooo.

<sup>33</sup> Griffith 1924 Pls XLI–XLIV.

<sup>34</sup> Török 1997b 52 No. 198–15, fig. 68.

<sup>35</sup> Griffith 1925 101, Pl. XLIV/2.

<sup>36</sup> Khartoum SNM 62/10/140, height 30.3 cm, Wildung (ed.) 1996 Cat. 404; Perez Die (ed.) 2003 Cat. 35; Baud – Sackho-Autissier – Labbé-Toutée (eds) 2010 113 No. 135.—For the palace, see Vercoutter 1962.

<sup>37</sup> Perez Die (ed.) 2003 Cat. 35.

<sup>38</sup> E.g., on C-Group wares cf. Bietak 1979 108 ff.

bution of standardized decorative patterns and motifs.<sup>39</sup> Unjustly, the polished or burnished handmade Meroitic pottery with neatly, or even virtuously incised, impressed or rouletted decoration filled with chalk or paint is not considered fine pottery in the same sense as the wheel-made finewares. The high quality of the ambitiously decorated and widely distributed handmade wares as well as the repertory of the vessel forms and decorative motifs speak, however, for a cultural rather than qualitative distinction between the production of hand-made and wheel-made finewares. The vessel forms and decoration patterns of the wheel-turned finewares were influenced, though not completely determined, by Egyptian ceramics. By contrast, the production of handmade decorated wares continued a timeless native tradition and only rarely<sup>40</sup> absorbed influences from Egypt.<sup>41</sup> The traditionalism of handmade decorated pottery is best illustrated by the close resemblance that Meroitic period decorative patterns and motifs bear to C-Group wares.<sup>42</sup> The transfer of designs appearing on handmade vessels to the painted decoration of wheelmade wares is extremely rare (cf. Chapter VII.5.2.7).

### 3. *Undecorated Wheel-Made Early Meroitic Finewares*

In the third and second century BC pottery material from Meroe City painted decoration executed in black or dark brown on a matt white or cream slip or wash appears on Nile silt domestic vessels (mostly storage jars) imported from Egypt or made in Meroe under the influence of such imports (Shinnie and Bradley's Ware CK Be).<sup>43</sup> The role of fine table pottery was played in this period by wheel-made, thin-walled, undecorated (mostly open) vessels with polished/burnished cream or

<sup>39</sup> For the degree of standardization, see the identical cups from tomb 144, Cemetery 163 at Korosko, Emery – Kirwan 1935 167, fig. 168/3, from Faras grave 2081, Griffith 1924 157, Pl. XLI/20; Wenig 1978 Cat. 260, and from Nag Gamus tomb 52, Almagro 1965 fig. 122.

<sup>40</sup> E.g., imitation of the form of the Achaemenid deep bowl type: burnished black bowl from the Western Palace at Faras, P.L. Shinnie: *Meroe: A Civilization of the Sudan*. London 1967 Pl. 56.

<sup>41</sup> Cf. J.H. Robertson – E.M. Hill: Two Traditions or One? New Interpretation of the Hand-made/Wheel-made Ceramics from Meroe. in: Welsby (ed.) 1999 321–329.

<sup>42</sup> For a study of C-Group decorated pottery as a medium of elite display, see Török 2009 131–139.

<sup>43</sup> Shinnie – Bradley 1980.

red slip<sup>44</sup> (Shinnie and Bradley's Ware Group F). In form, technical quality, and surface treatment they preserved the tradition of a fine Napatan period wheel-made brown ware with a distinctive burnished cherry red (Shinnie and Bradley's "Variety" Cb of Ware Group C) or cream slip (*ibid.* "Variety" Ce of Ware Group C).<sup>45</sup> The end of the production of "Varieties" Cb and Ce seems to be indicated by their last observed occurrence in a settlement layer carbon-dated to after 320 ± 100 BC.<sup>46</sup> By this time, however, the production of the successor Ware Group F had already been started. The emergence of the latter was determined by the discovery in the vicinity of Meroe City of the source of light-coloured kaolin clay,<sup>47</sup> which would also render possible the emergence of other finewares in the subsequent centuries. Since the occurrence of fine kaolin clays is connected with the Nubian sandstone, sources of it were also found at other sites: for instance, the pottery workshop at Musawwarat es Sufra used local kaolin clay.<sup>48</sup> It cannot be excluded that the maintenance of the Napatan period burnished red slip's tradition was also reinforced by luxury imports such as early Attic (?) red-slipped (around 300 BC) and middle Hellenistic Pergamene (second century BC) wares.<sup>49</sup>

The situation in Lower Nubia was different, where the demand for fine tableware and luxury pottery destined for ritual/mortuary purposes was satisfied by the import of wares produced at Thebes and Syene/Aswan and decorated in Hellenistic or Hellenizing style (cf. Chapter VII.5.2.2 to 5.2.6).

<sup>44</sup> Garstang Museum of Archaeology, University of Liverpool collection keeps several hundred wall fragments from vessels of fine kaolin clay fabric with highly polished cherry red exterior slip. Vessel shapes cannot be reconstructed owing to the size of the sherds. Judging by the enormous quantity of sherds of this ware it can be identified as the most common mass-produced local pottery ware of the early Meroitic period. Its quality is an index of prosperity in this period.

<sup>45</sup> For a discussion of the finds from Meroe City, see Török 1997b 283 f.

<sup>46</sup> Shinnie – Bradley 1980 160 f.

<sup>47</sup> For the kaolin clay source, see J.H. Robertson: History and Archaeology at Meroe. in: J. Sterner – N. David (eds): *An African Commitment. Papers in Honour of Peter Lewis Shinnie*. Calgary 1992 35–50 47; L. Smith: Study of Clay Sources for Meroitic Finewares. *Azania* 32 (1997) 77–92.

<sup>48</sup> See Edwards 1999a.

<sup>49</sup> Török 1997b 257 No. x-183, fig. 139 and *ibid.* No. x-184, respectively. Cf. Waagé 1948 14 ff.

#### 4. *Episodes of Figural Relief Decoration*

In the long history of Nubian pottery making it is only Classic Kerma (1750–1500 BC) ceramics that is on a par with the Meroitic finewares. In their idiosyncratic thin-walled, blacktopped red polished ware<sup>50</sup> Classic Kerma artesans produced zoomorphic vessels,<sup>51</sup> shaped vessel spouts in the form of animal heads,<sup>52</sup> decorated vessel walls with figures in relief,<sup>53</sup> and modeled vessel handles in the form of birds.<sup>54</sup> With the end of the Kerma kingdom these inventive and at the same time “speaking” types of decoration disappeared from the Nubian ceramic repertory. When some of these decoration types reappeared in the Meroitic period it was on the inspiration of imported pottery or faience vessels, with the possible, yet not very likely exceptions of an Early Meroitic jug with two lion figurines protecting its spout,<sup>55</sup> or a late first century BC vessel lid with a handle in the form of a frog statuette:<sup>56</sup> both may have been inspired by Kerma models.

The isolated attempts made in Meroitic pottery workshops at the decoration of fine tablewares with various representations in relief mostly display the same tendency of “Meroiticizing” their models, which we also encounter in other genres (I do not consider here subsidiary patternwork). The actual imported models for relief appliques or added figurines cannot be identified with certainty, however. Among the finds from Garstang’s excavations at Meroe City one may identify the fragment of a fine early Hellenistic vessel originating from the Eastern Mediterranean or perhaps Asia Minor with a classical head appliqué<sup>57</sup> and a footed faience libation bowl with the figurines of a lion and a crocodile on its flange.<sup>58</sup> In Meroitic iconography the lion is associated with the life-giving power of water (cf. Chapter V.2.5), and

<sup>50</sup> Cf. B. Gratiot: *Les cultures Kerma. Essai de classification*. Lille 1978.

<sup>51</sup> E.g., in the form of an ostrich from Kerma tumulus K XIV, Chapel A, Wenig 1978 Cat. 63; of a bird with nestlings from Buhen tomb J 28, *ibid.* Cat. 43.

<sup>52</sup> E.g., pot with ram’s head from Kerma tumulus K III grave 325, Wenig 1978 Cat. 65.

<sup>53</sup> E.g., Khartoum SNM 1123, Wenig 1978 fig. 16.

<sup>54</sup> Spouted pot from Kerma tumulus K X grave 1052 with a handle in the form of a falcon: Wenig 1978 Cat. 62.

<sup>55</sup> Török 1997b 155 No. 294–6, fig. 99.

<sup>56</sup> From Beg. W. 139, Dunham 1963 fig. K/7.

<sup>57</sup> Török 1997b 62 No. 191–3, fig. 71.

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid.* 206 No. 943–13, Pl. 169, back row, second from left.

so is in its positive aspect<sup>59</sup> the crocodile, which appears on a series of fine painted vessels.<sup>60</sup> This type of decoration also returns on a Hellenistic type low-footed pottery plate displaying a row of high relief cowrie shells, an ancient Nubian symbol of fertility, on its flange.<sup>61</sup> Among the more remarkable imports found at Meroe City there is a fragment from a large-size mould-made pink ware open bowl.<sup>62</sup> The preserved rim and upper wall portion of the bowl is decorated on the interior with a moulded frieze of cobras wearing the sun disk, on the exterior with a moulded frieze of lotus flowers, below it a lotus frieze painted in dark brown. The sun disks and the cobra bodies are outlined with dark brown painted lines. Another fragment with relief decoration from Meroe City is from a large red-washed necked jar with an applied shoulder collar composed from a bracketed mould, a string of large beads, and a string of rhomboidal beads.<sup>63</sup> The background of the two bead strings is painted greenish blue. Fragments of an analogous vessel<sup>64</sup> were found at B 1500, the palace of Natakamani and Amanitore at Gebel Barkal.<sup>65</sup> The relief decoration reproduces the ornamental collar worn by Apedemak, the Nubian Amun, Isis, and Mut in the reliefs of the Apedemak Temple at Naqa.<sup>66</sup>

Two wall fragments from a Meroitic ware bottle or jar (?) with painted floral scroll on its shoulder are decorated with relief appliqués made from blurred moulds, which were taken inexpertly from imported Hellenistic style vessels. The preserved appliqués represent a standing nude Heracles, a lion hunt scene (Pl. 89), and a group of four standing draped male figures.<sup>67</sup> A similar ware sherd is decorated with

<sup>59</sup> For its negative aspect, see the crocodile with its mouth closed by a tightly knotted rope in the base register of the pylon front of the Apedemak temple at Musawwarat es Sufra, Hintze *et al.* 1971 Pls 101/b, c, 102/b, c; Hintze *et al.* 1993 98; Plan 11/a.

<sup>60</sup> For the iconography of the crocodile on Meroitic pottery cf. Török 1987b 87 f.

<sup>61</sup> Török 1997b 253 No. x-89, fig. 135, Pl. 199.

<sup>62</sup> Török 1997b 253 No. x-88, fig. 135.

<sup>63</sup> Török 1997b 253 No. x-90, fig. 135.

<sup>64</sup> S. Donadoni: Excavations at Gebel Barkal 1986. *Nubian Letters* 7 (1986) 9–13 fig. p. 13, bottom.

<sup>65</sup> From a subterranean room, where also a rich collection of stamped vessel stoppers has been found, see I. Vincentelli: Notizie preliminari sulle cretule del Palazzo di Natakamani. *Oriens Antiquus* 28 (1989) 129–153.

<sup>66</sup> Gamer-Wallert 1983 Pls 5a–7.

<sup>67</sup> Liverpool, World Museum 49.47.836, measurements not available, P. Scholz: *Kusch-Meroe-Nubien* 2 (*Antike Welt Sondernummer* 18). Mainz 1987 1–76 fig. 167;

a somewhat less blurred relief appliqué representing a delicately modeled Hermes figure<sup>68</sup> (Pl. 90). The traces of a rare greyish violet paint on the god's head associate the latter sherd with a number of fine Meroitic vessels, which display details painted in the same colour.<sup>69</sup> Figural high relief appliqués representing deities or mythological scenes are characteristic for relief vases, "plaquette vases" or *Plakettenvasen* produced in Alexandria in the second half of the third century BC.<sup>70</sup> Moulded vessels with high relief decoration uniting Hellenistic and traditional Egyptian representations and decorative elements were also produced in several provincial workshops in Ptolemaic Egypt.<sup>71</sup>

The archaeological context of the sherds with the classical appliqués is worth mentioning here.<sup>72</sup> They come from a rich pottery assemblage discovered in the "Royal Enclosure" at Meroe City containing fine decorated wares ranging in time from the third or second to the first century BC or even later. An unusually large quantity of thin-walled fineware fragments displaying around sixty different stamped motifs indicates either an unusually rich household or a potter's workshop. From the same assemblage come two fragments from an unparalleled Hellenistic Egyptian handled cup decorated with a painting representing a naked couple holding a piece of cloth in front of their bodies<sup>73</sup> (Pl. 91).<sup>74</sup> A related erotic scene with the representation of the

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Liverpool, World Museum 49.47.803, measurements not available. See Török 1997b 96 No. 289–15.

<sup>68</sup> Liverpool, World Museum 49.47.904, Török 1997b 97 No. 289–24, measurements not available.

<sup>69</sup> Török 1997b 101 No. 203–2, fig. 88; 132 No. 284–6, fig. 90, Pl. 102; 190 No. 898–1, fig. 103; 194 f. Nos 920–3, 920–7, 920–10, fig. 105, 920–33, 920–34, fig. 107; 201 No. 930–2, fig. 108; 254 No. x-94, fig. 136.

<sup>70</sup> Cf. R. Pagenstecher: *Die Gefässe in Stein und Ton Knochenschnitzereien. Die griechisch-ägyptische Sammlung Ernst von Sieglin Dritter Teil* (=Expedition Ernst von Sieglin II 3). Leipzig 1913 53 ff.; Fraser 1972 II 245 note 49; Wildung – Grimm 1979 Cats 107, 109. For their dating, see also B.F. Cook: A Dated Hadra Vase in the Brooklyn Museum. *Brooklyn Museum Annual* 10 (1968/69) 115–138 131.

<sup>71</sup> Cf. Mandel-Elzinga 1988; M. Seif el-Din: *Die relifierten hellenistisch-römischen Pilgerflaschen. Untersuchungen zur Zweckbestimmung und Formgeschichte der ägyptischen Pilger- und Feldflaschen während des Hellenismus und der Kaiserzeit*. Le Caire 2006.

<sup>72</sup> Meroe City, Spot M 197/289, 970 deep, superimposed building levels in the north-eastern corner of the "Royal Enclosure", Török 1997b 92 ff.

<sup>73</sup> Liverpool, World Museum 49.47.840, Wenig 1978 Cat. 220; Török 1997b 96 No. 289–2.

<sup>74</sup> Wenig 1978 Cat. 220.



*gemeinsamen Mantel* was incised in a wall of the Great Enclosure at Musawwarat es Sufra<sup>75</sup> (Chapter VI.1.1).

The three sherds with classical style relief appliqués represent a passing episode, which remained without continuation because the relief figures of Heracles, Hermes, the hunting horseman or the draped men were without a meaning for a Meroitic audience and did not offer themselves for a Meroitic reinterpretation, either. The idea of figural appliqués inspired nevertheless further episodes in which more familiar representations were rendered as high relief decoration. A sherd from Meroe City bears the incompletely preserved relief image of the child Horus squatting in a lotus chalice.<sup>76</sup> Some AD first century red ware vessels decorated with vine scrolls in which the grape clusters are applied in the manner of barbotine decoration<sup>77</sup> have a remarkable iconographical connection. Namely, a vessel fragment from Meroe City, now in the collection of the Liverpool World Museum,<sup>78</sup> bears a miniature relief *tondo* representing the bust of a woman touching her breasts with her hands. Parallels of this remarkable image were found among the faience *tondi* decorating the front of the Gebel Barkal palace of the AD mid-first century rulers Natakamani and Amanitore.<sup>79</sup> On the Meroe City sherd 'nh ("life") signs issue from the hands of the female figure that is placed within vine scrolls. At Gebel Barkal the Dionysiac aspect of the relief program represented by the *tondo* reliefs is indicated by a number of female figures holding grape clusters.<sup>80</sup>

<sup>75</sup> Hintze, Ursula 1979 fig. 6.

<sup>76</sup> Liverpool, World Museum 49.47.906.

<sup>77</sup> Wenig 1978 302 (*ad Cat.* 259) and later writers (e.g., D. Wildung in: Wildung [ed.] 1996) describe the barbotine wares occurring in Meroitic assemblages as Nubian products, disregarding that already Adams identified them as "rather inferior Egyptian copies [of the Roman barbotine ware]", Adams 1964 146, 160. For the Egyptian barbotine, see Hayes 1976 Nos 238, 240. For the description of a two-handled footed goblet with barbotine decoration from Meroe City as product of a workshop in the Dodekaschoinos (northern Lower Nubia), see recently M. Evina: Une double tradition céramique. in: Baud – Sackho-Autissier – Labbé-Toutée (eds) 2010 105–111 109.

<sup>78</sup> Inv. no. and measurements not available.

<sup>79</sup> Sist 2006.

<sup>80</sup> Khartoum SNM 31330, Baud – Sackho-Autissier – Labbé-Toutée (eds) 2010 fig. 267; Karima Museum (Gebel Barkal) GB 88 1, *ibid.* fig. 268.

## 5. Meroitic Vase Painting

### 5.1. A Note on Decoration Colours and Structures

Apart from an enigmatic polychrome ware, which will be discussed in Chapter VII.5.2.2,

no Nubian or Egyptian vessel (excluding the glazes) ever exhibits more than three intentional colors [...] The largest number of decorated vessels have only one color (that is, slip with no painted design); a somewhat smaller number have a slip and painted decoration in two colors. In no case is there a fourth color [...] All the Nubian and Egyptian decorative colors fall into three classes, viz., black, red, and white.<sup>81</sup>

The ceramic finds from Meroe City also add a fourth decorative colour to black, red, and white, viz., the greyish-violet mixed from a white kaolin solution and brown and red pigments. Greyish-violet also occurs as decorative colour on the “Polychrome Figural” vessels discussed below in Chapter VII.5.2.5.

There existed no Nubian tradition of the decoration of wheel-made finewares with painting (for a possible exception, see Chapter VII.5.2.2). Meroitic vase painting was set off in the second half of the third century BC by the inspiration of Hellenistic Egyptian wares without any definitive native contribution to the decorative structures and motifs that were encountered on the imported vessels. The native decorative tradition, represented by the fine handmade wares with impressed, combed and/or rouletted representations and geometric patterns, was not translated into painted decoration. Also the structures of decoration occurring on Early Meroitic painted wares were independent from the handmade wares. They followed instead Egyptian models as it is suggested by the Muweis *kraters* (Chapter VII.5.2.2) or finds from Meroe City.<sup>82</sup>

The majority of the fine handmade globular vessels, which represent a timeless Nubian shape, were decorated on their whole body. It is, however, not in their imitation but rather under the influence of Egyptian models that the fine Meroitic spherical pots, bowls and cups from the second and first centuries BC would be painted on the whole

<sup>81</sup> Adams 1986 195.

<sup>82</sup> Cf. Török 1997b 251 f. Nos x-64 to x-76, figs 132–134.

(exterior) surface of their body (see the next chapters). By contrast, second-first century BC Upper Nubian wheelmade burnished red ware spherical vessels with simplified vine scroll or wavy-line friezes were decorated only on the neck and the upper half of the body.<sup>83</sup> It seems at our present knowledge of Meroitic pottery chronology that different decoration structures could be contemporary. There existed probably local workshop traditions, which we are still far from being able to understand. Finewares produced in Meroe City were traded to Lower Nubia, presumably mainly in the framework of elite redistribution, where they influenced the style of the local production. The stylistic closeness of the painted and stamped finewares produced, e.g., in the Great Enclosure at Musawwarat es Sufra to the contemporary production of the workshops at Meroe City demonstrates that the latter had a standardizing effect on the work of the potteries in the other centres of the kingdom. A standardization of this kind may well have followed from a centralized organization of the workshops and was not merely a matter of style transfer and fashion.

## 5.2. *Styles of Vase Painting*

### 5.2.1. *Linear Designs*

The Muweis *kraters* (see Chapter VII.5.2.2) and the pottery finds from Meroe City mentioned at the end of the previous chapter indicate that more ambitious vegetal motifs and subsidiary patternworks such as crosslined bands decorating imported Hellenistic-style Egyptian wares begun to be imitated in workshops satisfying elite demands as early as by the second half of the third century BC. The decorations taken over from the imports occurred both on vessels of Hellenizing shapes<sup>84</sup> and on vessels of Nubian types, first of all globular pots.<sup>85</sup> The chronological indications are scarce and often uncertain. There may be little doubt nevertheless that simple painted linear designs—lines, wavy lines, bands, stripes—were applied to native shapes, above all necked globular jars similarly under the influence of Egyptian imports and

<sup>83</sup> E.g., Fernandez 1985 tomb 100 No. 100–5, 162 No. 162–1, 171 No. 171–1 (Amir Abdalla); Schiff Giorgini 1971 fig. 748, for an imported Egyptian model of the decoration: fig. 747 (Soleb); Bonnet 1978 fig. 16 (Kerma).

<sup>84</sup> E.g., Rose 1996 122 ff.; Török 1997b fig. 133/–69.

<sup>85</sup> E.g., Rose 1996 fig. 4.13/P202b.

probably already before vegetal motifs and more complex subsidiary patterns would have been adopted. Deriving from a Late Dynastic tradition the simple linear designs became part of the decorative repertory of Hellenistic Egyptian pottery and, as shown by products of the Theban workshops, they could be employed as exclusive decoration on late fourth-third century BC storage vessels.<sup>86</sup> Polished/burnished cream<sup>87</sup> or red ware necked globular pots and jars with striped and wavy line decoration are present in considerable quantities in Early Meroitic assemblages from Meroe City<sup>88</sup> and Upper and Lower Nubian settlements and cemeteries.<sup>89</sup>

### 5.2.2. *Import and Imitation of Decorated Hellenistic Pottery in the Early Meroitic Period*

In the Late Napatan and Early Meroitic periods elaborate decorations appeared only on handmade wares, with the possible exception of an episode represented by a collection of vessel fragments with polychrome painting found by John Garstang at Meroe City. They are from Nile silt ware storage jars and vessel lids of a rather coarse technical quality, on the one hand, and from incense burners of a finer quality, on the other.<sup>90</sup> They display geometrical, guilloche, and floral motifs (Pl. 92)<sup>91</sup> also containing classical subsidiary patterns such as the meander and Egyptian symbols such as the wedjat eye painted in deep dead black, bright yellow, red, and blue pigments applied after firing.<sup>92</sup> The decoration, including the classical patterns, does not indicate a more precise dating. On the whole, the style and technique of the decoration have no analogues from Nubia or Egypt.

Garstang labelled three sherds of this enigmatic ware as “fragments of pottery [...] found with a fragment of a red figure Attic vase”.<sup>93</sup>

<sup>86</sup> Schreiber 2003 36 f.

<sup>87</sup> E.g., Török 1997b 90 No. 195–1, fig. 81.

<sup>88</sup> E.g., *Ibid.* 222 No. 926–1, fig. 112, 225 No. 297–3, fig. 112.

<sup>89</sup> Cf. Griffith 1924 Pls XVI–XIX; Fernandez 1984 60; for examples cf. also Török 1987b 79 f.

<sup>90</sup> Török 1997b fig. 131/x-60 (top left), x-61 (top right), X-62 (bottom left), x-63 (bottom right).

<sup>91</sup> Török 1997b fig. 131 x-60 to x-63.

<sup>92</sup> Török 1997b 282 f., figs 69/98–2, 84/197–4 to 7, 91/286/7–19, 94/291–2, 101/712–1, 112/297–2, 131/x-57 to 63.

<sup>93</sup> For Garstang's note, see Török 1997b 204.

The Attic fragment in question<sup>94</sup> may be dated to c. 400 BC, but its actual archeological connection with the polychrome sherds remains unknown and also unlikely. Attic wares already reached Meroe City in the course of the late sixth and fifth centuries BC (Chapter IV). An early Hellenistic red-slipped bowl<sup>95</sup> indicates the continued influx of Attic products. Attic black or red figural vases did not inspire Meroitic imitations, however, obviously because the vessel shapes were unfunctional and the representations meaningless for the Nubians.

Considering the dominance of simplified vine scrolls, palm branches and subsidiary patternwork such as crosslined-bands and wavy lines in the decoration of the earliest painted Meroitic wares (Pls 93, 94)<sup>96</sup> it seems probable that the first inspirations to decorate good quality wheel-turned vessels were received from decorated utility wares arriving from Upper<sup>97</sup> as well as Lower Egyptian<sup>98</sup> workshops in the second half of the third century BC. It is individual elements selected from their routined and frequently attractive decoration that were directly imitated by Early Meroitic potters and not the complex classical style designs on high quality Alexandrian luxury wares (such as the Hadra *hydriae*, one group of which was produced in Alexandria, the other imported from Crete)<sup>99</sup> themselves, under the influence of which the style of the mass-producing workshops at provincial centres was formed. The designs were executed in dark painting on light background (*foncé sur claire*) in the manner of silhouette drawing, i.e., without inner detail. Meroitic vase painters started to adopt designs from high-quality imports, also from other genres than pottery, only in the course of the second-first centuries BC. It may be said with some simplification that Meroitic vase painting developed from mass-product to luxury product and, in the Late Meroitic period, from luxury product again to mass-product.

<sup>94</sup> *Ibid.* 204 No. 941–1, fig. 109.

<sup>95</sup> *Ibid.* 257 No. x-183, fig. 139.

<sup>96</sup> Pl. 93: Török 1997b fig. 132; Pl. 94: *ibid.* fig. 133.

<sup>97</sup> For the Theban products, see Schreiber 2003 53 ff. (with further literature).

<sup>98</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>99</sup> Cf. P. Callaghan: Hadra Hydriae and Central Crete: A Fabric Analysis. *BSA* 80 (1985) 1–17; Enklaar 1986.

The sherds of one of the earliest Egyptian imports with Hellenistic style painting<sup>100</sup> (Pl. 95)<sup>101</sup> reaching the southern regions of the Meroitic kingdom were buried (as an offering?) in the fill of the terrace on which the central hall of the Great Enclosure at Musawwarat es Sufra is standing (cf. Chapter VI.1.1). The sherds are from a large table amphora with braided handles. Around the shoulder runs a frieze representing an elegant vine scroll inhabited by birds and a Nubian (?) bowman. A fine and characteristic detail of the scroll is the knotted vine tendril above the head of the bowman. Around the lower half of the body runs a second frieze representing a palm grove with four trees in a style that is close to, but not identical with the Theban “Lotus Flower and Crosslined-band Style”.<sup>102</sup> The two friezes are separated from each other by a broad crosslined-band running around the middle of the vessel body. The chronological position of the vessel is indicated indirectly and in general terms by the appearance of figural friezes on Hadra *hydriae* in the second half of the third century BC.<sup>103</sup> The decoration structure consisting of two body friezes separated by a subsidiary patternwork band is characteristic for the *hydriae* painted by Pylon around 230–210 BC,<sup>104</sup> while the dotted band on the base and between the neck and the shoulder occurs on *hydriae* dated by Enklaar to the period between c. 260–225 BC<sup>105</sup> and on two vessels dated by inscriptions to 227/6 and 226/5 BC, respectively.<sup>106</sup>

The Musawwarat es Sufra amphora differs from the Theban “Lotus Flower and Crosslined-band Style” wares (within which a “Floral Style A” and a “Floral Style B” may be distinguished)<sup>107</sup> both as to its form and the iconography of its decoration. The overwhelming majority of the vessel shapes associated with the Theban style derive from Late Period forms. Hellenistic forms such as convex and large deep bowls, *dinos*-shaped collared bowls or column *kraters* occur only extremely

<sup>100</sup> Reconstructed height 69.0 cm, Wenig – Fitzenreiter 1994 49 f. No. 50, fig. 20; Zeitler 1999.

<sup>101</sup> Zeitler 1999 fig. 20.

<sup>102</sup> For the term, see Dorothea Arnold: *Techniques and Traditions of Manufacture in the Pottery of Ancient Egypt*. Mainz 1993 100.

<sup>103</sup> For the *hydriae* of the painter Pylon, the “Peintre des Centaures”, the “Peintre de El Manara”, the “Peintre des Coureurs”, the “Peintre des Dauphins”, the “Peintre de Nikè” and the “Peintre de Rhodes”, see Enklaar 1985 126 ff.

<sup>104</sup> Guerrini 1964 Nos A1, A2; Enklaar 1985 142.

<sup>105</sup> “Groupe du Laurier sans Branche”, Enklaar 1985 137 ff.

<sup>106</sup> Guerrini 1964 Nos E4, E5.

<sup>107</sup> I refer to the classification suggested by Schreiber 2003 44 ff.

rarely.<sup>108</sup> The Theban manufactures adhered firmly to pre-Ptolemaic vessel forms and decorative patterns and enriched them only as if reluctantly with the occasional adoption of classical shapes and the admixture of Hellenistic motifs and subsidiary patternwork.

The structure of the decoration of the Musawwarat es Sufra find corresponds with the Theban “Floral Style B” only insofar as it consists of a main frieze on the vessel shoulder divided by a heavy crossline band from a frieze covering the lower half of the vessel wall. In this respect, the decoration structure characterizing “Floral Style B” is similar to the decoration structure of Hadra *hydriae* from the middle and the second half of the third century BC.<sup>109</sup> In the Theban corpus collected and discussed by Gábor Schreiber no parallels of peopled or unpeopled vine scrolls or of the palm tree frieze can be found. The motif of the knotted vine tendril occurs on Hadra *hydriae* dated between 245–215 BC.<sup>110</sup> The presence of the peopled vine scroll and the palm grove frieze on the Musawwarat es Sufra amphora and its classical shape equally indicate that it came from a workshop which produced mainly, or perhaps exclusively Hellenistic style finewares and that this workshop was not in the Theban region.

The general picture of imported and native finewares is not the same at Meroe City and in Lower Nubia. Meroe City as one of the most important royal seats was reached by a great variety of Egyptian luxury objects coming from the Ptolemaic court and from different provincial workshops and reflecting thus the taste of Alexandria as well as of other centres. Consequently, the formal and stylistic repertory of the finewares produced at Meroe City between the third century BC and the AD first century<sup>111</sup> is more eclectic than the more homogenous picture presented by the finds from Lower Nubia. The Lower Nubian picture was defined first of all by the import and imitation of the products of the Theban<sup>112</sup> and, after 86–85 BC (i.e., the destruction of Thebes by Ptolemy IX)<sup>113</sup> the Aswan workshops (cf. Chapter VII.5.2.4).

<sup>108</sup> Cf. Schreiber 2003 24 ff.

<sup>109</sup> Cf. Enklaar 1985 120 f., 134 f.

<sup>110</sup> E.g., Guerrini 1964 B5, Enklaar 1985 126 (“Peintre des Centaures”); B.F. Cook: An Alexandrian Tomb-group Re-examined. *AJA* 70 (1966) 325–330 Pl. 79/8.

<sup>111</sup> E.g., Török 1997b 284 f., figs 69/98–3, 72/95–1, 105/920–1, 113/297–6, 132/x-64 to 67, cf. Myśliwiec 1986 Nos 915–917, 920, 924, 925.

<sup>112</sup> For the Lower Nubian imitations and their Egyptian models, see Rose 1996 122 ff.

<sup>113</sup> Huss 2001 665 ff.

In Lower Nubia also the imitation of Hellenistic vessel shapes was a more general practice.<sup>114</sup>

The difference in stylistic orientation between the pottery workshops at Meroe City and in Lower Nubia was not absolute, however. I have documented a Nile silt ware storage jar fragment at Meroe City (Pl. 96) in what was called the “pottery garden”, i.e., the open-air studio where the Khartoum-Calgary team worked under the direction of Professor Shinnie on the classification of their ceramic finds and where they left behind decorated sherds which, like this particular fragment, were not included into either publication dealing with the site,<sup>115</sup> although they would have deserved it on account of their rare or unique decoration. From the decoration of the thick-walled cream-slipped Nile silt jar part of two ornamental friezes painted in dark brown is preserved. The friezes display series of identical panels representing floral offerings<sup>116</sup> flanked by palm branches. The panels are separated from each other by vertical crosslined-bands. The decoration combines elements of the Theban “Lotus Flower and Crosslined-band Style” such as the Christmas tree-like palm branch and the crosslined-band with a Meroitic flower arrangement in a way that the result is Meroitic.

To return to the Hellenistic Egyptian table amphora from Musawwarat es Sufra and other early imports. The place of the production of the amphora is unknown. Similarly enigmatic is the origin of the *krater* type whose Meroitic imitations were recently found in quantity in the course of the recently started French excavations at Muweis<sup>117</sup> in contexts dated to the Early Meroitic period (second half of the third century BC and later).<sup>118</sup> The fine quality *kraters* are decorated with friezes of black/dark brown vine scrolls on a light background. Vessel shape and the significance of the decoration correspond thus to each other. If the slip of the Muweis vessels was waterproof, they could have

<sup>114</sup> Cf. Rose 1996 122 ff.

<sup>115</sup> Cf. Shinnie – Bradley 1980; Shinnie – Anderson (eds) 2004, both with further literature.

<sup>116</sup> Cf. G. Roeder: *Der Tempel von Dakke*. Le Caire 1930 Pl. 44. This motif already occurs in the Kerma period and is described by Griffith as “a notched palm frond”, by Williams as a “vertical series of triangular garlands on a staff”. F.L. Griffith: *Meroitic Inscriptions II. Napata to Philae and Miscellaneous*. London 1912 35; Williams 1991 I 46.

<sup>117</sup> Cf. Baud 2008; Baud 2010b.

<sup>118</sup> Cf. also B. Żurawski: The Temple of Soniyat, 1991–2002. *Gdańsk Archaeological Museum African Reports* 3 (2005) 289–302 fig. 21.



been made for wine mixing in the Greek fashion<sup>119</sup> (cf. also Chapter IV). Marie Evina noted<sup>120</sup> that, curiously, the shape of the Meroitic *kraters* produced at Muweis (?) and thus also the shape of their Egyptian model(s) does not seem to have contemporary analogues,<sup>121</sup> but it repeats the shape of fifth century BC Greek *kraters*. Gábor Schreiber made the same observation in connection with a rare late third-early second century BC *krater* produced in a Theban workshop.<sup>122</sup> One may perhaps suppose the survival of the fifth century BC shape in the workshops of a place like Naucratis, but so far we have no archaeological evidence for this. The broader local ceramic context of the Muweis *kraters* also remains to be unearthed.

The rich second-first century BC pottery find material from the Faras cemetery shows that decorative schemes and motifs of Hellenistic wares from Theban workshops and from workshops outside Thebes were imitated rather closely in Lower Nubian workshops, but not without creating new combinations and variants. Models and imitations were equally medium quality, as is demonstrated, e.g., by an imported amphora-jug decorated with stylized palms on the neck and, divided by a crosslined-band from it, a vine scroll<sup>123</sup> or by a long-necked Meroitic red ware bottle.<sup>124</sup> Both vessels come from the Faras cemetery. The decoration of the bottle repeats the decoration scheme of the amphora-jug, changing, however, the vine into an ivy scroll and adding on the upper half of the neck a broader crosslined-band and a frieze of shark teeth pattern. The type of the scroll with heart-shaped leaves derives from the neck decoration of Hadra *hydriae* produced in the second half of the third century BC.<sup>125</sup> The leaf type was adopted by Theban workshops, but not as part of scrolls.<sup>126</sup> In turn, the Hellenistic

<sup>119</sup> Cf. Manzo 2006 83 ff. and Tables 1, 2.

<sup>120</sup> M. Evina: Painted Kraters from the Meroitic City of Muweis: Some Elements of Understanding. Unpublished paper submitted at the *12th International Conference for Nubian Studies* on 3rd August 2010, London.

<sup>121</sup> Cf. D.B. Redford: Interim Report on the Excavations at East Karnak, 1977–78. *JARCE* 18 (1981) 11–41 15, 35; Poludnikiewicz 1992 97, fig. 1; Schreiber 2003 27.

<sup>122</sup> Schreiber 2003 27, 75 No. 41, Pl. 3.

<sup>123</sup> Faras, tomb 869, Griffith 1924 109, Pl. XXV/Llg.

<sup>124</sup> Faras, tomb 2382, Griffith 1924 151 f., 1925 Pl. XXV/3.

<sup>125</sup> E.g., vases of the “Peintre des Couronnes de Laurier”, the “Peintre d’Alexandrie”, the “Peintre des Grandes Feuilles”, the “Peintre du Lierre”, the “Peintre d’Astragale” etc., Enklaar 1985 118 ff.

<sup>126</sup> Schreiber 2003 39.

shark teeth pattern frequently occurs as neck decoration on late third-second century BC two-handled jars painted in “Floral Style B”.<sup>127</sup>

Early Meroitic painted pottery decorated under the influence of Hellenizing-style Egyptian wares produced at Thebes and other Egyptian sites is not always consequently utilized as dating evidence. Vessels datable to the second-early first (?) century BC<sup>128</sup> support an earlier chronology of the early phases of the Qustul and Ballana cemeteries than suggested by Bruce Williams. The traditional, but improbable dating of all Aswan ware globular pots with fine painted decoration<sup>129</sup> to the “Roman period”, i.e., to the late first century BC, at the earliest, also results in an unduly late general chronology of Middle Meroitic Lower Nubia (see Chapter VII.5.2.4).

The long survival of Hellenistic subsidiary patterns in Upper Egyptian pottery workshops is demonstrated by imported first century BC–AD first century amphora-jugs,<sup>130</sup> *lekythoi*<sup>131</sup> and globular vessels<sup>132</sup>—the latter made probably specially for the Nubian market—from Lower Nubian assemblages, first of all from the Faras and Karanog cemeteries. To the crosslined bands, palm branch and spear-shaped leaf motifs the painters in the Aswan workshops, which took over from Thebes the role of principal supplier of the Lower Nubian market in the early first century BC, added large ‘nh signs, lotus flowers and buds and stylized wreath motifs (cf. VII.5.2.5).<sup>133</sup> Meroitic potters adopted individual motifs and subsidiary patterns in the decoration of vessels of Meroitic forms<sup>134</sup> without copying the amphora or *lekythos* shapes or the decoration structures in which the motifs and patterns appeared originally on the Egyptian vessels. The decorative repertory formed under the influence of the imports consisted of subsidiary patterns such as lines and simple or crosslined bands, wavy lines and hatched vertical bands framing fields of decoration, on the one hand, and, on

<sup>127</sup> Schreiber 2003 38.

<sup>128</sup> Williams 1991 I fig. 67.

<sup>129</sup> Williams 1991 I figs 219/b, 257/e.

<sup>130</sup> E.g., Karanog graves 530, 626, Woolley – Randall-MacIver 1910 Pls 59/8203 and 14/8073, respectively.

<sup>131</sup> E.g., Karanog graves 281, 372, 614, 645, 659, Woolley – Randall-MacIver 1910 Pls 75/8315, 42/8209, 48/8313, 75/8311, 94/8931, respectively;

<sup>132</sup> E.g., Faras graves 2004, 2906, Griffith 1924 Pls XVIII/VIIIh, XLV/6, respectively; Semna South, Vercoutter 1966 Pl. VII/b; Karanog graves 235, 631, Woolley – Randall-MacIver 1910 Pls 56/8185, 44/8172, respectively.

<sup>133</sup> Cf., e.g., Randall-MacIver – Woolley 1909 Pls 30, 31.

<sup>134</sup> E.g., Randall-MacIver – Woolley 1909 Pls 25/9, 10, 26/2, 27/9 etc.

the other, motifs that already possessed a meaning in Nubia (such as the palm, the lotus or the 'nh sign) or were adopted because they could easily be given a Meroitic meaning. To this latter category belong the vine scrolls<sup>135</sup> (Pl. 97),<sup>136</sup> the flower garlands, or the pomegranate<sup>137</sup> (Pl. 98),<sup>138</sup> which were represented on many Egyptian imports from Aswan and other potteries. All these motifs seem to have been associated in Meroe primarily with the realm of mortuary rites. They had a similar meaning in the context of Hellenistic and Roman Egyptian mortuary iconography. It may suffice to refer here to paintings in Ptolemaic and Roman period tombs in Alexandria<sup>139</sup> and Hermopolis West (modern Tuna el Gebel).<sup>140</sup>

Returning to the principal characteristics of Meroitic vase painting, it adopted at the outset the *foncé sur claire* decoration style of the Upper and Lower Egyptian imports, which is also characteristic, albeit in a more refined form,<sup>141</sup> for the Hadra *hydriae* produced in Cretan workshops and exported to Alexandria. For the quality of Meroitic vase paintings in this style is also valid what was said above about their Egyptian models, viz., that they were frequently attractive (Pls 93, 94), yet they did not reach the quality of the decoration of the Cretan and Alexandrian *hydriae*. High quality Meroitic vase painting was actually born when the silhouette style of *foncé sur claire* was replaced by a graphic, line drawing style of representation. The new style appeared mostly on thin-walled vessels of an astonishing technical quality made possible by the use of the kaolin clay found in the vicinity of Meroe City (cf. Chapter VII.3). The thin-walled finewares are also called egg-shell wares. While not entirely avoiding this term, it will not be used as a principal definer in the description of decoration styles.

<sup>135</sup> From Meroe City. Louvre AE E 13484, height 24 cm, Baud – Sackho-Autissier – Labbé-Toutée (eds) 2010 Cat. 90.

<sup>136</sup> Baud – Sackho-Autissier – Labbé-Toutée (eds) 2010 Cat. 90.

<sup>137</sup> From Meroe City: Török 1997b 218 No. 985–1, fig. 111; from Karanog grave 325: Woolley – Randall-Maclver 1910 Pl. 51/8469; from Ballana: Williams 1991 I fig. 299/c.

<sup>138</sup> From Karanog grave 325. Philadelphia E 8469, height 8.0 cm, O'Connor 1993 Pl. 29.

<sup>139</sup> Venit 2002 41, 68, 70, 73, 83, 97, 151, figs 24, 129, 151.

<sup>140</sup> E.g., Gabra – Drioton 1954 Pls 2: vine scroll 3, 6: vine scroll with pomegranates and flower garlands, 7: garlands and pomegranate, 11: vine and garland.

<sup>141</sup> With interior details incised or spared from the dark painting, similarly to Attic black-figure.

### 5.2.3. *The Beginnings of the "Line Drawing Style"*

The emergence of thin-walled or eggshell finewares is dated in the more recent literature to the late first century BC–early AD first century under the impression that the use of kaolin clays started in this period. The dating was first suggested on the basis of the stamped eggshell vessel assemblages from tombs W. 139, W. 284, W. 306 and W. 308 at Begarawiya West.<sup>142</sup> The four assemblages are close in time to each other, but they are not quite contemporary, W. 284 and W. 308 containing earlier types of Meroitic red ware offering stands than W. 139.<sup>143</sup> A fine pedestal bowl decorated with impressed 'nh signs from Beg. W. 306<sup>144</sup> (Pl. 99),<sup>145</sup> the shape of which was closely modeled on an early Augustan Arretine goblet or on its Eastern Sigillata A imitation<sup>146</sup> provides some absolute chronological orientation. Augustan period Eastern Sigillata A pedestal bowls of similar form were found at Gebel Barkal<sup>147</sup> and Meroe City<sup>148</sup> as well. The chronological sequence of the four burials is probably W. 284 and W. 308–W. 139–W. 306, the distance between the earliest and the latest burial of the series being a few decades. So far no earlier archaeological contexts containing stamped thin-walled wares than Begarawiya W. 284 and W. 308 have been identified.

Shapes associated with the undecorated burnished cherry red and cream slipped wares found at Meroe City (Chapter VII.3) actually strongly indicate that the use of the kaolin clay for the production of fine thin-walled table vessels had started long before the late first century BC. The classifications presented by Adams<sup>149</sup> and Shinnie

<sup>142</sup> Török 1987a 199; 1987b 82 f.; 1989 139 f. No. 142.

<sup>143</sup> W. 284: Dunham 1963 140, fig. H/10; W. 308: *ibid.* 146, fig. H/11; W. 139: *ibid.* 127, figs H/4, 6. For their relative chronology, see Edwards 1999 Pl. XLI, fig. 77.

<sup>144</sup> MFA 23.1466, height 8.3 cm, Wenig 1978 Cat. 250.

<sup>145</sup> Wenig 1978 Cat. 250.

<sup>146</sup> Cf. K. Kenyon in: *Samaria-Sebaste. Reports on the Work of the Joint Expedition in 1931–33 and the British Expedition in 1935* III. London 1957 316 ff.; A. Papanicolaou-Christensen – C. Friis-Johansen: *Hama. Fouilles et recherches 1931–1938* III.2. *Les poteries hellénistiques et les terres sigillées orientales*. Stockholm 1971 65 ff.; V. Mitsopoulos-Leon: *Gefässe der Ostsigillata A von einem gesunkenen Schiff aus dem Golf von Antalya*. *Germania* 53 (1975) 101–112 108 f.

<sup>147</sup> From Gebel Barkal pyramid Bar. 6 (Queen Nawidemak, first half of the AD first century), Dunham 1957 100 16–2–369, 370, fig. 66; Török 1989 125 f. No. 44.

<sup>148</sup> Garstang Museum of Archaeology, University of Liverpool temporary inv. no. 951, Török 1989 129 No. 64.

<sup>149</sup> Adams 1986 435 ff.

and Bradley<sup>150</sup> registered only a light-coloured (cream) eggshell ware with stamped decoration. A red-slipped variant of Adams' Ware W 26 (= "variety" CK Fb of Shinnie and Bradley) also occurs, however, in the Meroe City material. The fabric is a fine, porous, hard pink (rare) to red (frequent) sand-tempered clay. The surfaces are red-slipped and the exterior is frequently highly polished.<sup>151</sup> It seems that potters at Meroe City started to decorate the well-established red and cream thin-walled kaolin tablewares with stamped motifs in the late first century BC. The further development of the decoration structure was not identical in the cream and red wares: the red-slipped ware does not have any subsidiary painted decoration.<sup>152</sup>

Since the emergence of the thin-walled decorated Meroitic finewares cannot be tied to an arbitrary dating of the first use of kaolin clays, the question emerges: is the stamped decoration occurring on the fine vessels from W. 139, W. 284, W. 306 and W. 308 the earliest decoration style associated with the thin-walled wares? Though stamped and impressed decoration already occurs on prehistoric pottery in Nubia, its use on Meroitic finewares was probably introduced under the influence of Alexandrian variants of early Hellenistic stamped/impressed Attic pottery.<sup>153</sup> Judging by the enormous quantity of stamped wares found at Meroe City and other southern sites the centre of their production was probably at the kingdom's southern capital. The aforementioned late first century BC tomb assemblages at Begarawiya West provide an orientation for their chronology. Stamped finewares traded from the south or locally imitated occur far less frequently in Lower Nubian assemblages. They are associated at Faras and Karanog with painted pottery dated to the late first century BC and the AD first-second centuries. If we accept the testimony of these contexts as evidence for the early phase of the stamped decoration of thin-walled finewares, we may indeed argue that line drawing was introduced earlier than the stamped decoration.

The replacement of the Early Meroitic *foncé sur claire* vase painting by designs in the manner of line drawing was a radical stylistic change. The Early Meroitic potters decorated their products under

<sup>150</sup> Shinnie – Bradley 1980 154.

<sup>151</sup> Török 1997b 139 No. 286/7–92, fig. 99.

<sup>152</sup> E.g., Török 1997b 138 f. Nos 286/7–81, 89, 92, fig. 99, 217 No. 980–1, fig. 110.

<sup>153</sup> Cf. Pagenstecher 1913 20 f. and see Török 1987a 199; M. Zach: Die gestempelte meroitische Keramik. *BzS* 3 (1988) 121–150; Williams 1991 I 59 f.

the influence of better-quality Egyptian utility and domestic wares the decoration of which was formed not independently from developments in luxury-quality vase decoration. The result, like in the case of the various Upper and Lower Egyptian models, is usually pleasing, albeit stereotypic. Though obviously within the limits of the routinized practice of mass-production, the sketchy, impressionistic designs do not lack freshness and preserve some of the elegance of the classical vegetal scrolls and other motifs borrowed from the repertory of high-quality Hellenistic pottery decoration. The Theban workshops decorating their products in the “Lotus Flower and Crosslined-band Style” tended to stick to traditional pre-Ptolemaic iconographical motifs and vessel forms and adopted Hellenistic motifs rather reluctantly. Workshops elsewhere in Egypt were far more open towards the influence of Alexandrian Hellenistic finewares, and it was their impact rather than influences from Thebes that has determined the style of Early Meroitic pottery decoration.

Although the Meroitic “Line Drawing Style”<sup>154</sup> similarly combines traditional Egyptian and Hellenistic shapes and designs, its decoration structure, iconographical repertory and subsidiary patterns have nothing to do with the Theban “Lotus Flower and Crosslined-band Style”. It does not derive from the Hellenizing style of the products of Lower Egyptian workshops, either. At its best quality the style is characterized by a geometrical clarity of the design structure, a striving for sharp definition, and a conspicuous precision of the execution that induced modern definitions such as “Academic School”<sup>155</sup> or “Stern Pharaonic Style”<sup>156</sup> (cf. Chapter VII.5.2.6). The manner of the combination of pharaonic and Hellenistic design elements as well as their precise rendering in simple, clear line drawing using the same line thickness for the entire design point towards two particular genres as probable sources for direct inspiration in the forming of the style, namely, to high-quality Ptolemaic faience and metal vessels. These two genres share the decoration structure of clearly separated superposed (on closed shapes) or concentric (on open shapes) zones as well as several iconographical (e.g., Egyptian religious symbols) and design motifs

<sup>154</sup> Williams 1991 I 38 and *passim* uses the term “Standard Meroitic Style”.

<sup>155</sup> Wenig 1979 131 ff.

<sup>156</sup> Török 1987a 200 ff.

(especially vegetal and floral) and subsidiary patterns and above all a manner of representation that may best be defined as line drawing.

It is of course impossible to reconstruct the process as Meroitic artisans came to know these two genres, compared them, perceived their shared principle of representation, and started to develop its translation into vase painting. So much is likely that the decoration of the imported metal vessels and, to a lesser extent, faience appeared to them more attractive than the designs on Hellenizing pottery because their iconographical repertory offered a far broader range of meaningful signs, which were fit to define the function and properties of a vessel in a social/religious/magical sense. There may be little doubt that it was this motivation that determined the disinterest in the adoption of the more complex Greek mythological themes and figures that the Meroitic artisan encountered on Egyptian faience.

High-quality faience vessels produced in Alexandria, Memphis, and Athribis<sup>157</sup> were widely traded in the contemporary world,<sup>158</sup> and third century BC luxury faience is present in the find material from Meroe City too.<sup>159</sup> Faience sculpture, architectural decoration (cf. Chapters V.1.5, 2.2.1), tableware, votives, ritual objects, amulets, personal adornment etc. of fine as well as of poor quality was produced in Nubia throughout the Napatan and Meroitic periods.<sup>160</sup> The faience production of the Meroitic period displays the continued impact of Egyptian imports and shows iconographical and stylistic connections with other genres of art, to which also pottery may be counted.

As already indicated above (Chapter IV), the Napatan and Meroitic dead was equipped with ceramic wine or water jars and metal or pottery bowls prepared for the use of the deceased in the Netherworld.<sup>161</sup> From the third century BC elite burials both in the south and the north of the land contained Egyptian bronze bowls and beakers of shapes that would change little in the course of the next two centu-

<sup>157</sup> Pagenstecher 1913 118 ff.; Nenna – Seif el-Din 1993; Friedman (ed.) 1998; Nenna – Seif el-Din 2000.

<sup>158</sup> Parlasca 1976.

<sup>159</sup> Török 1997b 201 No. 930–1, fig. 109; 248 No. x-29, fig. 128. For the latter, cf. Parlasca 1976 fig. 23.

<sup>160</sup> Cf. P. Lacovara: Nubian Faience. in: Friedman (ed.) 1998 46–49; G. Pierrat-Bonnefois: Les objets de faience. in: Baud – Sackho-Autissier – Labbé-Toutée (eds) 2010 118–123.

<sup>161</sup> For the evidence, see also Manzo 2006 84 Tables 1, 2.

ries, viz., “Achaemenid” bowls,<sup>162</sup> shallow<sup>163</sup> and hemispherical bowls,<sup>164</sup> hemispherical bowls of the omphalos type,<sup>165</sup> lotiform or campaniform beakers,<sup>166</sup> and (from the first century BC) cups with cylindrical side and angle to flat base.<sup>167</sup> Many of the imported bronze vessels were decorated with cast and/or incised designs in pharaonic<sup>168</sup> or Hellenistic style or combining the two. As already observed by Griffith,<sup>169</sup> Meroitic potters produced ceramic bowls that were copies in both shape and decoration of metal bowls. Especially important were for the formation of vase painting in “Line Drawing Style” the decorated hemispherical bronze bowls imported in the second half of the second century BC<sup>170</sup> (Pl. 100).<sup>171</sup> Their decoration presents an incised line drawing variant of the cast or embossed relief decoration of early Ptolemaic lotus chalice bowls.<sup>172</sup> Their bottom may be decorated with a leaf chalice<sup>173</sup> (with or without lotus flower/rosette centre),<sup>174</sup> the wall usually with an ivy or vine scroll placed above a lotus flower- and bud frieze.<sup>175</sup> These motifs associated the vessels with both the mortuary

<sup>162</sup> E.g., Amir Abdalla 15–1, Fernandez 1985, early second century BC; Griffith 1924 Pl. XXXII/IVc.

<sup>163</sup> E.g., Amir Abdalla 249–1, Fernandez 1985, second half of the third century BC; Griffith 1924 Pl. XXXII/IIh, i, k. A shallow bowl with Demotic inscription dated to Year 2 of Nero (AD 55): Cemetery 214 grave 85, Emery – Kirwan 1935 433, fig. 411/2, 531 No. 22, Pl. 58.

<sup>164</sup> E.g., Beg. W. 5, Török 1989 Nos 77, 78.

<sup>165</sup> E.g., Amir Abdalla 429–1, Fernandez 1985, second half of the third century BC; Beg. W. 5, Török 1989 Nos 80, 82, 87.

<sup>166</sup> E.g., Griffith 1924 Pl. XXXII/IIIc; Amir Abdalla 202–1, Fernandez 1985, mid-second century BC, see also Perez Die (ed.) 2003 Cat. 159, from Amir Abdalla grave 430.

<sup>167</sup> Griffith 1924 Pl. XXIX/LXXIa; Williams 1991 I 75 type G.

<sup>168</sup> With representations of processions of deities: Beg. W. 5, Dunham 1963 118, figs 90/e, f; Török 1989 131 No. 78; Beg. W. 369, Dunham 1963 95, fig. 74; Török 1989 132 No. 93.

<sup>169</sup> Griffith 1925 75.

<sup>170</sup> From Beg. W. 369, Dunham 1963 figs 73/e, f.

<sup>171</sup> Török 1989 No. 92.

<sup>172</sup> Cf., e.g., the much-illustrated bowl with the representation of Egyptian crowns Cairo JE 36460, Wildung – Grimm 1979 Cat. 124.

<sup>173</sup> Palm leaves emerging from a lotus flower in the centre of the bottom, cf. the fine faience bowl Brooklyn 55–1, E. Riefstahl: *Ancient Egyptian Glass and Glazes in the Brooklyn Museum*. Brooklyn 1968 No. 80, third-second century BC.

<sup>174</sup> Bowl from Begarawiya W. 369, Dunham 1963 95 No. 23-2-159, figs 73/e, f; Török 1989 132 No. 92.

<sup>175</sup> E.g., bowl from Begarawiya W. 5, Dunham 1963 118 No. 23-1-147, fig. 90/i; Török 1989 131 No. 81; and bowl from Begarawiya W. 369, see the previous note. Both examples come from assemblages also containing bronze bowls with incised figured friezes representing in Egyptian style processions of Egyptian deities. From W. 5:



rite of wine/water libation and the water for life in the Netherworld, and, in a more concrete sense, their iconographical message greatly contributed to the imitation of the bronze vessel type together with its decoration scheme. In a more general sense, the familiarity of the iconography also facilitated the adoption of the “Line Drawing Style”. A beautiful painting with a stylish vine tendril and a lotus frieze beneath it on an unprovenanced eggshell ware cup fragment<sup>176</sup> (Pl. 101)<sup>177</sup> may be classified together with a series of excellent quality paintings on thin-walled vessels from two sites at Meroe City as evidence for the unfolding of the “Line Drawing Style” in the capital’s workshops in the course of the second half of the second and the early first century BC. The first site, M 284–287, was a complex of pottery and other workshops operated between the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty–Early Napatan period and the AD first (or second?) century.<sup>178</sup> After a period of producing fine thin walled burnished cherry-red undecorated kaolin clay tableware (Chapter VII.3), the pottery workshops started manufacturing thin-walled vessels of both open and closed shapes decorated with “Line Drawing Style” painting. Besides fine vine and lotus designs,<sup>179</sup> sinuous branches with flowers or fruits but usually without leaves,<sup>180</sup> and net patterns with stars<sup>181</sup> or ‘nh signs<sup>182</sup> the paintings display meander,<sup>183</sup> trefoil,<sup>184</sup> and guilloche bands.<sup>185</sup> There occurs also a geometrical wall decoration,<sup>186</sup> which derives from the design repertory of third-second century BC Alexandrian finewares, like the classical framing bands or special motifs such as variants of the “Macedonian

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Dunham 1963 118 No. 23-1-146, figs 90/e, f; Török 1989 131 No. 78. From W. 369: Dunham 1963 95 No. 23-2-161, fig. 74; Török 1989 132 No. 93.

<sup>176</sup> Török 1997b 255 No. x-125, fig. 137, Pl. 201.

<sup>177</sup> Török 1997b Pl. 201.

<sup>178</sup> *Ibid.* 131 ff., figs 90–99.

<sup>179</sup> *Ibid.* 133 No. 284–8, fig. 90; 135 Nos 286/7–22, 24, fig. 91.

<sup>180</sup> *Ibid.* 135 No. 286/7–36, fig. 92.

<sup>181</sup> *Ibid.* 135 No. 286/7–26, fig. 91.

<sup>182</sup> *Ibid.* 132 f. No. 284–7, fig. 90; 135 No. 286/7–25, fig. 91.

<sup>183</sup> *Ibid.* 135 No. 286/7–29, fig. 91.

<sup>184</sup> *Ibid.* 135 Nos 286/7–23, 286/7–40, figs 91, 92. For the motif on Hadra vases, see P. Callaghan: The Trefoil Style and Second-Century Hadra Vases. *BSA* 75 (1980) 33–47.

<sup>185</sup> *Ibid.* 136 Nos 286/7–48, 49, fig. 93. On Hadra hydria: Guerrini 1964 C 9, late third century BC.

<sup>186</sup> *Ibid.* 135 No. 286/7–30, fig. 91. Cf. Pagenstecher 1913 fig. 45.

star”.<sup>187</sup> The latter was perhaps interpreted as a symbol of Osiris:<sup>188</sup> a five-pointed star emerges from a lunar crescent in the symbol frieze of a fine “Achaemenid” type bowl from Karanog grave 738,<sup>189</sup> and a frieze of six-pointed stars decorates a bowl from Begarawiya West W. 308<sup>190</sup> (Pl. 102).<sup>191</sup> A closely related design repertory appears on the ceramic assemblage from the other site, M 197, which originates probably from the destruction of the neighbouring palatial house M 996 (cf. Chapter V.1.4).<sup>192</sup>

Besides iconographical themes and subsidiary patterns adopted from the design repertory of Egyptian bronze and faience vessels the Meroitic painters also introduced Nubian designs. The assemblages from M 284–287 and M 197 contain paintings demonstrating the incorporation of elements of Early Meroitic religious iconography: viz., on a shallow bowl from M 286/7 a frieze of Apedemak heads emerging from the lunar crescent,<sup>193</sup> on a globular vessel from M 197 the water skin of Apedemak.<sup>194</sup> The latter motif also appears in the Hellenizing decoration of another globular vessel from Meroe City.<sup>195</sup> As indicated by a vessel fragment found similarly at Meroe City, also full figures of the lion-headed and human-bodied Apedemak were represented on finewares<sup>196</sup> (Pl. 103).<sup>197</sup>

It is likely that the figural decoration of later third century BC Hadra *hydriae*, including vases produced in Alexandria,<sup>198</sup> influenced provincial workshops in Upper Egypt, and through them the developments in Meroitic vase painting. Vessels with elaborate figural paintings produced in Aswan workshops and imported to Lower Nubia in the first century BC (Chapter VII.5.2.5) were also inspiring. More complex

<sup>187</sup> Török 1997b 136 No. 286/7–51, fig. 93. Cf. Enklaar 1985 118, fig. 5/d, “Peintre des Couronnes de Laurier”, 260–240 BC; Guerrini 1964 B 2, Enklaar 1985 121 “Peintre d’Alexandrie 5269”, 255–235 BC; Guerrini 1964 A 16.

<sup>188</sup> See Rondot n.d.

<sup>189</sup> Woolley – Randall-MacIver 1910 Pl. 78/8457.

<sup>190</sup> Boston 23.1469, height 8.4 cm, Dunham 1963 143 23-1-293, fig. G/19.

<sup>191</sup> Wenig 1978 Cat. 251.

<sup>192</sup> Török 1997b 92 ff., figs 84–88.

<sup>193</sup> *Ibid.* 134 f. No. 286/7–21, fig. 91.

<sup>194</sup> *Ibid.* 93 No. 197–25, fig. 85.

<sup>195</sup> *Ibid.* 218 No. 985–1, fig. 111.

<sup>196</sup> *Ibid.* 225 No. 297–9, fig. 116.

<sup>197</sup> Török 1997b fig. 116/297–9.

<sup>198</sup> Enklaar’s “Groupe du Laurier Sans Branche”, Enklaar 1985 137 ff.

figural representations are not frequent in Meroitic vase painting, however (Chapter VII.5.2.4).

The refined “Line Drawing Style” of the early finewares found at M 284–287 and M 197 is also characteristic for a great number of thin-walled vessels discovered at other sites in Meroe City and outside the southern capital. While a part of these finds is contemporary with the early assemblages discussed above, another part of them demonstrates that the principal design types, namely, the various wavy scrolls,<sup>199</sup> sinuous scrolls or branches without leaves,<sup>200</sup> net patterns,<sup>201</sup> scale patterns,<sup>202</sup> trefoil motifs<sup>203</sup> and cannellured wall decorations<sup>204</sup> (the latter imitating again third century BC Alexandrian finewares)<sup>205</sup> remained basic elements of vase painting during the first century BC and the AD first century. The painters of the pottery workshop founded before or around the end of the first century BC in the Great Enclosure at Musawwarat es Sufra, who were most likely recruited in Meroe City, decorated their products with trefoil and guilloche bands, also in *clair sur foncé*,<sup>206</sup> friezes of s3 knots (symbols of protection), vine tendrils, sinuous branches and scale patterns.<sup>207</sup> The metal cup type with cylindrical side and angle to flat base decorated with a frieze of s3 symbols was not only the model of a popular Meroitic thin-walled cup type<sup>208</sup> (Pl. 104),<sup>209</sup> but its decoration was also applied on other

<sup>199</sup> E.g., Török 1997b figs 111/985–4, 112/791–1 (with pomegranates), 137/x-124, x-126, x-127, x-135 (vine).

<sup>200</sup> E.g., *ibid.* figs 81/195–2, 84/197–10, 90/284–9, 111/985–2, 113/297–11, 137/x-129.

<sup>201</sup> E.g., *ibid.* figs 90/284–7, 91/286/7–25, 26, 106/920–20, 21, 110/972–1, 112/790–9, 138/x-161, 139/x-176.

<sup>202</sup> E.g., *ibid.* figs 71/191–5, 8, 72/194–3, 85/197–17, 86/197–35, 101/743–1, 106/920–14 to 18, 108/925–1, 113/297–16, 17, 115/297–16, 17, 115/922–3, 136/x-98, 138/x-164; see also Karanog grave 738, Woolley – Randall-MacIver 1910 Pl. 78/8457; from Gebel Barkal: Dunham 1970 fig. 35/20–3–66.

<sup>203</sup> E.g., *ibid.* figs 85/197–17, 18, 92/286/7–40, 111/790–4, 135/x-88, 136/x-108, 109.

<sup>204</sup> E.g., *ibid.* figs 106/920–22, 111/985–1.

<sup>205</sup> Cf., e.g., Pagenstecher 1913 fig. 22/a–c; Wildung – Grimm 1979 Cat. 107.

<sup>206</sup> Cf. Török 1997b 136 No. 286/7–61, fig. 94, 256 No. x-173, fig. 139.

<sup>207</sup> S. Wenig – P. Wolf: Feldarbeiten des Seminars für Sudanarchäologie der Humboldt-Universität in Musawwarat es Sufra. Dritte Hauptkampagne, 13.1.1997–11.4.1997. *MittSAG* 9 (1999) 24–37 Pl. I/5, 7; Edwards 1999a Pls XII, XIII.

<sup>208</sup> Munich ÄS 3851, from Faras grave 2856, height 6.4 cm, Wildung (ed.) 1997 Cat. 423.

<sup>209</sup> Wildung (ed.) 1997 Cat. 423.

shapes.<sup>210</sup> A bronze exemplar from Karanog grave 712<sup>211</sup> may be dated to the middle decades of the first century BC (cf. Chapter VII.5.2.3), by which time ceramic imitations of its type were also produced,<sup>212</sup> the earliest ones probably in potteries at Meroe City<sup>213</sup> (Pl. 105).<sup>214</sup>

#### 5.2.4. *Narrative Episodes*

Figural representations that could be termed narrative are very rare in Meroitic vase painting. That it is so may be explained, though not without some reservations, with the extension to Meroe of what Boardman says about the arts of contemporary Egypt and the Near East:

[T]he myths of the near east and Egypt never achieved canonical schemes in art except at the simplest level, and once the Greek idiom was observed, it was still not adopted.<sup>215</sup>

Narrative representations in monumental art of warfare, hunting, religious and royal ceremonial and the life of certain social groups such as the farmers and artesans (for the latter themes cf. Chapter III.1.3) continued to be created in Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt in both traditional and Hellenizing style. Greek and Roman mythological themes were represented in purely classical style, and Egyptian deities and religious themes received a Greek appearance (Chapters III.2, 3). On luxury pottery wares such as the Hadra *hydriae* produced partly in Crete and partly in Alexandria there appeared figural scenes in the second half of the third century.<sup>216</sup> The figural decoration of the Hadra vases reflects the taste and traditions of the Hellenistic Greek milieu for which they were made, and it was connected to the function of the vases as ash urns. The iconographical repertory of the third and second century BC painted wares produced outside Alexandria at Thebes, Athribis, the Memphite region and other unidentified sites (cf. Chapter VII.5.2.2)

<sup>210</sup> E.g., Török 1997b figs 106/920–23 to 920–28, 110/956–1, 112/791–2, 138/x-159, x-160.

<sup>211</sup> Philadelphia E 7133, height 7.0 cm, O'Connor 1993 159 No. 157.

<sup>212</sup> E.g., Griffith 1924 Pl. L/18.

<sup>213</sup> See Török 1997b 95 No. 197/k, Pl. 58.

<sup>214</sup> Faras grave 2801, Berlin 20836, height 11.9 cm (left); Meroe City, Berlin 20631, height 7.5 cm (centre); Faras grave 856, Berlin 20838, height 6.4 cm (right). Wildung (ed.) 1997 Cats 424–426.

<sup>215</sup> Boardman 1994 318.

<sup>216</sup> Cf. Guerrini 1964 A1–21, B 11, 12, 29–34, C 3, 9–11; Enklaar 1985 126 ff., 139, 140 ff.

includes motifs such as floral scrolls and garlands, palms, or the lotus swamp that carried well-defined religious meanings, but there are no figural scenic representations. Narrative representations would appear in the first century BC on products of workshops in the Aswan region: their case is special, however, because they were made for the Nubian market (Chapter VII.5.2.5).

The rare figural representations on Meroitic pottery present mostly, or perhaps exclusively themes that were associated with mortuary religion. Their survey is brief. At the head of the list stands a thin-walled vessel from Meroe City, now in the Louvre<sup>217</sup> (Pls 106, 107).<sup>218</sup> It is a cream kaolin clay ware cup with cylindrical side and angle to flat base. Around its side runs a frieze painted in black/dark brown and red in “Line Drawing Style” representing five men wearing loincloths and long belt sashes. They have tightly curled hair over which they wear headbands. Their stubbly beards belong perhaps to the iconography of grief. In the centre of the scene stands a man in frontal position (1) playing a two-sided drum (similar to the modern Sudanese *daluka*), which is drawn as if it were transparent. To the right of the drum player is an amphora stand with a wine amphora. To the left there are four men turning towards the drummer, the first (2) in walking posture or rather the posture of slow dancing and carrying a palm frond, in royal pyramid chapel reliefs the usual attribute of participants of mortuary rites. The second (3) is shown in the posture of a “neck dancer” and carrying a palm frond. Between him and a third figure holding a palm frond (4) stands a large jar with a ladle placed on its mouth. The fourth man (5) follows the third in the posture of slow dancing and also holds a palm frond. The frontal posture of the drummer, the naturalistic rendering of the musculature of the figures, and details such as the stubbly beards indicate the knowledge of Hellenistic figural representations, while three figures (2, 4, and 5) are represented according to the pharaonic frontal/profile canon. The “transparent” drum may also have been an attempt in the spirit of the

<sup>217</sup> Louvre E 11378+E 27493, height 11.7 cm. Török 1997b 261 No. x-kk, Pls 221, 222 + 248 x-25, fig. 128=Liverpool E 8384; Kendall 1996 figs 1/a–d, 3; Baud – Sackho-Autissier – Labbé-Toutée (eds) Cat. 272. The reconstruction drawing by Y. Markowitz in Kendall 1996 fig. 3 also includes the small fragment with the head of the figure at the right end of the scene now in the Garstang Museum of Archaeology, University of Liverpool E 8384, Török 1997b 248 No. x-25, fig. 128.

<sup>218</sup> Pl. 106: Kendall 1996 figs 1/a–d; Pl. 107: *ibid.* fig. 3, reconstruction drawing by Y. Markowitz.

traditional Egyptian/Nubian canon, according to which a representation has to show the reality of an object, not only one particular view of it. Here parts of the costume are shown, which the drum would in reality conceal from our view. The equal distances between the figures also follow the traditional Egyptian/Nubian canon.

Pointing out that figure 3 is shown to perform a Meroitic period variant of modern Sudanese *raqaba* or “neck dance”, Timothy Kendall<sup>219</sup> compared the painting on the cup to a unique relief depicting a drummer, a singer, a neck dancer and three other dancers on the wall of the chapel of pyramid Begarawiya North 11,<sup>220</sup> the burial place of Queen Shanakadakheto.<sup>221</sup> Our interpretation of the painting on the Louvre cup as a representation of the traditional Meroitic mortuary cult dance and as an object made for an elite burial by an artisan who was also influenced by Hellenistic models, is also supported by the decoration of two bronze bowls. They were discovered by Patrice Lenoble in a Late Meroitic or early post-Meroitic princely tomb at el Hobagi south of Meroe City on the left bank. The first bowl (Pl. 108)<sup>222</sup> is decorated with a mortuary dance scene including a drummer, a singer, and some fourteen dancers shown in frantic postures. In the centre of the scene is probably an enthroned ruler.<sup>223</sup> The second bowl (Pl. 109)<sup>224</sup> is decorated with Greek Satyrs dancing ecstatically around a wine amphora (cf. Chapter VII.5.2.5). The rendering of the muscular figures recalls the style of the Louvre cup. The splendid incised drawing on the first bowl of figures placed in a staccato rhythm and overlapping each other so as to create the impression of space is the work of an artist who was familiar with classical style narrative representations. Yet also his knowledge of Meroitic iconography (costumes, hair styles, attributes) is obvious.<sup>225</sup>

The royal chapel relief, the clay vessel from Meroe City, and the first bronze bowl from el Hobagi are connected not only through

<sup>219</sup> T. Kendall: Ethnoarchaeology in Meroitic Studies. *Meroitica* 10 (1989) 625–745 658 f.

<sup>220</sup> Chapman – Dunham 1952 Pl. 8/B.

<sup>221</sup> Dated traditionally to the second half of the second century BC, *FHN* II Nos (148), (149). Claude Rilly's recent suggestion, according to which Shanakadakheto's Meroitic hieroglyphic cartouche at Naqa Temple F displays paleographical features that may be dated c. one century later does not convince me. Cf. Rilly 2010b 150 f.

<sup>222</sup> Height 17.4 cm, Dissaux – Reinold – Lenoble 1997 figs 3/a, b.

<sup>223</sup> Dissaux – Reinold – Lenoble 1997 51 f.

<sup>224</sup> Measurements not known. Lenoble 2004 fig. 1.

<sup>225</sup> Cf. Dissaux – Reinold – Lenoble 1997 50 f.

their iconography. Though they may be separated from each other by longer periods of time,<sup>226</sup> the composition of all three is indebted to Hellenistic narrative representations: namely, though not without awkward overlappings, also the chapel relief depicts a scene in a three-dimensional space with figures represented in three-quarter view and turning towards each other instead of forming a procession in the manner of the traditional cult scenes in pyramid chapels. It is worth noting that Shanakadakheto's chapel reliefs also contain other scenes of unusual iconography, such as a procession of offering animals, indicating that the team of artesans working on Begarawiya N. 11 also included (a) master(s) trained in late Ptolemaic Egypt. A sherd from Meroe City provides an unexpected insight into the high-quality training some of the artesans working there could have received. The painting in dark brown, red, and grey on the fragment from a cream kaolin ware vessel with polished cream slip represents the face of Bes<sup>227</sup> (Pl. 110).<sup>228</sup> Uniquely in Meroitic vase painting the light reflection in the god's eyes is naturalistically rendered, in the manner of Hellenistic style Egyptian painting and mosaic.<sup>229</sup>

The scene on the Louvre cup includes two containers of wine, the first el Hobagi bowl a jar and drinking bowls.<sup>230</sup> These motifs are not present in the chapel relief, indicating that the rites depicted are not completely identical in every case. It seems that the vessels entered the iconography of mortuary cult dance at the time when this rite was conflated with the consumption of wine as part of the cult of the dead and when the consumption/offering of wine at the burial also became associated with the Dionysiac revel. That such conflation and association actually existed is not only hinted at by the presence of

<sup>226</sup> The el Hobagi burial is dated to the AD fourth century, see P. Lenoble – Nigm ed Din Mohamed Sharif: Barbarians at the Gates? The Royal Mounds of el Hobagi and the End of Meroe. *Antiquity* 66 (1992) 626–635; P. Lenoble: The Division of the Meroitic Empire and the End of Pyramid Building in the 4th Century AD: An Introduction to Further Excavations of Imperial Mounds in the Sudan. in: Welsby (ed.) 1999 157–184. It is not unlikely that the decorated bronze vessels from the tomb were reused objects. Cf. P.L. Shinnie – J.H. Robertson: The End of Meroe. A Comment on the Paper by Patrice Lenoble and Nigm ed Din Mohamed Sharif. *Antiquity* 67 (1993) 895–898; Dissaux – Reinold – Lenoble 1997 53; L. Török: The End of Meroe. in: Welsby (ed.) 1999 133–156.

<sup>227</sup> Török 1997b 248 No. x-27, fig. 128.

<sup>228</sup> Török 1997b fig. 128/x-27.

<sup>229</sup> Cf., e.g., Daszewski 1985 Nos 39, 43. For mummy portraits, see Borg 1996.

<sup>230</sup> Dessaix – Reinold – Lenoble 1997 fig. 3, between figures 3 and 4.

the bowl with the dancing Satyrs in the el Hobagi inventory—which may after all be accidental—but is also reinforced by the great number of Dionysiac images in Meroitic art.<sup>231</sup> Not only monuments of royal display such as the “water sanctuary” at Meroe City (Chapter V.2) attest the adoption of aspects of the Hellenistic Egyptian cult of Dionysos. A Hellenizing relief representation<sup>232</sup> (Pl. 111)<sup>233</sup> of two Bes-Satyrs drawing buckets of water (?) from a well (?) in a sanctuary built by Natakamani and Amanitore (?) at Duanib indicates that Dionysiac figures could be granted a place in the iconography of a Meroitic cult temple too. The penetration of the cult of Dionysos and the wine into Meroitic mortuary religion is best illustrated by the Satyr figures and heads appearing in the decoration of globular pots and cups placed in the graves.<sup>234</sup>

Let us continue the list with other, less elevated, attempts at narrative representations. A non-professional painting on a poor quality long necked bottle<sup>235</sup> (Pl. 112)<sup>236</sup> from the cemetery of Meroitic envoys to Egypt at Shablul (cf. Chapter VII.1) depicts a series of offering stands and tables in front of a mountain or primitive sanctuary. In the mountain or shrine a deity dwells in the form of a bird, whose divine being is indicated by an altar standing in front of it. In quality and style the painting is not far from a first century BC Egyptian handled jug in the decoration of which similar birds are shown perching on lotus flowers surrounded by ‘nh signs and palm fronds<sup>237</sup> (Pl. 113).<sup>238</sup> While the painter of the latter vessel intended a symbolic representation of the lotus swamp, the painter of the bottle from Shablul seems to have tried to depict an actual shrine, whereas he gave special emphasis to the multitude of offering altars. It may be speculated that the multiplication of altars for (mortuary?) libation was inspired by some knowledge of the libation offerings performed for Osiris as ordered by the Abaton

<sup>231</sup> For the evidence, see Manzo 2006.

<sup>232</sup> LD V 68/f, Manzo 2006 fig. 2.

<sup>233</sup> LD V 68/f.

<sup>234</sup> E.g., Woolley – Randall-MacIver 1910 Pls 49/8275, 70/8272, 73/8297, 93/8724, Griffith 1924 Pls L/1, LI/6.

<sup>235</sup> Philadelphia E 5331, height 22.5 cm, Randall-MacIver – Woolley 1909 Pl. 29/11; O’Connor 1993 160 No. 162.

<sup>236</sup> Randall-MacIver – Woolley 1909 Pl. 29/11.

<sup>237</sup> From Karanog grave 614. Philadelphia E 8313, height 22.1 cm, Wenig 1978 Cat. 244.

<sup>238</sup> Wenig 1978 Cat. 244.



Decree, according to which 365 offering tables must be placed around the Osiris grave at Philae and offering at these should never cease.<sup>239</sup>

A late first century BC Lower Nubian potter<sup>240</sup> decorated several jars<sup>241</sup> with sketchy but routinized drawings of bound captives wearing a flat-topped headdress that may have identified a particular enemy in the eyes of the contemporary viewer (Pl. 114).<sup>242</sup> The captives appear in a southern landscape with trees and giraffes. A vessel from Ballana Cemetery B was decorated with a much poorer procession of warriors.<sup>243</sup> The finest triumphal image is painted on the shoulder of a late first century BC–AD first century globular pot<sup>244</sup> (Pl. 115)<sup>245</sup> decorated under the influence of Aswan vases made for the Nubian market (Chapter 5.2.5). It represents two lions attacking fallen men, both of them being identified as African through their dark grey skin colour and curly hair. One of them also has facial scarification. It cannot be decided if an actual enemy of Meroe that was fought at that time was meant, or was one of the perennial enemy types of pharaonic Egyptian iconography thoughtlessly copied, like on many Nubian royal monuments of the Meroitic period.<sup>246</sup> The image of a lion biting off the head or the face of an enemy was represented in the AD first century in relief on the front of the Apedemak temple at Naqa<sup>247</sup> and on Prince Arikankharor's triumphal stela,<sup>248</sup> in the round at the temple of Basa.<sup>249</sup> The type was not a Meroitic invention: through unknown mediation,

<sup>239</sup> Cf. Junker 1913 18; for a chapel with rows of offering altars at Bab Kalasha in the Dodekaschoinos, see H. Ricke *et al.*: *Ausgrabungen von Khor-Dehmit bis Bet el-Wali*. Chicago. 1967 12 ff., 20 ff.

<sup>240</sup> The "Prisoner Painter" of Wenig 1978 98 and Cats 236, 237.

<sup>241</sup> From Faras grave 1090. Oxford 1912.412, height 37.4 cm, Wenig 1978 Cat. 236; from Faras grave 2698, Oxford 1912.475, height 25.6 cm, *ibid.* Cat. 237; two jars from Cemetery 214 grave 36, present whereabouts and measurements unknown, Emery – Kirwan 1935 Pl. 41/I–IV.

<sup>242</sup> Wenig 1978 Cat. 237.

<sup>243</sup> Williams 1991 I fig. 298/d.

<sup>244</sup> From Faras grave 675. Oxford 1912.321, height 28.0 cm, Wenig 1978 Cat. 232.

<sup>245</sup> Wenig 1978 Cat. 232, colour photograph on p. 288.

<sup>246</sup> For the evidence, see Török 1989 105–116, figs 247–370, and cf. H. Tomandl: *Die Thronuntersätze vom Amuntempel in Meroe und Jebel Barkal. Ein ikonographischer Vergleich*. VA 2 (1986) 63–72; *id.*: *Der Thronuntersatz von Naqa*. BzS 1 (1986) 149–156.

<sup>247</sup> Gamer-Wallert 1983 Pls I, IV.

<sup>248</sup> Worcester Art Museum 1922.145, Wenig 1978 Cat. 125.

<sup>249</sup> Wenig 1978 fig. 70.

it derived from the Egyptian New Kingdom iconography of the vanquished Nubian.<sup>250</sup>

Evidently satirical is the procession of apes and a frog on a globular vessel<sup>251</sup> from the pottery workshop site M 284–287 at Meroe City (Chapter VII.5.2.3). The frog is wearing long belt sashes. The apes are wearing leaf crowns and they carry, like the frog, dead palm fronds and branches. They impersonate a procession of funerary offering bearers. The satirical accent of the painting is rendered obvious not only by the animals that are the traditional heroes of Egyptian fables and comic parables but also by the obscene gesture of one of the monkeys. The inspiration of Egyptian satirical animal fable may be supposed also in the procession of apes impersonating dignitaries depicted on a vessel fragment from Nag Gamus.<sup>252</sup>

Paintings representing hyenas could be thought to belong to a traditional genre, viz., the representation of the natural environment. A late first century BC–AD first century globular vessel from Semna South<sup>253</sup> is decorated with the figures of a hare, two guinea fowls, and a hyena (Pl. 116).<sup>254</sup> The latter is represented twice. As shown by Inge Hofmann,<sup>255</sup> the finely executed painting illustrates an animal fable, the protagonists of which appear in a rich variety of African folk tales.<sup>256</sup> The earliest data indicating that the hyena played a role in Nubian zoological lore can actually be found in a passage quoted in a Renaissance manuscript from a lost work of the Hellenistic geographical writer Dalion (around 300 BC):<sup>257</sup>

Dalion says in the first book of his *Aithiopica* that there is in Aithiopia a beast called *crocotta* (= hyena). This animal approaches the enclosures<sup>258</sup>

<sup>250</sup> E.g., Cairo JE 63802, ostracon from Deir el Medineh, W.H. Peck: *Drawings from Ancient Egypt*. London 1978 No. 94.

<sup>251</sup> Garstang Museum of Archaeology, University of Liverpool E 8339a–c, Török 1997b 137 No. 286/7–69, fig. 97.

<sup>252</sup> Almagro 1965 fig. 175/3; Hofmann – Tomandl 1987 fig. 14.

<sup>253</sup> Žabkar – Žabkar 1982 46 fig. b.

<sup>254</sup> Hofmann 1988 fig. 2.

<sup>255</sup> Hofmann 1988 34–133.

<sup>256</sup> For the hyena in ancient folklore see F. Witek – H. Brakmann: Hyäne. *RAC* XVI (1993) 893–904.

<sup>257</sup> *Paradoxographus Vaticanus* 2, *FHN* II No. 101, transl. T. Eide. For Dalion see Pliny, *Naturalis historia* 6. 183, *FHN* II No. 100.

<sup>258</sup> The Greek word ἔπαυλις used by Dalion refers to the enclosure in which stood the round hut inhabited by a family.

to listen to people talking, and particularly to hear the names of the children. Approaching during the night it utters the names, and when the children come out it devours them.<sup>259</sup>

The repetition of the hyena figure in the Semna South vase painting indicates that two subsequent scenes, obviously the key episodes in the fable, were illustrated on the vessel. The painting suggests that there existed in Meroe an oral literature, which was current enough to be illustrated with episodic images. In view of the extreme rarity of representations of this kind, however, an Egyptian inspiration as to the mode of illustration may be supposed.<sup>260</sup> A fine representation of a hyena<sup>261</sup> running in landscape appears on a bowl<sup>262</sup> (Pl. 117)<sup>263</sup> made in the pottery workshop M 284–287 at Meroe City (cf. Chapter VII.5.2.3). By the grey colour of the fell, mixed from brown and white pigments, the painter achieved a naturalistic effect. A good quality painting of two striding hyenas<sup>264</sup> decorates the shoulder of a jar from Ballana Cemetery B.<sup>265</sup>

The above-quoted passage from Dalion's work indicates the actual somber connotations of the repulsive beast's image in the Nubian tradition, an image, which could by no means be treated in a merely entertaining way. It has been suggested that the poorest dead were not buried, instead, their bodies were carried to the desert edge and left to be "buried" by the hyenas. Even if such a cruel form of the disposal of the body was not frequent or deliberate, the frightful habits of the scavenger were known and invited parable. It is likely that the painted beasts were meant to present a brutally moralizing contrast to

<sup>259</sup> The original tale was intended to protect a child by frightening it away from danger, but it also reflected the belief that the name and the person are inseparable and that possession of the name suffices for possession of the person.

<sup>260</sup> For the interpretation of episodic images in Egyptian texts and illustrations cf. D. Kessler: *Der satirisch-erotische Papyrus Turin 55001 und das "Verbringen des schönen Tages"*. SAK 15 (1988) 171–196; J. Assmann: *Literatur und Karneval im Alten Ägypten*. in: S. Döpp (ed.): *Karnevalische Phänomene in antiken und nachantiken Kulturen und Literaturen*. Trier 1993 31–57; R. Parkinson: *Cracking Codes. The Rosetta Stone and Decipherment*. With Contributions by W. Diffie, M. Fischer and R.S. Simpson. London 1999 171 Cat. 81.

<sup>261</sup> Both the Semna South and the Meroe City beasts correspond with the zoological description according to which the hyena is a doglike mammal with forelimbs that are longer than the hind limbs; the Meroe City hyena also has an erect mane.

<sup>262</sup> Török 1997b 132 No. 284–6, fig. 90.

<sup>263</sup> Török 1997b fig. 90/284–6.

<sup>264</sup> Williams 1991 57 suggests, probably wrongly, dogs.

<sup>265</sup> Williams 1991 fig. 297.

the “beautiful burial”, which the owners of these vessels received, by reminding them of the eternal death suffered by the unfortunate or the criminal whose body was devoured by wild beasts.

The most remarkable imported pottery found in a Meroitic period context at Meroe City is an incompletely preserved Eighteenth Dynasty painted bowl with a representation of horses<sup>266</sup> (Pl. 118, left).<sup>267</sup> The fine vessel receives its full importance through another sherd, which was found with it and comes from a thin-walled Meroitic kaolin ware<sup>268</sup> (Pl. 118, right).<sup>269</sup> The latter sherd bears a unique design painted in dark brown and red on cream ground. It represents a mounted Roman soldier wearing a tunic and carrying a sword. Its painter modeled his horse on the galloping horses of the Eighteenth Dynasty bowl, which was at that time over thirteen centuries old, and which was a “page” in the “pattern book” of an itinerant Egyptian artisan. He added to the horse a figure in order to present a design, which had an actuality after the war that Meroe fought with Rome between 29–21/20 BC. In the few square centimeters of the surface of a technically superb Meroitic ceramic vessel, the small painting presents a paradigmatic example of archaizing in late Ptolemaic art and at the same time it presents a concentrate of the Egyptian artistic traditions that influenced the development of Meroitic art. The conflict with Rome also may have inspired other, now lost vase paintings of a narrative character, as a cream ware sherd from Faras<sup>270</sup> indicates. Its poor quality decoration painted in black/dark brown, red and white represents a Roman warrior leading his horse. He is wearing a sleeved tunic with *clavi*, carrying a spear in his right and a round shield in his left hand; and he has a long sheathed sword in his belt.

#### 5.2.5. *Decorated Egyptian Pottery Produced for the Nubian Market and its Impact on Meroitic Painters*

The iconography of the Meroitic vase paintings representing lions attacking enemies or running hyenas (Chapter VII.5.2.4, Pls 115–117) is doubtless Nubian. It was, however, a special class of Egyptian import

<sup>266</sup> Liverpool World Museum 1973.1.698. Török 1997b 139 No. 286/7–A, Pl. 103.

<sup>267</sup> Török 1997b Pl. 103.

<sup>268</sup> Liverpool World Museum 47.48.128. Török 1997b 139 No. 286/7–B, Pl. 104.

<sup>269</sup> Török 1997b Pl. 104.

<sup>270</sup> Provenance not known. Oxford, inventory no. not known, unpublished.

that inspired their style. Hellenistic-type *lekythoi*, jugs, tankards, pitchers of an average quality made from the characteristic pink clay of the Aswan region were imported to Nubia from the second century BC onward.<sup>271</sup> High quality Aswan wares with complex figural decoration started to appear in Nubia after the destruction of Thebes by Ptolemy IX in 86–85 BC. Many of the paintings on them display themes meant especially for the Meroitic market. The fact that these high quality painted wares are unknown from Egyptian sites further reinforces our impression that they were produced exclusively for export to Nubia.

Two amphorae from Faras with Hellenizing *foncé sur claire* (here black on red) decoration represent the early phase of the production. They may be dated to the first half of the first century BC. The stereotype decoration of the first<sup>272</sup> (Pl. 119)<sup>273</sup> includes the sketchy representation of an African hut. The second vessel is decorated with the clumsy image of a Nubian bowman<sup>274</sup> (Pl. 120).<sup>275</sup> The black on red design is enlivened on both vessels with the addition of motifs in white. On the first vessel large white dots appear in the bands separating the zones of the decoration. On the second white bands frame the decorated wall zones and in the main frieze there are garlands in which white flowers or petals alternate with black or purple ones.

White spots, patches, and blobs in the subsidiary patterns or on the body of animal figures or in flower garlands are the hallmark of a significant class of Aswan wares destined for the Nubian market. White can also be the colour of whole figures and/or details (eyes, attributes, jewelry) in figural scenes on these vessels. The most frequently encountered shapes associated with paintings in black/dark brown, red, and white are globular bottles with short, narrow, moulded or straight neck,<sup>276</sup> cylindrical jars with vertical neck, and Hellenistic shapes such as *lekythoi* and table amphorae. The flower garlands indicate that the vessels were produced specially for mortuary rites and funerary equipments.

<sup>271</sup> For examples, see Griffith 1924 Pl. XXIII/XLIe, f; Williams 1991 figs 27–29.

<sup>272</sup> Griffith 1924 Pl. XLVIII/6, from grave 1226.

<sup>273</sup> Török 1987a fig. 27.

<sup>274</sup> Griffith 1924 Pl. XLVIII/7, from grave 1087.

<sup>275</sup> Török 1987a fig. 29.

<sup>276</sup> Williams 1991 figs 6/f–h, 8/a (Meroitic Fine Jars), 34/a, c, d (Egyptian Globular Jars).

In the second half of the first century BC and in the AD first century several skilled painters were active in the Aswan workshop(s) supplying an elite clientèle in Lower Nubia with excellent quality finewares. The artistic background of their earlier generations is indicated by the astonishing paintings of an artisan whose vases were buried with the owner of grave 712 at Karanog. He decorated a red-slipped globular pot<sup>277</sup> (Pl. 121; for the whole body frieze see Pl. 123)<sup>278</sup> on the shoulder with an undulating garland with black and white leaves or flowers (?) and round black fruits (?). This frieze is separated from the body frieze by a similarly structured black and white scroll running in a narrow band. The body frieze contains sketchy, yet routinized representations in black and white, viz., two offering stands with fruit and bread (?) and a garland trailing over them; a garlanded horned altar approached by three geese; and an enigmatic triangular object under a garland.<sup>279</sup> Two large insects<sup>280</sup> or more probably swallows are flying towards it. The representation of geese approaching an altar paraphrases the Hellenistic iconography of swans flying or walking towards an altar<sup>281</sup> or a libation vessel<sup>282</sup> as we know it from Hadra *hydriae* decorated by the Alexandrian “Peintre des Coureurs” between 240–200 BC<sup>283</sup> (Pl. 122).<sup>284</sup> Landscapes with swans appear in the decoration of late Hellenistic silver plate associated with Alexandria.<sup>285</sup> The motif of the swallows appears on a unique first century BC Alexandrian painted jar.<sup>286</sup> Its polychrome shoulder frieze depicts a fruit basket filled with bunches

<sup>277</sup> Philadelphia E 8157, height 28.3 cm, Wenig 1978 Cat. 224; Hochfield – Riefstahl (eds) 1978 fig. p. 130; O'Connor 1993 Pl. 23.

<sup>278</sup> O'Connor 1993 Pl. 23.

<sup>279</sup> It appears also on a stylistically related vessel without figures from Faras grave 2097, Griffith 1924 Pl. XLVI/1.

<sup>280</sup> Wenig 1978 281.

<sup>281</sup> Guerrini 1964 A 3; Enklaar 1985 141.

<sup>282</sup> Guerrini 1964 A 5; Enklaar 1985 141.

<sup>283</sup> Enklaar 1985 140 ff.—Other *hydriae* with flying or walking swans, but without altars: Guerrini C 6, 11. The latter by the “Peintre des Pégases”, 235–220 BC, Enklaar 1985 142 f.

<sup>284</sup> Guerrini 1964 Pl. I/A 5.

<sup>285</sup> Adriani 1959 20 ff.

<sup>286</sup> From Kom Trouga-el Beheria at Alexandria. Alexandria, Alexandria National Museum 794 (until 2003 Alexandria, Graeco-Roman Museum 25262), height 30.0 cm, E. Breccia: *Le Musée Gréco-Romain d'Alexandrie (1925–1931)*. Bergamo 1932 Pl. XXXVII/132, 133; L. Török: *After the Pharaohs. Treasures of Coptic Art from Egyptian Collections. Museum of Fine Arts, Budapest*. Budapest 2004 Cat. 10.

of grapes, on which flying swallows are picking. A cock<sup>287</sup> attacks one of the swallows. To the left of the basket there are flower garlands. All these motifs may be interpreted as mortuary symbols, as also indicated by paintings from mortuary cult chapels at Hermopolis Magna (modern Tuna el Gebel).<sup>288</sup>

There may be little doubt that the intention of the “Painter of Karanog Grave 712” was to present the parody of some image associated with Alexandrian Greek mortuary religion, even though we do not know where and under what circumstances did he see it. We are perhaps not entirely mistaken when speculating that an Egyptian artisan wanted to caricature a Greek tradition and mock at the same time a Nubian client whom he supposed to be unable to distinguish a religious image from its caricature.

Behind the painting on another vessel<sup>289</sup> decorated by the same artisan there is a similar, perhaps even more malicious, intention. The shoulder of the squat red-slipped table amphora is painted with a white and dark brown flower garland, the body with a frieze in the centre of which a white gazelle is depicted lying beside a garlanded horned altar and eating from it. Behind the white gazelle there is a tree. The frieze displays furthermore four running black gazelles under garlands. The gazelle was associated in Egyptian religion with Seth, the murderer of Osiris, enemy of the gods, whose annihilation was a ritual duty of the king<sup>290</sup> and the gods (particularly Horus).<sup>291</sup> It was an animal offered to the gods in temple cults and, as such, was represented in offering scenes throughout Egyptian history. The identical painted decoration of a famous pair of transparent Egyptian blue glass flutes<sup>292</sup> made

<sup>287</sup> For cocks on a Cretan Hadra *hydria*, see Alexandria 23865, after 220 BC, Enklaar 1985 126 No. 13, Pl. 2/a–c.

<sup>288</sup> Gabra – Drioton 1954 Pls 5: birds and flower garland in landscape, 11, top: cocks fighting for flower garland, 17: cock.

<sup>289</sup> From Karanog grave 712. Philadelphia E 8156, measurements not known, Woolley – Randall-MacIver 1910 Pl. 45.

<sup>290</sup> H. Kees: *Bemerkungen zum Tieropfer der Ägypter und seiner Symbolik*. (Nachrichten von der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften in Göttingen, Phil.-hist. Kl. Fachgruppe I, *Alturumswissenschaften* 2). Göttingen 1942 77 ff.

<sup>291</sup> L. Störk: Antilope. *LÄ I* (1973) 319–323 321 (with literature); E. Brunner-Traut: Gazelle. *LÄ II* (1976) 426 f.

<sup>292</sup> From pyramid tomb WT 8. Khartoum SNM 20406, height 20.3 cm, and Michela Schiff Giorgini Collection, Archaeological Institute of the University of Pisa, height 20.1 cm, J. Leclant: Glass from the Meroitic Necropolis of Sedeinga (Sudanese Nubia). *Journal of Glass Studies* 15 (1973) 52–68 56 f., figs 5–11; H.E.M. Cool: Sedeinga and the Glass Vessels of the Kingdom of Meroe. *Annales du 13<sup>e</sup> congrès de l'Association*

around AD 300 and found at Sedeinga shows Osiris and a procession of offering-bearers: the offerings also include gazelles. In the Greek myth the Maenads and Satyrs sacrificed goats to Dionysos. The goat had to be punished because it committed the sacrilege of eating grapes that belonged to the god.<sup>293</sup> The regular confusion of the goat with the gazelle in Egyptian representations<sup>294</sup> was probably determined by the similar background of the slaying of the goat in the Dionysos myth<sup>295</sup> and of the gazelle in Egyptian religion, the irrelevance of the goat in Egypt as a sacrificial animal, and, last but not least, the similar appearance of the two animals.

The remarkable “Painter of Karanog Grave 712” worked in a workshop specialized in the large-scale production of red-slipped globular pots decorated with paintings in black/dark brown and white representing garlands or flowers (flower petals) on the shoulder; garlanded horned altars,<sup>296</sup> palm fronds,<sup>297</sup> *nh* symbols and palm fronds,<sup>298</sup> garlands<sup>299</sup> under arcades, or palm fronds and branches with

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*internationale pour l'histoire du verre* Amsterdam 1995. Amsterdam 1996 201–212; M.-D. Nenna: Le gobelet peint de Sedeinga. in: Baud – Sackho-Autissier – Labbé-Toutée (eds) 2010 128–129, Cat. 170 (Khartoum SNM 20406). Made probably for funerary use; inscribed in Greek: ΠΙΕ ΖΗCEN, “drink [and] live”, referring in a syncretistic manner both to the re-birth granted by Dionysos’ wine and the water necessary for the dead in the Netherworld according to Egyptian religion. For the unusual ΖΗCEN instead of ΖΗCEC other examples are referred to by Leclant *op. cit.* 59 note 23. For the provenance and dating cf. also Török 1989 149 No. 234.

<sup>293</sup> For Roman representations of the sacrilege committed by the goat, see J. Balty: Notes d’iconographie dionysiaque: la mosaïque de Sarrîn (Osrhoène). *MEFRA* 103 (1991) 19–33 31 f., fig. 9.

<sup>294</sup> Cf. L. Török: *The Hunting Centaur. A Monument of Egyptian Hellenism from the Fourth Century AD in the Museum of Fine Arts, Budapest*. Budapest 1998 29 f.

<sup>295</sup> On the complex significance of the goat, which was also an animal form of the god, in the Dionysos myth and religion see F.A. Voigt: Dionysos. in: W.H. Roscher: *Lexikon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie* II.1<sup>2</sup>. Hildesheim 1965 1029–1089 1058 f.; K. Kerényi: *Dionysos. Urbild des unzerstörbaren Lebens*. München-Wien 1976 200 ff., 254 ff. The goat was punished because it has offended the god, cf. Voigt *op. cit.* 1058 f.; for the actual background to this notion (i.e., the role of the goat sacrifice in the securing of the fertility of the vine-stock) see Kerényi *op. cit.* 200 f.; for Roman representations of the “sacrilege” committed by the goat see J. Balty: Notes d’iconographie dionysiaque: la mosaïque de Sarrîn (Osrhoène). *MEFRA* 103 (1991) 19–33 31 f., fig. 9.

<sup>296</sup> Also from Karanog grave 712: Philadelphia E 8182, Woolley – Randall-MacIver 1910 Pl. 56.

<sup>297</sup> E.g., from Karanog grave 235, Woolley – Randall-MacIver 1910 Pl. 56.

<sup>298</sup> From Faras grave 2906, Griffith 1924 Pl. XVIII/VIIIh.

<sup>299</sup> Ballana Cemetery B grave B 111B, Williams 1991 I fig. 219/b.



flowers<sup>300</sup> on the body. The workshop also produced *lekythoi*, table amphorae, bowls and cups with similar decoration. Globular pots, amphorae, *lekythoi*, bowls and cups painted with these, or closely related designs *without* using white pigment were also produced *en masse*. It is demonstrated by a rich evidence from Faras, Karanog and several other sites that decoration types deriving from the more elaborate ones created in our workshop but reduced on two or three nicely, yet simply rendered basic symbols of mortuary religion were maintained in the Aswan workshops all the way through the AD first century and beyond and continued to be liked by the Lower Nubian clientèle. A red vessel decorated in this style<sup>301</sup> from grave 229, Cemetery 150 at Wadi es Sebuia presents an indication for the chronological position of the wares without white painting. It was buried together with an Arretine flanged dish<sup>302</sup> and an Italian thin-walled juglet, the first dated in general terms to the Augustan-Tiberian period, the second more definitively to the late first century BC.<sup>303</sup>

Let us return for a moment to higher quality Aswan products. A red-slipped ovoid pot with narrow vertical neck decorated with a particularly fine black, grey and white painting is frequently illustrated<sup>304</sup> (Pl. 124).<sup>305</sup> It represents three muscular, naked, longhaired and bearded Satyrs with short horns, animal ears and tail, and wearing armlets and anklets. They are dancing with a ladle (*kyathos*) in their right and a leaf crown in their left hand to the music of a fourth Satyr who is playing the *aulos* (double-pipe). Between the figures there are wine amphorae on stands. The body outlines, the features of the faces, the hair, and the musculature are rendered in black drawing. The black lines change their thickness in a calligraphic fashion, which gives the impression of three-dimensionality. The amphorae, their stands, and the double-pipe of the musician Satyr also have black contours. Except for the eyes and ornaments, the body of the figures is dark grey. The

<sup>300</sup> E.g., from Faras grave 2004, Griffith 1924 Pl. XLV/6; from Karanog grave 631, Woolley – Randall-MacIver 1910 Pl. 44; from Semna South, Vercoutter 1966 Pl. VII/b.

<sup>301</sup> Emery – Kirwan 1935 fig. p. 72, Pl. 31.

<sup>302</sup> Cf. Waagé 1948 Nos 426, 430 (Eastern imitations).

<sup>303</sup> Cf. Hayes 1976 No. 143.

<sup>304</sup> From Karanog grave 112. Philadelphia E 8216, height 30.7 cm, Woolley – Randall-MacIver 1910 Pl. 45; Wenig 1978 Cat. 230; O'Connor 1993 162 No. 174; Baud – Sackho-Autissier – Labbé-Toutée (eds) 2010 fig. 273.

<sup>305</sup> Baud – Sackho-Autissier – Labbé-Toutée (eds) 2010 fig. 273.

white of the eyes, armlets, anklets, amphorae and musical instrument enlivens the grey-on-red, i.e., dark-on-dark design in a simple, yet very attractive fashion.

Trying to similarly exploit the pleasant effect of the calculated use of calligraphic lines and the white-on-red contrast, other Aswan painters who were not quite as skilled as the “Master of the Satyrs” turned to the representation of Meroitic subjects. I quote three vessels painted by artesans of widely different skills. The finest one is a red-slipped tall cylindrical jar<sup>306</sup> (Pl. 125).<sup>307</sup> In the frieze running around its wall there are five excellently drawn giraffes walking in a landscape with trees. Two of them are eating from a tree at which a small human figure is standing. The other three giraffes are also turning their head towards this tree.<sup>308</sup> A red-slipped globular pot<sup>309</sup> (Pl. 126)<sup>310</sup> was decorated in the drawing style of the vessel with the Satyrs. The spotted serpent around its shoulder<sup>311</sup> derives from the decoration of a class of second and first (?) century BC Nubian jugs. Their shape imitates an undecorated Hellenistic Egyptian type also occurring in assemblages from the cemeteries of Amir Abdalla and Irki Saab (see Chapter VII.5.2.7); their strange decoration is a Meroitic addition. The serpent motif is Nubian. It already occurs on A-Group and C-Group pottery.<sup>312</sup> In the wall frieze of the globular pot from Karanog finely rendered cattle figures are depicted.<sup>313</sup> The third vessel is again a red-slipped ovoid pot<sup>314</sup> (Pl. 127).<sup>315</sup> Its shoulder frieze represents a spotted serpent, this time with ‘nh signs in its mouth.<sup>316</sup> In its wall frieze there are four giraffes

<sup>306</sup> From Karanog grave 162. Philadelphia E 8293, height 37.0 cm, Woolley – Randall-MacIver 1910 Pl. 42; O’Connor 1993 Pl. 21.

<sup>307</sup> O’Connor 1993 Pl. 21.

<sup>308</sup> Woolley – Randall-MacIver 1910 Pl. 43/8293.

<sup>309</sup> From Karanog grave 129. Philadelphia E 8192, height 31.0 cm, Woolley-Randall-MacIver 1910 Pl. 41; O’Connor 1993 Pl. 24.

<sup>310</sup> O’Connor 1993 Pl. 24.

<sup>311</sup> See also Griffith 1924 Pl. XLVI/2, red-slipped globular pot from Faras grave 2006, and red-slipped two-handled jar from Karanog grave 188, Woolley – Randall-MacIver 1910 Pl. 63/8225.

<sup>312</sup> Cf. Hofmann – Tomandl 1987 95 ff.; Williams 1991 I 42 with note 104.

<sup>313</sup> Globular pot with cattle frieze by a different, less skilled, hand: surface find from Karanog, Woolley – Randall-MacIver 1910 Pl. 41/8153.

<sup>314</sup> From Karanog grave 566. Philadelphia E 8183, height 34.2 cm, Wenig 1978 Cat. 230; O’Connor 1993 161 No. 170 and frontispiece.

<sup>315</sup> O’Connor 1993 frontispiece.

<sup>316</sup> See also the wall frieze of a Meroitic jar of unknown provenance, Wenig 1975b 427 No. 439/a.

browsing from trees, a fifth stands passively by a tree. Their bodies are decorated with triangular white and black blobs that are similar to the flowers or flower petals, which were discussed above as a hallmark of an important class of decorated Aswan pottery produced for the Nubian market. The necks of the giraffes are crosshatched. On red-slipped Meroitic jars from Karanog graves 528<sup>317</sup> and 665<sup>318</sup> the whole body of giraffe figures is crosshatched. The giraffes of the unskilled painter of the vessel from grave 528 levitate in an undefined space; the painter of the vessel from grave 665 represented them browsing from trees in a landscape. David O'Connor argues<sup>319</sup> that grave 528 antedates the burials from which the imported Egyptian giraffe vessels came, suggesting thus that the Egyptian giraffe motif could have had a prototype in Meroitic vase painting. As opposed, however, to the cattle motif, which occurs in a religious context e.g. in the interior base relief zone of Arnekhamani's Apedemak temple at Musawwarat es Sufra<sup>320</sup> or in the first century BC reliefs from Temple M 70 at Meroe City<sup>321</sup> and in other genres,<sup>322</sup> the giraffe does not appear in Napatan/Meroitic iconography. It seems more probable that the image of this animal on Meroitic vessels followed iconographical models from late Ptolemaic Egypt, even if these were not necessarily identical with the actual Aswan vessels discussed here.

There are also other iconographical types, which entered Meroitic vase painting from an Egyptian repertory that was formed, at least partly, in order to offer such images to Lower Nubian clients as they would find familiar. From the late first century BC onward drinking cups placed in elite tombs together with fine water containers were frequently decorated with crocodile figures symbolizing the life-giving water of the Nile, the *ato mlo*, "good water", of the Meroitic funerary inscriptions. It is perhaps not quite irrelevant here, either, that in one of the variants of the myth of Osiris Horus took the form of a crocodile in order to help his mother Isis to collect the dismembered

<sup>317</sup> From Karanog grave 528. Philadelphia E 8154, height 38.7 cm, Woolley – Randall-MacIver 1910 Pl. 53; O'Connor 1993 Pl. 22.

<sup>318</sup> Woolley – Randall-MacIver 1910 Pl. 61.

<sup>319</sup> O'Connor 1993 caption to Pl. 22.

<sup>320</sup> Hintze *et al.* 1971 Pls 50, 51.

<sup>321</sup> Török 1997b 49, Pl. 3.

<sup>322</sup> See, e.g., the incised decoration of the bronze bowls from Karanog grave 187, cf. Chapter VII.5.2.8 below.

Osiris.<sup>323</sup> In a relief from Hadrian's Gate at Philae the Horus-crocodile carries the mummy of Osiris to Biggeh on his back.<sup>324</sup> The crocodile is also associated with the Nubian Amun on a bronze pendant stamp seal in the form of a chapel or cage (?) from palace M 294 at Meroe City<sup>325</sup> and on an electrum seal ring from the Begarawiya West cemetery.<sup>326</sup> The base of the pendant stamp seal bears the hieroglyphic inscription pr 'Imn-R', "House of Amun-Re"; within the chapel there are the figures of a ram-headed crouching sphinx with sun disc and uraeus and a crocodile. As pointed out by Frances Welsh, who identifies the object as the seal of the (late?) Amun temple of Meroe City,<sup>327</sup> the crocodile figure is placed in the chapel or cage as an equal of the criosphinx. On the ring the ram-headed Amun is enthroned on the back of a crocodile.

As indicated by shoulder friezes representing crocodiles on fine imported table amphorae,<sup>328</sup> the iconographical prototypes were probably Egyptian. The painter of a Meroitic pot<sup>329</sup> (Pl. 128)<sup>330</sup> was probably trained in Egypt. He decorated the shoulder of the squat globular vessel with the procession of four crocodiles, the upper part of its wall with a vine tendril. In a playfully impressionistic fashion the beasts are walking on the band separating the two friezes and their tails are hanging down into the tendril. On AD first century cups<sup>331</sup> (Pl. 129)<sup>332</sup> and water jars the crocodile appears with the *trochilus*, its companion bird, as described by Herodotus and other authors<sup>333</sup> and as depicted in Roman reliefs representing Nilotic landscapes.<sup>334</sup>

<sup>323</sup> Junker 1913 37 ff., 79 f.; Dijkstra 2008 209.

<sup>324</sup> Hölbl 2004 fig. 130.

<sup>325</sup> Török 1997b Pl. 189.

<sup>326</sup> Khartoum SNM 1985, Baud – Sackho-Autissier – Labbé-Toutée (eds) 2010 Cat. 180.

<sup>327</sup> F. Welsh: A Bronze Seal from Meroe in the Petrie Museum, London. *JEA* 88 (2002) 243–246.

<sup>328</sup> From Karanog: Woolley – Randall-MacIver 1910 Pls 43/8287, 63/8167, 8226, 67/8251. From Nag Shayeg grave 69, M. Pellicer Catalan: *La necropolis meroitica de Nag Shayeg, Argin (Sudán)*. Madrid 1963.

<sup>329</sup> From Kerma. MFA 13.4038, height 27.9 cm.

<sup>330</sup> Baud – Sackho-Autissier – Labbé-Toutée (eds) fig. 91.

<sup>331</sup> E.g., Wenig 1978 Cat. 254, from Adindan; Bourriau 1981 No. 211, from Faras grave 1063.

<sup>332</sup> Oxford 1912.401, height 8.9 cm, Bourriau 1981 No. 211.

<sup>333</sup> Herodotus 2.68.7; Aristot. *hist. anim.* 9.6.73; Aelian *de nat. anim.* 3.11, 12.15; Ammian. 22.15.19; Plin. *NH* 8.90.

<sup>334</sup> E.g., Adriani 1961 Nos 194, 197. For the genre, see M.J. Versluys: *Aegyptiaca Romana. Nilotic Scenes and the Roman Views of Egypt*. Leiden-Boston-Köln 2002;

There are also cases of irrelevant borrowings, such as Meroitic copies<sup>335</sup> (Pl. 130)<sup>336</sup> of griffin figures made after imported Egyptian vessels.<sup>337</sup> The Nubian vase painters did not copy the eagle's legs of the griffin, presumably because they ignored the figure's meaning, although the mythical beast figured in the iconographical program of the Apedemak temple at Musawwarat es Sufra where it was identified with Amun of Napata<sup>338</sup> (cf. Chapter VI.2.2.2). Some Meroitic painters also gave meaning to classical subsidiary patterns. The painter of a long-necked bottle<sup>339</sup> (Pl. 131)<sup>340</sup> inserted eyes into the egg and tongue shoulder frieze of the vessel whose body he decorated with frogs presenting 'nh signs.<sup>341</sup> The decoration speaks thus about the life-giving water and its magic protection.

I started this chapter with the discussion of the "Painter of Karanog Grave 712" and vases of other painters working in related styles in the Aswan potteries, which supplied the Lower Nubian market with finewares and influenced therewith the development of Meroitic vase painting. This chapter cannot be concluded without mentioning a special group of vases similarly unknown from Egyptian sites, which were discussed by Steffen Wenig<sup>342</sup> and Bernard Bothmer<sup>343</sup> as Meroitic products. On account of close correspondences between their painted decoration representing antelopes and scrolls or branches with heart-shaped leaves Wenig regarded them the work of one and the same master called "Antelope Painter" by him.

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F. Hoffmann: Krokodildarstellungen in Ägypten und Rom. in: Beck – Bol – Bückling (eds) 2005 428–433; C. Maderna: Ägypten – phantastische "römische" Welt. *ibid.* 434–445.

<sup>335</sup> E.g., cup from Faras grave 786. BM 51615, height 8.8 cm, Wenig 1978 Cat. 253.

<sup>336</sup> Wenig 1978 Cat. 253.

<sup>337</sup> From Faras grave 2692, Griffith 1924 Pl. LII/3.—For the griffin in Hellenistic Egyptian art in general and the wide-open wings and the inverted S-shaped tail of the early Ptolemaic type griffin in particular, see Daszewski 1985 58 ff.

<sup>338</sup> Török 2002a 193 ff.

<sup>339</sup> From Sedeinga grave I T 16. Khartoum SNM 27368, height 33.0 cm, Perez Die (ed.) 2003 Cat. 189.

<sup>340</sup> Perez Die (ed.) 2003 Cat. 189.

<sup>341</sup> In a relief from the anteroom of the Osiris chapels on the roof of the Isis temple at Philae the water of the inundation flows from the breast of "Nile of Upper Egypt, Father of the Gods of Biggeh" and from the mouth of a frog the god is holding in his right hand, see Hölbl 2004 fig. 95.

<sup>342</sup> Wenig 1978 98, 279; Wenig 1979.

<sup>343</sup> B.V. Bothmer: The Significance of Nubian Art. *Apollo* (April 1982) 222–229 = Bothmer 2004 355–370 365 ff.

It seems to me that the paintings attributed to the “Antelope Painter” are actually the work of three different hands. The painting in black and white on a red-slipped two-handled pitcher<sup>344</sup> (Pl. 132)<sup>345</sup> is of an outstanding quality. The shoulder is decorated with a simple garland. The body frieze represents a horned altar in a landscape (?) with two fruit-laden date palms, shrubs with heart-shaped leaves, groups of birds and two mating antelopes (Pl. 133).<sup>346</sup> The eyes of the animals and details of the vegetal motifs are painted in white. The trees and shrubs recall a stylistically related first century BC garden painting displaying types from the iconography of the Egyptian flora on the walls of the large loculus in Anfushy Tomb V in Alexandria.<sup>347</sup>

The decoration of a red-slipped globular pot<sup>348</sup> (Pl. 134)<sup>349</sup> was made by a less skilled painter who worked, however, close to the master of the pitcher. The shoulder frieze displays a vine tendril with white-daubed leaves. In the body frieze there are a running antelope with serrated horns and white-spotted body, a bird, further branches with heart-shaped leaves and a fruit-laden tree (date palm?). A third, still less skilled artisan decorated a red-slipped globular pot<sup>350</sup> (Pl. 135)<sup>351</sup> with a leafless scroll on the shoulder and with a running antelope, a bird,<sup>352</sup> and branches with heart-shaped leaves on the body. He used white paint only in the dark-light-dark bands framing the friezes on the shoulder and the body.

While it was put by the vase painters in Aswan in landscapes that were meant to represent “the Nubian” environment, Nubian vase painters did not adopt the image of the antelope, albeit it was indeed native in Africa and also living in Meroitic territories. The reason was probably that its image was completely irrelevant in the context of Meroitic mortuary religion. The adoption of the giraffe motif is a

<sup>344</sup> From Karanog grave 315 (?). Cairo JE 40086, height 29.0 cm, Wenig 1978 Cat. 223. For the vessel form cf. Williams 1991 I 80 shape L/3bi, fig. 32/a.

<sup>345</sup> Wenig 1978 Cat. 223.

<sup>346</sup> Török 1988 Pl. III/15.—The forelegs of the smaller animal touch the back of the larger one, and its erect sex is clearly drawn.

<sup>347</sup> Venit 2002 87 ff., figs 72, 75.

<sup>348</sup> Provenance not known. Brooklyn, Charles Edwin Wilbour Fund 71.84, height 27.6 cm, Wenig 1978 Cat. 221.

<sup>349</sup> Wenig 1978 Cat. 221.

<sup>350</sup> From Karanog grave 542. Philadelphia E 8162, height 28.4 cm, Wenig 1978 Cat. 222; O'Connor 1993 160 No. 165.

<sup>351</sup> Wenig 1978 Cat. 222.

<sup>352</sup> See Perez Die (ed.) 2003 Cat. 25.

different case: it occurred probably because this animal had a place in the timeless native discourse on the Nubian natural environment ever since it was formulated visually around the middle of the second millennium BC in the monumental art of the Kerma kingdom.<sup>353</sup>

#### 5.2.6. *The Style of Order*

I do not mean by beauty of form such beauty as that of animals or pictures [...] but straight lines and circles and solid figures that are formed out of them by turning-lathes and rulers and measures of angles; for these I affirm to be not only relatively beautiful like other things, but they are eternally and absolutely beautiful.<sup>354</sup>

In Chapter VII.5.2.3 I explained the formation of the “Line Drawing Style” associated with the thin-walled finewares emerging in the second half of the second century BC with the influence of decoration structures and motifs encountered on imported Hellenistic and Hellenizing Egyptian metal and faience vessels. It was also suggested that the style took shape in workshops at Meroe City. The subsequent influence of Aswan finewares arriving in Nubia in the first century BC was facilitated by the similarity between the use of emphatic contour lines in the decoration of the Aswan wares and in “Line Drawing Style” vase decoration. The neatness of the high-quality polychrome paintings on the vessels arriving from Aswan was familiar to Meroitic vase painters because they too were trying from the very outset to achieve a clarity and sharp definition of design that was characteristic for the models they translated into vase decoration, namely metal plate and faience, but which was completely absent in the impressionistic Theban “Lotus Flower and Crosslined-band Style” paintings.

Wenig discusses what I call “Line Drawing Style” in this study as

[o]ne of the most common schools [of Meroitic vase painting] [...] distinguished by the use of certain specific motifs delineated with particularly exact, carefully executed lines. Because of the care and precision

<sup>353</sup> For the wall paintings from the mortuary cult shrine K II at Kerma, see C. Bonnet: *Edifices et rites funéraires à Kerma. Avec la collaboration de D. Valbelle, contributions de L. Chaix et de B. Privati*. Paris 2000 65 ff., figs 51–71; and cf. Török 2009 143 ff. with Table B.

<sup>354</sup> Plato, *Philebus* 51c, R.G. Bury: *The Philebus of Plato*. Cambridge 1897.

with which these lines are drawn, and their linear style, this style should be called the “academic school”.<sup>355</sup>

Care and precision followed in the first place from the very models that shaped the style. It is also obvious that workshops and individuals working for royal and elite customers tried as a rule to produce “perfect” objects, i.e., perfect in the sense as monumental architecture, sculpture, painting, or jewelry conformed to formal and proportional canons. Still, the geometrical structuring, symmetry, and repetitiveness<sup>356</sup> of the “Line Drawing Style” designs and the clarity and exactitude of their execution were determined not only by an adherence to the basic features of the style as they were originally defined. Neither were they secured alone by the professional standards of elite workshops.

The designs were more than ambitious media of elite display. They served as ornamental framework for motifs that were meant to act as canonical visual communications about the function of the vessels in the context of (mortuary) religion. The embedding of message-carrying motifs into structures that were defined as a principle by geometrical organisation, symmetry, repetitiveness, clarity and exactitude was meant to enhance the fulfillment of the function of the vessels. At the same time, visual structures of this kind were reflections of the contemporary Meroitic conception of order in both a cosmic and a social sense.

Theoretically, a conception of order that may be conveyed by such visual structures as realized in the “Line Drawing Style” might be suspected to have been far from conforming to contemporary reality. In fact, however, the second half of the first century BC and the AD first century were a period of prosperity. Though Meroe lost a war against Rome in the late first century BC, the fact alone that the war was waged indicates the magnitude of Meroitic resources.<sup>357</sup> The first half of the next century brought a monumental reformulation of kingship ideology and construction works and urban development

<sup>355</sup> Wenig 1978 95.

<sup>356</sup> The repetition of a religious symbol increases its power; symbols repeated endlessly in carpet designs or friezes are frequently misunderstood as their “degradation” into “decorative patterns”.

<sup>357</sup> For the war, cf. T. Stickler: “*Gallus amore peribat*”? *Cornelius Gallus und die Anfänge der augusteischen Herrschaft in Ägypten*. Rahden/Westf. 2002; Török 2009 427–456, both with further literature.



that can be compared in volume and quality to the Early Meroitic period (Chapters V, VI). The “Line Drawing Style” designs not only conveyed a religious conception of order but were also formulated as a visual reflection of the self-definition of Meroitic society in a period of prosperity and expansion.

Early “Line Drawing Style” decoration appeared on various vessel shapes. The decoration of bowls and cups followed design structures associated with the models, i.e., Egyptian metal and faience bowls and cups. Fine examples, produced probably at Meroe City, may be quoted, e.g., from Meroe City (Pl. 102), Gebel Barkal,<sup>358</sup> and Karanog (Pl. 136).<sup>359</sup> The first two are decorated with Hellenistic subsidiary patterns, the third, an “Achaemenid” bowl, with a Hellenistic scale pattern on the upper part, a frieze of Meroitic/Egyptian religious symbols such as the lunar crescent surmounted by a star (= the sun), the wedjat eye and the *s3* knot on the body, and a rosette composed of lotus flowers and buds on the bottom.

For the traditional Nubian spherical pot shape there were no such models. The figural decoration of Aswan red ware pots produced specially for the Nubian market offered repetitive compositions like wine scrolls,<sup>360</sup> friezes of lotus flowers and buds,<sup>361</sup> or lotus buds and the feather fans of Bes.<sup>362</sup> Meroitic painters invented decorative structures that presented more aptly the image of universal order. The iconographical components of the new designs covering net-like or with multiple friezes the body of perfectly turned spherical vessels were frequently combined to formulate more complex utterances. The wall frieze on a splendid pot from Faras<sup>363</sup> (Pl. 138)<sup>364</sup> displays triads of sun disk-crowned cobras emerging from lotus flowers and supporting masks of the lion god Apedemak (cf. the iconography of Harpocrates born in the chalice of the primeval lotus as symbol of the renewal of the world by the Nile flood). Pairs of Bes’ feather fan flank these motifs

<sup>358</sup> From Temple B 500, outer court. Dunham 1970 fig. 35/20–3–66.

<sup>359</sup> From Karanog grave 738. Woolley – Randall-MacIver 1910 Pl. 78/8457.

<sup>360</sup> E.g., Woolley – Randall-MacIver 1910 Pl. 42/8177.

<sup>361</sup> *Ibid.* Pl. 41/8257.

<sup>362</sup> *Ibid.* Pl. 42/8171.

<sup>363</sup> From Faras grave 1090. Oxford 1912.410, height 18.9 cm, Wenig 1978 Cat. 241.—From the same grave comes a pot with the representation of prisoners, cf. Chapter VII.5.2.4.

<sup>364</sup> Wenig 1978 Cat. 241.

with 'nh symbols as their handles. Bruce Williams argues<sup>365</sup> that the design represents the birth of Apedemak in the lotus flower—occurring, as it may be added, in the presence (?) or through the acting (?) of the uraei and with the assistance of Bes, protector of birth. Apedemak and Bes appear in the context of the Myth of the Sun's Eye in the column reliefs in the Apedemak temple at Musawwarat es Sufra.<sup>366</sup> The symbolic rendering of Apedemak's birth on the Faras vessel points to other sources: the painting “illustrated” perhaps a now lost birth legend.

The similarly excellent painter of a stylistically closely related spherical pot from Karanog<sup>367</sup> (Pl. 137)<sup>368</sup> applied a decoration structure inspired by designs on open or “Achaemenid” bowls. The shoulder is decorated with a frieze of sun disk-crowned uraei, the body with a broad frieze with two horizontal rows of eight-petalled flowers, and the bottom with a lotus flower flanked by buds. The best painters working in “Line Drawing Style” tended to insert figural motifs in their designs. A splendid campaniform cup from Meroe City is decorated with a frieze of sun disk-crowned cobras painted in black, red and grey (Pl. 139).<sup>369</sup> A fragment from a spherical vessel<sup>370</sup> displays Hathor heads flanked by lotus flowers; a fine painted cup from Faras<sup>371</sup> (Pl. 140)<sup>372</sup> shows frogs presenting lotus flowers. Comparing frog friezes in “Line Drawing Style”, such as, e.g., the Faras cup and a long-necked pot from Semna South (Pl. 141),<sup>373</sup> the concurrent use of different pattern books becomes apparent. Together with many other vessels, these two ceramics also demonstrate that skilled masters trained in this style maintained the tradition of using lines changing their thickness in a calligraphic manner. In this way the outline drawings conveyed the impression of three-dimensionality similarly to the dancers

<sup>365</sup> Williams 1991 I 42 with note 103.

<sup>366</sup> Cf. Török 2002a 187 ff.

<sup>367</sup> From grave 543. Philadelphia E 8310, height 13.4 cm, Wenig 1978 Cat. 240.

<sup>368</sup> Wenig 1978 Cat. 240.

<sup>369</sup> Louvre AF 12839, height 14.2 cm, Baud – Sackho-Autissier – Labbé-Toutée (eds) 2010 Cat. 124.

<sup>370</sup> Surface find at Faras grave 974. Griffith 1924 Pl. LII.

<sup>371</sup> From Faras grave 2636. BM AE 51448, height 7.6 cm, Griffith 1924 Pl. L/13; H.-Å. Nordström: Pottery Production. in: Welsby – Anderson (eds) 2004 248–252 fig. 180 left; Baud – Sackho-Autissier – Labbé-Toutée (eds) Cat. 128.

<sup>372</sup> Baud – Sackho-Autissier – Labbé-Toutée (eds) Cat. 128.

<sup>373</sup> From Semna South grave M-153. Khartoum SNM 18875, height 25.0 cm, Wildung (ed.) 1997 Cat. 413.

on the Louvre cup (Chapter VII.5.2.4, Pls 106, 107). A recurrent theme is the lotus swamp, which was treated by skilled painters as a geometrically structured landscape filling the wall of spherical pots<sup>374</sup> (Pl. 142, left)<sup>375</sup> and cups<sup>376</sup> (Pl. 142, right).<sup>377</sup>

Net patterns appear on spherical pots (usually of smaller sizes than the Meroitic polychrome or the Aswan pots) as early as in the second half of the first century BC, as is indicated by a vessel from Karanog grave 665<sup>378</sup> where it was buried together with a Meroitic giraffe jar and two Aswan red ware globular pots<sup>379</sup> decorated with fine vine scrolls and garlands in black and white in the style discussed in Chapter VII.5.2.5. The panels formed by the nets could be filled alternately with various drawings such as flowers (frequently stylized lotus) and 'nh symbols,<sup>380</sup> or geometrical motifs and 'nh symbols.<sup>381</sup> A recurrent amuletic motif is a string of large beads borrowed probably from the iconography of the Meroitic crown prince.<sup>382</sup> It may frame body friezes<sup>383</sup> or alternate with other horizontal bands composed, e.g., from geometrical motifs<sup>384</sup> or cowrie shells,<sup>385</sup> timeless symbols of fertility.<sup>386</sup> Besides the net design the other principal decoration structure is the multiple frieze. Two, three, or more horizontal friezes are filled with symbols such as the 'nh and the lunar crescent supporting a lotus bud<sup>387</sup> or flower.<sup>388</sup> The latter may be associated with the lunar Apedemak.

<sup>374</sup> From Faras grave 1090. Berlin 20856, height 18.0 cm, Griffith 1924 Pl. XLV/9; Wildung (ed.) 1997 Cat. 414.

<sup>375</sup> Wildung (ed.) 1997 Cat. 414.

<sup>376</sup> From Gebel Barkal. Berlin 4603, height 10.5 cm, Wildung (ed.) 1997 Cat. 415.

<sup>377</sup> Wildung (ed.) 1997 Cat. 415.

<sup>378</sup> Woolley – Randall-MacIver 1910 Pl. 97/8979.

<sup>379</sup> Woolley – Randall-MacIver 1910 Pls 67/8248, 68/8256.

<sup>380</sup> E.g., Khartoum SNM 163, F. Hintze – U. Hintze: *Alte Kulturen im Sudan*. Leipzig 1966 fig. 130.

<sup>381</sup> E.g., from Karanog grave 316. Philadelphia E 8291, height 16.9 cm, Wenig 1978 Cat. 239.

<sup>382</sup> Cf. Török 1987c 30 ff.

<sup>383</sup> E.g., Woolley – Randall-MacIver 1910 Pls 70/8271, 72/8285 (= Wenig 1978 Cat. 239).

<sup>384</sup> E.g., *ibid.* Pls 44/8262, 46/8303.

<sup>385</sup> E.g., Woolley – Randall-MacIver 1910 Pl. 71/8278.

<sup>386</sup> Cf. L. Kovács: *Vulvae, Eyes, Snake Heads. Archaeological Finds of Cowrie Amulets. With Malacological Identifications* by G. Radócz. Oxford 2008.

<sup>387</sup> E.g., Woolley – Randall-MacIver 1910 Pl. 54/8161.

<sup>388</sup> E.g., Griffith 1924 Pl. XLV/13.

### 5.2.7. *Painters from the Region Between the Second and Third Cataracts*

The spherical pots discussed in the foregoing have as a rule short, generally vertical neck.<sup>389</sup> A special type of small to medium size wheel-made spherical pots with extremely long, vertical (or expanding to the rim), frequently moulded neck occurs mainly in assemblages from the region between the Second and Third Cataracts, but long-necked pots with variously shaped necks were also found at Faras.<sup>390</sup> The type derived probably from a traditional Nubian handmade pot type with long, vertical,<sup>391</sup> sometimes moulded,<sup>392</sup> neck known e.g. from third-second century BC burials at Amir Abdalla.

Some of the wheel-made long-necked pots come from assemblages also containing early, AD first century, glass *aryballoi*.<sup>393</sup> Their production started, however, already in the first century BC. The finds from Faras are Lower Nubian imitations of vessels produced in more southern regions, as also suggested by the decoration of some Faras vessels uniting motifs of the Hellenistic/Hellenizing repertory of second-first century BC Upper Egyptian and Lower Nubian ceramics with motifs associated with finds from regions south of the Second Cataract. Two wheel-made long-necked pots from Faras<sup>394</sup> display geometrical patterns known from a long-necked vessel from Missiminia<sup>395</sup> on which they are not (yet) mixed with Hellenizing motifs. One of the Faras vessels<sup>396</sup> also displays a variant of the serpent frieze familiar from a Meroitic jug type<sup>397</sup> known e.g. from Amir Abdalla<sup>398</sup> (see also Chapter VII.5.2.5), and from Ballana north of the Second Cataract.<sup>399</sup>

<sup>389</sup> Cf. Woolley – Randall-MacIver 1910 Pl. 103 types F v–vii; Griffith 1924 Pl. XVIII types VIIIe–VIIIk; Williams 1991 I 75 f. Type A jars.

<sup>390</sup> Leclant 1985; Török 1994.

<sup>391</sup> Fernandez 1985 32–2, 292–2.

<sup>392</sup> Fernandez 1985 315–2.

<sup>393</sup> Török 1978b 82 f.; cf. C. Isings: *Roman Glass from Dated Finds*. Groningen 1957 78 ff.; Vila 1982 fig. 77; Leclant 1985.

<sup>394</sup> Griffith 1924 Pl. XLVI/4, 5.

<sup>395</sup> From Missiminia grave 2-V-20/315. Vila 1982 fig. 145, right.

<sup>396</sup> Griffith 1924 Pl. XLVI/5.

<sup>397</sup> Imitating a form also produced in several variants at Aswan, cf. Williams 1991 I fig. 27.

<sup>398</sup> From grave 179. Fernandez 1984 fig. 8; Perez Die (ed.) 2003 Cat. 317.

<sup>399</sup> Williams 1991 I fig. 179.

Long-necked pots produced south of the Second Cataract were initially decorated with geometrical patterns like the above-mentioned Missiminia vessel. Elements of the Hellenizing repertory currently employed in the workshops of the southern and Lower Nubian centres were promptly adopted from various sources. As suggested by the exceptionally finely painted frog frieze of a pot (Pl. 141) from Semna South (Chapter VII.5.2.6), the process started in a workshop satisfying the highest demands. *Foncé sur claire* vine scrolls<sup>400</sup> and tendrils with three-lobed clover-like leaves (Pl. 143)<sup>401</sup> reflect the influence of the Theban “Lotus Flower and Crosslined-band Style”. In turn, the precision of the “Line Drawing Style” and the black-red-white colour scheme of Aswan wessels produced for Nubia (cf. Chapter VII.5.2.5) are united in the decoration of a pot (Pl. 144),<sup>402</sup> which comes from the same Semna South burial as the aforementioned vessel with vine scroll. A third vessel<sup>403</sup> from the same grave displays a remarkable case of freedom in creating pleasant domesticated patterns from elements of the classical pattern repertory the meaning and function of which were irrelevant for the Meroitic painter: on the shoulder there are above each other three egg and tongue bands each imitating the structure of an *ovolo* moulding in line drawing. On a long-necked pot from Sedeinga apotropaic eyes are inscribed into the “eggs” of the *ovolo* (Pl. 131). The decoration painted in black and red on cream background on a pot from Sai<sup>404</sup> consists of five friezes covering the entire neck, the shoulder, and the larger part of the body and displaying (from top to bottom) apotropaic eyes, a vine scroll, apotropaic eyes (neck), spotted serpents with ‘nh symbols (shoulder), birds between stylized trees. A spotted serpent appears in the company of trefoils and eight-petaled flowers resembling the “Macedonian star” in the body frieze of a vessel<sup>405</sup> from Semna South.

The special class of long-necked pots presents a simple and clear model for the way in which classical motifs were imitated faithfully

<sup>400</sup> E.g., Semna South grave N-432, Žabkar – Žabkar 1982.

<sup>401</sup> Sedeinga grave I T 16, Khartoum SNM 27367, Perez Die (ed.) 2003 Cat. 188.

<sup>402</sup> Semna South grave N-432. Khartoum SNM 18886, height 33.6 cm, Wenig 1978 Cat. 245.

<sup>403</sup> Žabkar – Žabkar 1982 N-432.

<sup>404</sup> From grave 3 of the Meroitic necropolis. J. Vercoutter: La tombe méroïtique SA. S.2.T.1 (1). *CRIPEL* 5 (1979) 210–236 fig. 7.

<sup>405</sup> From grave M 150. Žabkar – Žabkar 1982.

if they corresponded with Meroitic conceptions (vine, trefoil), were invested with a Meroitic meaning through liberal manipulation (apotropaic eyes in the *ovolo*) and combined with traditional Meroitic images (frogs, birds, 'nh symbols etc.) if they alone were insufficient for defining the conceptual connotations of the vessel, which they decorated—or were used as meaningless ornaments if their original meaning was completely ignored. The great majority of the motifs and motif combinations demanded from the painter the mass producer's routine rather than artistic skill or training in an elite potters' workshop. An exception is the frog frieze on the above-mentioned vessel from Semna South (Pl. 141), but it may well have been painted by one of the leading artisans who arrived from Meroe City (?) to start the local production of decorated wheel-made long-necked pots in the region south of the Second Cataract.

#### 5.2.8. *Back to Mass Production and Some Exceptions*

In the ignorance of the archaeological context of most ceramic finds from Meroe City and for lack of a representative decorated sequence from the royal burials the Late Meroitic pottery find material from southern sites appears as a homogeneous mass in the eyes of the modern viewer. Generally of a good technical quality and mostly with a stereotype decoration, the decorated vessels, mostly globular pots and cups with cylindrical side and angle to flat base, display differences of which it is impossible to decide whether they are chronological differences or differences in the quality of execution. Figural themes occur extremely rarely.

The AD second and third century funerary equipments from Faras, Karanog and other Lower Nubian sites present a similar picture. The iconographical repertory is dominated by vine scrolls,<sup>406</sup> cobras presenting 'nh symbols,<sup>407</sup> friezes of stylized branches with a three-lobed leaf treated as a flower,<sup>408</sup> simplified<sup>409</sup> and stylized lotus flowers,<sup>410</sup> 'nh symbols,<sup>411</sup> trefoils,<sup>412</sup> various renderings of the lunar crescent

<sup>406</sup> E.g., Woolley – Randall-MacIver 1910 Pl. 55/8169.

<sup>407</sup> E.g., Williams 1991 I figs 117/c (Qustul), 270/b (Ballana).

<sup>408</sup> E.g., Woolley – Randall-MacIver 1910 Pl. 55/8243.

<sup>409</sup> E.g., *ibid.* Pl. 81/8485.

<sup>410</sup> E.g., *ibid.* Pl. 51/8476.

<sup>411</sup> E.g., *ibid.* Pl. 83/8624.

<sup>412</sup> E.g., *ibid.* Pl. 81/8455.

motif,<sup>413</sup> and net or scale (Pl. 145)<sup>414</sup> patterns with or without crescents (or other symbols).<sup>415</sup> Motifs in a simplified, but not entirely unnaturalistic rendering were painted concurrently with their radically simplified, almost abstract versions.<sup>416</sup> The crescent surmounted by an 'nh symbol was stylized into a crescent supporting a vertical stem<sup>417</sup> or a wavy line topped by a small circle.<sup>418</sup> An extreme stylization of symbols, like the reduction of the 'nh symbol to a circle on the top of a vertical/wavy line does not necessarily mean their total emptying of meaning. It may also be understood as the creation of a new symbol to carry the same old meaning or repeat a sign that stands for less closely described, general protective connotations.

Late Meroitic vase painting may be pleasing for the modern eye because the sketchily executed, utterly simplified motifs address our liberal sensibility that roots in the great nineteenth century break with academic art. In reality, by the early (?) AD second century the great period of Meroitic vase painting was over. The potteries producing technically good or excellent quality wares did not employ painters trained for the decoration of vessels with complex designs and motifs the rendering of which would demand special skills.

The process of conceptual, formal, and qualitative decline of vase decoration was promoted by the growing social access to mass-produced good-quality wheel-made pottery. The disappearance of the ambitious complex designs and the standards of painting quality was also determined by a shift in the media of elite self-definition and display. The accent of the visual formulation of conceptions connected to mortuary cult was entirely transferred to sculpted or painted tomb stelae and other "public" parts of the burial such as mortuary inscriptions and *ba*-statues.<sup>419</sup> Developments in the genre of painting occurred

<sup>413</sup> E.g., *ibid.* Pls 84/8636, 91/8710, 94/8935. A set of a globular bottle and a cup with identical decoration: Pl. 81/8281, 8688.

<sup>414</sup> From Sedeinga. Louvre AE E 32530, height 8.6 cm, Baud – Sackho-Autissier – Labbé-Toutée (eds) 2010 Cat. 126.

<sup>415</sup> E.g., Woolley – Randall-MacIver 1910. Pls 89/8689, 88/8681, respectively. The cup Pl. 89/8689 comes from grave 203, the find place of the mortuary inscription REM 0278 (= FHN III No. 264) associated with the Netewitara family attested between c. 180–250 AD, cf. Török 2009 483 f. with Table S.

<sup>416</sup> Cups decorated with simplified and stylized lotus flowers from Karanog grave 315: Woolley – Randall-MacIver 1910 Pls 81/8485 and 51/8476, respectively.

<sup>417</sup> E.g., *ibid.* Pls 71/8281, 89/8688.

<sup>418</sup> E.g., *ibid.* Pl. 91/8710.

<sup>419</sup> Cf. Woolley – Randall-MacIver 1910 Pls 1–8.

now outside ceramics, as demonstrated e.g. by a series of fine painted stelae from Karanog.<sup>420</sup> The mortuary inscriptions of the middle and the second half of the AD third century are characterized by an excessive listing of individual relatives who determined and secured a family's status.<sup>421</sup> The phenomenon in itself, and particularly the reversal of earlier tendencies—namely, now a growing accent is laid again on the listing of titled relatives *with* their personal names instead of defining the status alone by listing titles owned by relatives—reflect, however indirectly, the decline of elite prestige. The prestige secured by hierarchical association was no longer sufficient in itself. It had to be reinforced by an association with concrete “great men”. In the eyes of one's own local community, the charisma of abstracted office and rank had to be increasingly supported by the *personal* charisma and authority of certain exceptional individuals.

Behind these changes we may discern the weakening of central power, the emancipation and then the decline of the local elites, and, as a final stage of the decline of late Meroitic social structure, I also suppose the emergence of *local* charismatic authority. This is a process that may be compared to the rise of the “holy men” in the world of Late Antiquity.<sup>422</sup> During the century that preceded the end of the tradition of inscribed Meroitic stelae and offering tables we encounter pathetic cases of the growing discrepancy between the decorum articulated in the texts and the monuments themselves that carry the inscribed messages. Mortuary texts from Karanog written for relatives of *pqr*-princes,<sup>423</sup> *pesetos* (viceroys),<sup>424</sup> and priests<sup>425</sup> were inscribed on the slightly smoothed surface of undressed, sometimes completely shapeless pieces of sandstone the lower part of which was probably dug into the earth of the tomb approach. One may of course comment on the absurdity of these monuments and point out the abyss gaping between the decorum suggested by the text and the miserable reality

<sup>420</sup> Woolley – Randall-MacIver 1910 Pls 11/40229 (= Cairo E 40229, Wenig 1978 Cat. 127), 12/140, 13/7079 (= Cairo E 7079, Wenig 1978 Cat. 128), 14/7030, 7081, 7082, 7083.

<sup>421</sup> Török 2002b 73 f.

<sup>422</sup> Cf. P. Brown: *The Rise and Function of the Holy Man in Late Antiquity*. in: P. Brown: *Society and the Holy in Late Antiquity*. London 1982 103–152; D. Frankfurter: *Religion in Roman Egypt. Assimilation and Resistance*. Princeton 1998 204 ff.

<sup>423</sup> REM 0329.

<sup>424</sup> REM 0306.

<sup>425</sup> REM 0308, 0318, 0319.—Cf. also REM 1126, 1127; an offering table of this quality: REM 1213.



of the monument that carries it. I prefer, however, to look at these monuments as proofs for the pathetic faith in the power of literacy of a sinking elite.

Episodes of figural representations in vase painting were probably brought about by impulses from outside the walls of the pottery workshops, but we are far from fully understanding their motivation. The Karanog burials of three high Lower Nubian dignitaries who held the office of *peseto* (viceroy of Lower Nubia) around the middle of the AD third century contained ceramics with painted decoration. According to a Meroitic list of *pesetos*<sup>426</sup> Netewitara, Khawitaror, and Maloton followed each other in the viceregal office within a decade between the early AD 250s and AD 260. In Karanog grave 203, the burial of *peseto* Natewitara,<sup>427</sup> there were two cups<sup>428</sup> decorated with poorly executed stereotype designs ('nh symbols, palm branches, crescents), which suggests that ceramics of this quality could be part of the funerary equipment of the highest official in Lower Nubia. Khawitaror's burial grave 183<sup>429</sup> contained a spherical pot with a neatly painted vine scroll on its neck (Pl. 146).<sup>430</sup> In Maloton's grave, Karanog 187,<sup>431</sup> however, a jar was placed with a frieze of guinea fowl around its shoulder (Pl. 147).<sup>432</sup> It belongs to a characteristic group of vessels decorated with guinea fowl rendered in the same manner.

On a series of spherical pots<sup>433</sup> and cups<sup>434</sup> guinea fowl were depicted in various naturalistic postures, yet always replacing the naturalistic rendering of the bird's white-spotted plumage with cross-hatching. This manner of representation already appeared on a pot painted in the AD first century in the Meroe City pottery workshop discussed in Chapter VII.5.2.3.<sup>435</sup> In the same workshop, and probably in the same

<sup>426</sup> REM 0544 = FHN III No. 271.

<sup>427</sup> FHN III No. 264.

<sup>428</sup> Woolley – Randall-MacIver 1910 Pls 83/8624, 89/8689.

<sup>429</sup> FHN III No. 268.

<sup>430</sup> Woolley – Randall-MacIver 1910 Pl. 55/8169.

<sup>431</sup> FHN III No. 269.

<sup>432</sup> Woolley – Randall-MacIver 1910 Pl. 64/8227.

<sup>433</sup> Karanog grave 116, Woolley – Randall-MacIver 1910 Pl. 41/8166; grave 181, *ibid.* Pl. 58/8197; Cemetery 150 grave 130, Emery – Kirwan 1935 Pl. 41/VII; Cemetery 214 grave 117, *ibid.* fig. 422.

<sup>434</sup> Faras grave 1018, Griffith 1924 Pl. L/16; Shablul, Philadelphia E 5271, Randall-MacIver – Woolley 1909 Pl. 25/1, O'Connor 1993 166 No. 196; Cemetery 163 grave 40, Emery – Kirwan 1935 fig. 161, Pl. 41/IX.

<sup>435</sup> Török 1997b 137 No. 286/7–68, fig. 96.

period, also more naturalistically rendered guinea fowl were painted on the walls of thin-walled kaolin finewares: the fragments from a globular vessel with guinea fowl painted in dark brown, red, and grey (for the natural slate coloured plumage) belong to the finest Meroitic vase paintings.<sup>436</sup> Guinea fowl are also naturalistically depicted on the fine Semna South pot with the representation of a tale about a hyena, a hare, and guinea fowl (Chapter VII.5.2.4, Pl. 116).

The guinea fowl on the shoulder of a globular jar from Cemetery 150 (Pl. 148)<sup>437</sup> are depicted as if in snapshots in five different postures characteristic for the bird, among them three postures showing its snaring with a rope with a noose (running knot).<sup>438</sup> The game, which was thus also domesticated in Meroe, had a significance in both everyday life and in folklore, and also entered the iconography of decorated pottery placed in tombs. Its naturalistic depiction had a tradition in Meroitic vase painting, yet the “snapshots” from Cemetery 150 witness an unusual impulse in the otherwise utterly stereotype contemporary pottery decoration.

From Karanog grave 187, the burial of viceroy Maloton, where a jar decorated with guinea fowl was also found, come two splendid hemispherical bronze bowls. One of them<sup>439</sup> is decorated with an incised frieze (Pl. 149)<sup>440</sup> representing the delivery of milk to an aristocratic Meroitic lady on her estate. She is represented seated in front of a round reed hut with an ostrich egg on its top. The lady is accompanied by a nude girl (her daughter or servant?) standing behind her. To the right of the lady stands her estate manager who is ordering a man to fill vessels with milk from a pail. Behind this man five pairs of cattle with differently twisted horns are depicted. A nude herdsman is milking a cow; another one is walking towards the lady. Next to the back of the hut calves are tethered to a tree. Traditional elements of the iconography of rural life common to Egyptian and classical art add to the bucolic atmosphere: a cow gives suck to its calf, a herdsman is

<sup>436</sup> Garstang Museum of Archaeology, University of Liverpool E 8339a–c, height c. 32 cm. Hofmann – Tomandl 1987 fig. 18; Török 1997b 136 f. No. 286/7–66, fig. 97.

<sup>437</sup> Emery – Kirwan 1935 Pl. 41/VII.

<sup>438</sup> See Ali Tigani Elmahi: Paintings with Guinea Fowl: An Early Evidence of Snaring in the Sudanese Nile Valley. *ANM* 7 (1995) 59–67.

<sup>439</sup> Cairo JE 41017, height 17.5 cm. Woolley – Randall-MacIver 1910 Pls 26–27; Wenig 1978 Cat. 196.

<sup>440</sup> Woolley – Randall-MacIver 1910 Pl. 27.

milking another cow, which tenderly licks his head, a third cow licks the head of one of the calves tethered to a tree.

All elements of the scene show the artist's knowledge of the iconography of life on a Meroitic country estate, yet the representation also bears the imprint of his training in a workshop where the tradition of placing figures in a naturalistic space through well-calculated superpositions and the coordination of figures turning towards each other was very much alive. The familiarity of the master of the bowl with the narrative mode of Ptolemaic and Roman Egyptian art is further stressed by a second bronze bowl from the same burial (Pl. 150).<sup>441</sup> It was decorated with a scene with cattle and a herdsman by an artisan working together with the first but not possessing his training: the difference between the two incised drawings speaks for itself. The first bowl represents an artistic tradition and a quality, which were otherwise largely absent in contemporary Meroe. In view of this void it appears the more likely that it was its master or the workshop to which he belonged that exerted a more or less accidental influence on the pottery workshop which produced the vessels with figural paintings for the burials of Maloton and a number of other Lower Nubian officials.

The scenes on the first bowl are celebrated as masterly and highly informative depictions of agricultural life in Meroe.<sup>442</sup> It is not less important that they present a fine pictorial discourse on the Meroitic ideal of the ordered society. In the form of visual paradigms they speak about the ideal relationship between estate owner and peasant in the context of ownership, production, and product distribution. Moreover, the lady with her uncovered bosom and her nude attendant or daughter are images of fertility and abundance, concepts associated with the earthly as well as the mortuary realms. In the decoration of the Petosiris tomb discussed in Chapter III.1.3 we have encountered a far more detailed discourse on the tomb owner as the conscientious and by the gods richly rewarded master of his estates and on the abundance resulting from the well-ordered activities on his land and in his household. The scene incised on a bronze bowl by a Nubian artisan in the AD third century elevates Meroitic daily life equally successfully to a conceptual sphere.

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<sup>441</sup> Philadelphia E 7155, Woolley – Randall-MacIver 1910 Pl. 28.

<sup>442</sup> Cf. Wenig 1978 260.

## CHAPTER EIGHT

### THE HELLENISTIC EGYPTIAN STYLE KIOSK AT NAQA OR “ACCULTURATION” SIDETRACKED

I shall cause him to appear in his sacred image on  
his way to Harem-of-the-South [...] shall cause him  
to go in procession to his house[.]<sup>1</sup>

The so-called “Roman Kiosk” at Naqa (Pls 151–154) is usually described as one of the finest monuments of Meroitic architecture.<sup>2</sup> Admitting that it is indeed a fine edifice, here it will be introduced as a case for “acculturation” on a sidetrack.

The “Roman Kiosk” stands in front of the Apedemak temple,<sup>3</sup> one of the principal sanctuaries of Naqa. Naqa, the *Twʾirk* mentioned in the Apedemak hymn from Musawwarat es Sufra as an ancient place of the lion god’s cult,<sup>4</sup> was an important urban settlement in the Butana south of Meroe City. In the AD first century the Apedemak shrine determined Naqa’s sacred landscape<sup>5</sup> together with the Amun temple of Natakamani and Amanitore,<sup>6</sup> the neighbouring temple of Amanikhareqereme (Temple 200),<sup>7</sup> Queen Shanakadakheto’s temple<sup>8</sup> on the southwestern slope of Gebel Naqa, the mountain overlooking the

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<sup>1</sup> Great Triumphant Inscription of Piankhy, lines 25 f., *FHN* I No. 9, trans. R.H. Pierce.

<sup>2</sup> Cailliaud 1826; Schreiber 1908 283 f., fig. 213; Kraus 1964; Wenig 1975b fig. 421; Wenig 1978 fig. 66; Török 1984; Török 1988 fig. 44; Török 1997a Pl. 11; Wildung – Schoske 1999 figs 47, 48; Wildung – Kroeper 2006 figs 14–16; Baud – Sackho-Autissier – Labbé-Toutée (eds) 2010 fig. 92.

<sup>3</sup> I. Gamer-Wallert – K. Zibelius: *Der Löwentempel von Naq’a in der Butana (Sudan)* I. *Forschungsgeschichte und Topographie*. Wiesbaden 1983; J. Brinks: *Der Löwentempel von Naq’a in der Butana (Sudan)* II. *Baubeschreibung*. Wiesbaden 1983; Gamer-Wallert 1983; Zibelius 1983.

<sup>4</sup> Hintze 1962 No. 11, fig. 9=*FHN* II No. 126.

<sup>5</sup> Wildung – Kroeper 2006 fig. 8/b.

<sup>6</sup> Wildung – Schoske 1999 54 ff.; Török 2002a 241 ff.; K. Kroeper: *Metamorphoses of the Amun Temple in Naga*. in: Caneva – Roccati (eds) 2005 287–295.

<sup>7</sup> For the current archaeological work at the site of the temple cf. Wildung – Kroeper 2006 15, Pls 20, 28.

<sup>8</sup> Hintze 1959 37 ff.; I. Hofmann – H. Tomandl – M. Zach: *Der Tempel F von Naqa*. VA 1 (1985) 27–35; Török 2002a 207 ff.

settlement, and a number of other shrines and palaces still waiting for excavation.<sup>9</sup> Like in other urban settlements,<sup>10</sup> processional avenues interconnected Naqa's sanctuaries and palaces. The line of some of these may be reconstructed on the basis of the position of the "Roman Kiosk", the kiosk and avenue of rams in front of the Amun temple, and the kiosk in front of Temple 200.<sup>11</sup>

The growing importance of processional feasts and significant developments in personal religiosity brought about the building of a great number of kiosks of various types and functions by the rulers of the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty at Thebes and elsewhere in Egypt.<sup>12</sup> The rulers of the double kingdom and their successors built kiosks and barque repositories in Nubia as well, where they belonged to the places of man's integration within the universe and society. The remarkable number of preserved kiosks<sup>13</sup> demonstrates that the encounters of the deities with the people on the occasion of processional feasts continued to play an important role in the life of the Nubian communities throughout the Napatan and Meroitic periods.

The position of a kiosk in relation to a temple building indicates its association with (a) particular episode(s) in the divine journeys and with the people's encounters with the deities. The functional contexts in which we find the Nubian kiosks of the Napatan and Meroitic periods<sup>14</sup> do not differ from the typology of contemporary Egyptian kiosks. The following types can be identified: (a) "transitory" shrine in front of the temple door along the axis of the processional avenue;<sup>15</sup> (a') "transitory" shrine in front of the temple, not exactly on the axis of the processional avenue;<sup>16</sup> (b) "transitory" shrine in front of the temple door on the axis of the processional avenue; before the shrine, slightly out of alignment, a high altar turning towards the temple; (c) "transitory" shrine on the axis of the processional avenue; between the shrine

<sup>9</sup> Cf. Wildung – Schoske 1999 41 ff.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. Török 2002a 19 ff., 273 ff.

<sup>11</sup> Török 2002a 26 ff.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. W. Helck: Kiosk. *LÄ* III (1979) 441–442; Arnold 1994 124.

<sup>13</sup> Cf. Hinkel 1989.

<sup>14</sup> Török 2002a 273 ff.; for the evidence, see also Hinkel 1989; and cf. Arnold 1999 277 ff.

<sup>15</sup> Napata, Amun temple B 500, late 1st century BC–early AD 1st century, Dunham 1970 Plan V; Meroe City, late Amun temple, early AD 1st century, Török 1997b 117 f.

<sup>16</sup> "Roman Kiosk", Naqa, Amun temple of Natakamani and Amanitore, AD mid-first century, see below.

and the temple door a high altar turning towards the temple; (d) “station” shrine (kiosk with one entrance) by the side of the processional avenue facing the temenos door of a temple, between the shrine and the door a high altar turning towards the temple;<sup>17</sup> (e) “transitory” shrine in the forecourt;<sup>18</sup> (f) “transitory” shrine in the hypostyle;<sup>19</sup> and finally (g) “transitory” shrine in the processional avenue.<sup>20</sup>

The “Roman Kiosk” belongs to type (a’) of the above typology and was built, similarly to the kiosks of type (d), by the side of the processional avenue because it functioned as a station shrine for a visiting deity who watched the emergence of the temple’s resident deity from his/her sanctuary and shared there offerings with him/her, as it is also indicated by the recently discovered offering place in front of the Ape-demak temple.<sup>21</sup> Dietrich Wildung and Karla Kroeper, the directors of the kiosk’s current restoration, argue for a definition of its function as a “birth house” referring to a fallen architrave block with the relief representation of a Hathor head<sup>22</sup> found in the interior of the kiosk and comparing the building to the Ptolemaic *mammisi* adjoining the temples of Dendera, Edfu, Kom Ombo, and Philae.<sup>23</sup> This comparison seems very unlikely, however, in view of the position of the “Roman Kiosk” in relation to the temple, on the one hand, and its basic architectural differences from the peripteral Egyptian *mammisi*, on the other (cf. Chapter VI.2.1).

The “Roman Kiosk” owes its name to the classical features of its architecture. “Roman” was meant to refer to its mix of classical and Egyptian elements, a feature that had been considered especially characteristic for Egyptian architecture in the Roman period. Presenting a fine analysis of its classical elements, Theodor Kraus<sup>24</sup> dated it in 1964 to the AD third century and discussed it as a monument of the

<sup>17</sup> Meroe City, Temple M 250, late first century BC, Török 1997b 111 f.

<sup>18</sup> Napata, great Amun temple B 500, second century BC, Dunham 1970 Plan V; Meroe City, late Amun temple, AD first century, Török 1997b 118 ff.; Tabo, AD first century (?), Hinkel 1989 241, fig. 8.

<sup>19</sup> Napata, great Amun temple B 500, Tanwetamani, Twenty-Fifth Dynasty, Dunham 1970 Plan V.

<sup>20</sup> Kawa, “Eastern Kiosk” (?), Macadam 1955 53 f.; Török 2002a 25 f.

<sup>21</sup> Unpublished papers delivered by K. Kroeper and D. Wildung at the *12th International Conference for Nubian Studies*, 1–6. August 2010, London.

<sup>22</sup> Wildung – Kroeper 2006 fig. 32/a.

<sup>23</sup> Wildung – Kroeper 2006 11 f. On this account, they call the building “Hathor Chapel”.

<sup>24</sup> Kraus 1964.

Meroitic reception of Alexandrian influence together with a number of sculptures from the “water sanctuary” at Meroe City (Chapter V.2), to which he assigned a similarly late dating. A study published twenty years later<sup>25</sup> pointed out close connections between the kiosk’s architecture and the Hellenizing architecture of Egypt in the late Ptolemaic and early Roman periods and suggested that it was built in conjunction with, or slightly later than the AD mid-first century temple to which it belonged. Dismissing unfounded datings suggested meanwhile to the AD second,<sup>26</sup> third or even fourth century,<sup>27</sup> Dietrich Wildung and Karla Kroeper adopted recently my early dating,<sup>28</sup> which was followed by Judith McKenzie as well.<sup>29</sup> The early dating is also strongly supported by the independent evidence of a recently discovered Meroitic cursive graffito in the interior, which was dated by Claude Rilly to the first half of the AD first century.<sup>30</sup>

Dieter Arnold defines Egyptian kiosks as “freestanding canopies consisting of columns connected by screen walls. The screen walls of kiosks are interrupted by doorways not only in the axis of the processional path but also at right angles to it”.<sup>31</sup> This is only partly true for Nubian kiosks, which have no doors on the lateral fronts, but may otherwise be described as edifices consisting of columns connected by screen walls. It is not true at all for the “Roman Kiosk” (Pl. 151).<sup>32</sup> Instead of columns, it consists of T-shaped pillars with engaged half-columns on the front. On both the shorter (principal) and longer (lateral) fronts (Pls 152–154)<sup>33</sup> there are four pillars with engaged half-columns, which means that the outer intercolumnar spaces on the short fronts are smaller than the rest of the building’s intercolumnia. Referring to Vitruvius’ *De architectura*, 3.2–3, Hinkel defines the short sides as *systilos* where the central intercolumnia measure 7 modules,

<sup>25</sup> Török 1984.

<sup>26</sup> Hinkel 1989 243.

<sup>27</sup> E.g., Wildung – Schoske 1999 52.

<sup>28</sup> Wildung – Kroeper 2006 11. In the book there are no literary references.

<sup>29</sup> Cf. McKenzie 2007 404 note 6.

<sup>30</sup> Wildung – Kroeper 2006 11.

<sup>31</sup> Arnold 1999 284.

<sup>32</sup> Wildung – Schoske 1999 fig. 47.

<sup>33</sup> Pl. 152: west front before restoration; Pl. 153: south front before restoration, Wildung – Schoske 1999 fig. 48; Pl. 154: south front, virtual view after restoration, Wildung – Kroeper 2006 fig. 15.

the outer intercolumnia 6 modules; and the long sides as *araeostylos* where the three intercolumnia measure equally 7 modules.<sup>34</sup>

The half-columns on the four corner pillars constitute heart-shaped (or ivy-leaf shaped) angle columns. Screen walls of different heights connect the pillars. In the axis of the short (principal) fronts Egyptian-type multiple doorframes<sup>35</sup> are placed in front of the half-columns in the traditional Egyptian fashion. Their lintel is crowned by a tall row of snakes reaching the height of the neck ring of the capitals. The screen walls left and right are lower as they have no crowning row of uraei, and arched windows perforate them. On the long (side) fronts the central screen wall, which is slightly higher than the other two screen walls, is perforated by an elaborately framed Egyptian-style window and is crowned by a row of snakes. Arched windows perforate the screen walls at the sides of the central screen wall. All windows have moulded sills decorated with lotus friezes. Their arches are supported by simple leaf capitals of various types and framed in different manners: on the short fronts with dentil and bead-and-reel mouldings, on the long fronts with leaf and *ovolo* mouldings.

The pillars and the engaged half-columns are standing on simple bases (Pl. 154). The half-columns lack shaft diminution and entasis, as it was customary in Roman architecture in the case of square pilasters and half-columns applied to arcuated structures.<sup>36</sup> This is not general in Roman architecture in Egypt, however, as demonstrated, e.g., by the limestone columns of the colonnaded *dromos* of the Hathor temple at Dendera.<sup>37</sup> The Naqa half-columns have no fluting, either. The half-columns as well as the pillars in front of which they stand carry capitals. Two types are employed. The eight half-columns of the four corner pillars are topped with Composite capitals with heavily flaring *kalathi*. The pillar sections at the sides of the half-column capitals are crowned with corner volutes of the same Composite type. The heavy *ovolo* of the capitals has analogues from Alexandria<sup>38</sup> as well as Petra.<sup>39</sup> The rest of the half-columns are topped with Type III Alexandrian Corinthian capitals<sup>40</sup> with similarly emphasized *kalathos* and with one

<sup>34</sup> Hinkel 1989 243 f., fig. 11, right.

<sup>35</sup> For the type, see Pensabene 1983.

<sup>36</sup> Wilson Jones 2000 127.

<sup>37</sup> Pensabene 1993 361 ff., Pl. 37/274, 275.

<sup>38</sup> E.g., Schreiber 1908 Pls 25–35; Adriani 1940 Pl. 19.

<sup>39</sup> Lyttelton 1974 Pl. 76.

<sup>40</sup> McKenzie 2007 86 ff., fig. 125/c.



collar of acanthus leaves reduced to one leaf in the centre and one leaf sheathing the lower half of each corner volute. The acanthi have unarticulated contours and an emphasized midrib. Both features are characteristic for Alexandrian late Hellenistic capitals.<sup>41</sup> The Ionic-type entablature rests upon flat abacus blocks and is broken forward above the pillars. The dentil of the cornice, which is supported by a cavetto, represents a type current in late Hellenistic architecture.<sup>42</sup>

The divorce of the kiosk's architecture from the freestanding, weight-bearing column demonstrates the architect's great freedom in the use of architectural forms and recalls the manner in which stage buildings influenced Alexandrian mortuary architecture. The insertion of Egyptian-style doorways in the principal fronts for the entrance/exit of the visiting deity and of similarly structured windows in the side fronts for his/her viewing points similarly towards Alexandria where by the second century BC illusionistic tomb architectures also included Egyptian elements and even placed them in the visual centre of the burial chamber (Chapter III.1.2).

The use of the pillared structure with decorative half-columns and arched Roman-type windows suggests, together with the Egyptian doorways and windows, that the designers of the kiosk had other essential considerations as well. Namely, they gave more weight to the interpretation of the kiosk as the *dwelling*, i.e., temple, of a deity than to its function as a canopy under which s/he stays only temporarily: this is why they created an architectural mix which is more chapel than kiosk. The most inventive detail of the building also appears to have followed from the intention of creating a symbolic structure. The unification of half (or quarter) columns into heart or ivy-leaf shaped piers appeared first in East Greek architecture as a solution for the reentrant angle in stoas and other civic buildings.<sup>43</sup> It was also adopted in Alexandrian Hellenistic architecture for the reentrant angle in courts and peristyles,<sup>44</sup> but it is entirely unusual at an outward pointing angle where a column should stand. However unusual, the outward-placed heart-shaped pier is not a whimsical distortion of the column orders

<sup>41</sup> Cf. K. Ronczewski: Les chapiteaux corinthiens et variés du musée gréco-romain d'Alexandrie. *BSAAA* 22 (1927) Suppl. 3–36 Pl 3/3–5; Adriani 1940 Pls 15/1, 16/1, 2, 17/1–4; Lauter 1971 fig. 8; Pensabene 1993 109 ff.

<sup>42</sup> Cf. Lauter 1971 158.

<sup>43</sup> Cf. Venit 2002 51, 235 note 405.

<sup>44</sup> Venit 2002 36, 51; cf. Török 1976.

employed in the building. The architect's aim was to find a solution for the articulation of the extended function and meaning of the building, and he found it by treating each front separately as a self-standing stage structure.

Both the designer(s) of the building and the masons executing his/their plan treated differently the Egyptian and the Hellenistic-style elements of the building. The former display a treatment of detail, which conforms with the standards of high-quality monumental architecture, while the latter present only reduced variants. Both the Alexandrian Corinthian and the Composite capitals are rendered in a simplified, summary fashion, which is not justified by the bad quality of the Nubian sandstone. They are divided by a world of difference from their Alexandrian models. The summary treatment of the helices and acanthi cannot stand comparison with the delicacy of the average Ptolemaic and early Roman period Alexandrian Corinthian type capitals carved for monumental buildings in the countryside, either.<sup>45</sup> Closer to the "Roman Kiosk" are cheaper provincial edifices like the aforementioned colonnade of the *dromos* leading to the Hathor temple at Dendera. This is also suggested by details, which may be regarded lapses rather than innovations, such as the multiple neck rings borrowed from Egyptian floral bundle columns, between which also the stems in the bundle are marked on some half-columns. On others, however, there is a simplified *ovolo* in the place of the vertical incisions marking the stems.

The design of the kiosk in front of the Apedemak temple of Naqa was made in Egypt some time in the early decades of the Roman rule by (an) architect(s) who had a good knowledge of the Alexandrian Corinthian as well as the Roman Composite order and was (were) familiar with some principles of Roman monumental architecture as well. He (they) received his (their) training, however, in Egyptian Hellenistic architecture, as is indicated by the autonomous manner in which he (they) used the half-columns in order to create "representations" of architectures (cf. Chapter III.2.1). The simplification of the capitals and of various mouldings was probably not part of the design but has to be ascribed to the masons' team, which executed the building without being supervised by the author(s) of the plan. The masons' team arrived similarly from Egypt, from a provincial (Upper

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<sup>45</sup> Cf. McKenzie 2007 86 ff., 137 ff.

Egyptian?) workshop, as the manner of the simplification of complex forms and the awkward neck rings of the capitals indicate. The masons were obviously more versed in the execution of Egyptian than Hellenistic forms.

Earlier authors educated in a colonial spirit and/or adherents of culture-historical archaeology or Ethnic Prehistory declared that in ancient Nubia anything of a good quality was necessarily a copy of an Egyptian original, and as a general historical process

the egyptianized kingdom [of Napata and Meroe was] running gradually downhill to a miserable and inglorious end. There were interludes of prosperity when contact with the outside world was free and friendly, and new inspiration and energy (the effect of new ideas from outside) were infused into the kingdom.<sup>46</sup>

A basically different conclusion may be drawn from the analysis of the monuments discussed in this book (see Chapter IX). To advance it in one sentence: as a rule, no copies and direct imitations were made in ancient Nubian art. The “Roman Kiosk” at Naqa represents an exception: it was built on the basis of an imported plan without any Meroitic addition in design or execution. Considered from the perspective of the *Egyptian* architecture of the AD first century it is extremely valuable, for it is the only preserved monument of its kind. It is an evidence for remarkable innovations, which are otherwise unattested. As an Egyptian import adopted without alteration, without partial or complete reinterpretation in a Meroitic context, it represents a side-track of “acculturation”: namely, the attitude of *copying* and *imitation*, which was believed, most unjustly, to have been the only responses Nubians could give on the culture of Egypt. It was not so, and this is why I prefer to interpret the “Roman Kiosk” as an isolated copy of a fine Egyptian building that exerted no influence whatsoever on Nubian architecture rather than to discover one of the finest monuments of Meroitic architecture in it.

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<sup>46</sup> A.J. Arkell: *A History of the Sudan. From the Earliest Times to 1821*. London 1955 (second edn. 1961) 138.

## CHAPTER NINE

### MEDIA AND MESSAGES. THE AUTONOMY OF NUBIAN “ACCULTURATION”

Modern scholarship studies “acculturation”, but the degree to which it was positively sought in antiquity, except by Imperial Rome and for motives of security and finance, was probably slight[.]<sup>1</sup>

[T]he classical arts made least headway where local idioms in the arts were long established, were profoundly different from the classical, and totally satisfying[.] They made most progress in what amounted to a vacuum[.]<sup>2</sup>

The influx of new information during the last decade from so far unexplored regions and sites may serve us with good reasons for the reappraisal of any period, any region, and any genre of ancient Nubian culture. The time is still not ripe, however, for producing a concise history of Nubian art that could considerably enlarge on Wenig’s 1978 study (cf. Chapter I.2). Instead of presenting a chronological or thematic discussion, in the foregoing I have attempted an investigation of the nature of Nubia’s “acculturation” to her great neighbour Egypt.<sup>3</sup> Choosing the dates 300 BC–AD 250 I tried to work under clinical conditions: the examination of the Nubian response to the traditional pharaonic, Hellenistic/Roman, Hellenizing, and “hybrid” elements of Ptolemaic and Roman Egyptian culture seemed to allow a special kind of approach to the special nature of the “acculturation” processes taking place south of the First Nile Cataract. Dealing with this particular period of Nubian art it was also inevitable to present a critical survey of the literature on Ptolemaic and Roman Egyptian art from the perspective of a peripheral culture, which adopted Hellenizing forms and means of artistic expression without establishing a proper intellectual relationship with the Hellenistic world. This book is underpinned by

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<sup>1</sup> Boardman 1994 315.

<sup>2</sup> Boardman 1994 321.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. recently Baud 2010a.

my conviction that the old thesis resurrected lately both by Egyptologists and Nubian scholars, according to which the imported elements of Egyptian culture preserved their original Egyptian meaning whence it makes little sense to search them for Nubian contents,<sup>4</sup> is not right.

The adoption of Hellenistic elements of art was not motivated in the same manner in Nubia as in other peripheral regions of the Hellenistic world. Meroe's conflicts with Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt did not bring about an immigration of Greek or Hellenized Egyptian communities which would have imported their Greek culture in order to make it a part of their new homeland's culture (and to share or not to share it with the natives). There were no native social groups or individuals, either, who would have been compelled for some reason or other to obtain a Greek education—even if the Ergamenes story would tell it otherwise (cf. Chapter I.1). The Meroitic adoption of elements from the classical idiom was part of a cultural tradition the roots of which reach back to the times before the emergence of the kingdom of Kush (Chapter II). This cultural tradition may be described as a continuous formation of a special *dialect of art* that was destined to articulate Nubian messages and not to repeat Egyptian ones.

Egyptian culture of the Ptolemaic and Roman periods reached Meroe through two main channels. Hellenistic and Hellenizing ideas, forms, means of expression arrived due to the gift exchange with the Ptolemaic court and later through contacts with the Roman prefect and through commercial exchange. Traditional Egyptian ideas, forms, and means of expression arrived mainly through contacts maintained with Egyptian temples, first of all the temple of Isis at Philae. But neither of the channels conveyed sterile influences. Through the first there arrived influences from a Hellenistic elite culture that increasingly assimilated Egyptian elements. Through the second, in turn, there arrived influences from an Egyptian religious thinking that did not remain untouched by its Graeco-Roman *Umwelt*.

From the foundation of the kingdom of Kush in the tenth or ninth century BC to the emergence of the Meroitic kingdom in the third century BC, Nubian culture was articulated and perpetuated in texts written in Egyptian and represented in visual discourses embedded in an architecture modeled on Egyptian prototypes and employing

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<sup>4</sup> See recently Kahn n.d.

the expressive media of Egyptian art. The Egyptian media underwent alterations in Nubia that were determined by the modified or new messages that they were intended to convey.<sup>5</sup> Such a procedure could only occur if the original messages were correctly perceived and consciously manipulated. The iconographical programs of the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty and Napatan temples differed to a significant extent from the iconographical programs of the Egyptian temples on which they were modeled, because they were conceived to present the official Nubian discourse on the legitimation of the ruler by the gods<sup>6</sup> while they were deliberately silent about other aspects of the theology and practice of the cults: aspects which could hardly miss from an Egyptian sanctuary.<sup>7</sup> The Nubian iconographical programs were no collections of “quotations” meant to assert an identity based on pretension: they were part of a visual discourse that recited Nubia’s own cultural traditions.

It would be a hopeless venture to investigate Hellenizing art in Meroe without possessing a coherent image of the arts of Egypt in the Ptolemaic and Roman periods. For this reason I introduced my case studies not only with a prehistory of Meroitic “acculturation” in the second-first millennia BC (Chapter II) but also with a more detailed examination of the relationship between traditional and Hellenistic/Roman art in Egypt (Chapter III). I was compelled to decide, which one of the Egypts offered in the learned literature do I choose as the likely source of Hellenizing art in Meroe. To each radically different scholarly image of Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt’s multicultural identity belongs a different art history. Surveying the current scenarios describing Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt in the terms of a “cultural apartheid” or a “cultural symbiosis”, I opted for a scenario of increasing cultural interaction between Egyptians and Greeks, admitting at the same time that this interaction could not lead to a completely organic synthesis of the two cultures or to an all-embracing new system of representation that would blend the Egyptian and Greek systems of visual representation.

The monuments of the Egyptian-Greek encounter describe a pluralistic visual world that begun to take shape already during the Persian

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<sup>5</sup> For a detailed examination of the evidence, see Török 2002a 34–258.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Török 2002a 40 ff.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. D. Arnold: *Wandrelief und Raumfunktion in ägyptischen Tempeln des neuen Reiches* (Münchner Ägyptologische Studien 2). Berlin 1962.

occupations of the fifth and fourth centuries BC. Measuring Egyptian Hellenizing art on J.J. Pollitt's definitions (Chapter III.1.2) I opted for the existence of features that are specially characteristic for Alexandrian art. The combination of Hellenistic and not-Hellenistic elements in the art of Ptolemaic Alexandria is relevant not only to the study of the Alexandrian contribution to Hellenistic art. As a model case of mutual "acculturation", it also offers clues for the understanding of similar phenomena in Meroitic art. This is why I also ventured into an appraisal of the reliefs from the Petosiris tomb at Tuna el Gebel (Chapter III.1.3, Pls 6–9), in which the border between the Egyptian and classical systems of representation is transgressed with an innocence that can only be explained as a combination of a predominant concern for the *contents* of an image with an indifference towards the differences between the two *systems of representation*.

In the case studies the same question is raised what was also incited by the stylistic dualism of the Petosiris tomb, namely, how, if at all, did the Egyptians/Meroites realize the differences between the styles, or to use a better term, systems of representation at their disposal? While no direct answer is possible, for an indirect one I turned to a popular and omnipresent genre that is crucial to the perception of Egyptian-Greek cultural interaction in Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt, namely, terracotta sculpture (Chapter III.3). An examination of the chronology of the individual iconographical types in terracotta sculpture led to the conclusion that the production of Egyptian style terracotta images of Egyptian deities, phallic figures and Hathor votives ceased after the early Ptolemaic period. While the temples continued to creatively develop the traditional images of the Egyptian deities, the trend of the production of inexpensive terracottas, which were manufactured in the same temples, was the creation of Hellenistic or Hellenizing images. For whom were these terracottas made? I argued that the mass production of classical style terracottas starting in the early Ptolemaic period was intended for Greeks, for whom, unlike the Egyptians, clay statuettes were traditional objects of personal religiosity. As media of a consciously shaped religious policy, the terracottas were intended to serve the assimilation of the Greek communities to their new homeland and its gods. It was an inevitable, and by no means minor side-effect that the inexpensive not-Egyptian style clay images of Egyptian gods, specially associated with Egyptian temple festivals and with strong connotations of fertility and good fortune, gradually

transformed the taste of the native population and contributed to the shaping of a predominantly Hellenized visual world.

The “acculturation” model presented by the terracottas has of course no direct relevance to the study of Meroitic art. It presents nevertheless an etalon by drawing our attention to the lack of similar visual media in Meroe that would have been destined to carry messages formulated by the ruling elite with the intention of influencing the outlook of wide circles of the population, and which would, as a side effect, have brought about a standardization of the visual world. Pottery decoration usually presents a medium of this kind. This is not the case of Meroitic pottery decoration, however, which in its quality as a common visual vocabulary was hardly present in the life of the lower strata of society. There existed no pre-Meroitic Nubian tradition of painted decoration on wheel-made finewares. The predominantly non-figural incised, combed and rouletted decoration of the traditional Nubian handmade finewares was not translated into painting or relief decoration at the time when the large-scale production of wheelmade finewares unfolded in the south and, at a later date, in the north of the kingdom.

The first impulses to decorate good quality wheel-made vessels with paintings arrived in the second half of the third century BC with Egyptian *utility* wares, which displayed sketchily executed, routined *foncé sur claire* paintings (Pls 93–95). Stylistically the impulses were not homogenous. While the Theban pottery workshops preserved Late Period decorative traditions and adopted Hellenistic subsidiary patterns only reluctantly and not in a pure form, imports from other Egyptian workshops conveyed decorations that followed high-quality Hellenistic pottery more closely. Meroitic vase painters do not seem to have started to adopt designs from Egyptian *luxury* wares before the second century BC. As a general trend, Meroitic vase painting developed from mass-product to luxury product. By the AD second century the trend turned back from luxury to mass-product (Chapters VII.5.2.2 to 5.2.4).

Some time in the second half of the second century BC the Early Meroitic *foncé sur claire* decoration was replaced by designs executed in the manner of line drawing. At its best quality, the “Line Drawing Style” (Chapters VII.5.2.3, 5.2.6, Pls 98, 101–107, 136–142) is characterized by the geometrical clarity and the sharp definition of its design structure and a conspicuous precision of execution. The manner of the



combination of pharaonic and Hellenistic design elements rendered in simple, clear line drawing points as source of inspiration towards high-quality Ptolemaic faience and metal vessels. This suggestion is sufficiently supported by stylistically related fine imported faience and bronze vessels found in Meroitic assemblages. These genres share the decoration structure of clearly separated superposed (on closed shapes) or concentric (on open shapes) zones as well as several iconographical (e.g., Egyptian religious symbols) and design motifs (especially vegetal and floral) and subsidiary patterns, both traditional and Hellenistic. The decoration of the imported metal and faience vessels appeared more attractive to the Meroitic viewer than the designs on Hellenistic luxury pottery because their iconographical repertory offered a far broader range of signs that were meaningful in Meroe too and were thus fit to define the function and properties of a vessel in a social/religious/magical sense. There may be little doubt that it was this motivation that determined the Meroites' disinterest towards the adoption of Greek mythological scenes and figures which they encountered on imported Egyptian faience vessels.

As already indicated above, the iconographical programs of the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty and Napatan temples were restricted to the discourse on the legitimization of the ruler by the gods, and this restriction is also characteristic for the temples and palaces of the Meroitic period. In the monumental arts there existed no narrative images recounting mythological stories. Meroitic innovations in monumental iconography did not transgress the limits of the theme of royal legitimacy even if they were brought about by the reemphasis or resurrection of ancient native deities and cults. While we find images in pottery decoration that may be defined as "illustration" of folk tales (Chapter VII.5.2.4) and there are indications for an oral literature in the Napatan period<sup>8</sup> which may have continued to exist in the Meroitic period, narrative vase painting is extremely rare. The predominance of symbolic motifs in vase painting is, however, not independent from the unimportance of visual story telling in the monumental arts of Meroe.

Three architectural designs preserved from the Meroitic period, one for an AD first century royal pyramid at Meroe,<sup>9</sup> and two for houses

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Török 2002a 363, 395 ff., 406, 423 ff., 479 ff.

<sup>9</sup> Hinkel 1981 fig. 4; Török 1997a fig. 26.

in a Lower Nubian village<sup>10</sup> attest the general practice of the preparation of architectural drawings. This is also suggested by a first century BC Meroitic jar from Kerma. It is decorated with a remarkable graffito incised in two steps. First a pit grave substructure was drawn on the vessel, the depth of which is indicated by lines around the pit. Subsequently, on the drawing of the pit the ground plan of a pyramid superstructure with an enclosure in front was precisely superimposed. In the entrance of the enclosure an offering table is represented.<sup>11</sup> Friedrich Wilhelm Hinkel's analyses of the metrology of monumental Napatan and Meroitic period temple and mortuary architecture<sup>12</sup> demonstrate the high quality of architectural planning and its periodical updating on the basis of developments in Egyptian metrology. His studies have also shown that various traditional Egyptian and Graeco-Egyptian metrologies were concurrently in use in the Meroitic period. The completion of the large-scale building programs of the third century BC, the first golden age of Meroitic art, took several decades. The composition of the teams working at monumental, long-term projects could not remain unaltered. From the very outset, the teams were heterogeneous as to the provenance, training, experience and skills of their members. On the basis of the stylistic analysis of third and second century constructions at Meroe City (Chapter V, Pls 14–62) and Musawwarat es Sufra (Chapter VI, Pls 65, 68–82, 87) I have argued that the workshops included leading architects and sculptors trained in Egypt in both traditional and Hellenistic architecture and sculpture as well as Meroitic architects and sculptors. Among these latter there were excellently trained and skilled masters as well as artisans of average or even poor skills. In large-scale programs such as the “water sanctuary” at Meroe City (Pls 28–62) we find numerous poor quality works, indicating that the project had to be completed within a short period of time and was too large to be realized by the small expert manpower at disposal.

As a rule, there is a discrepancy between the quality of the complex designs arriving from Egypt and the quality of their execution. The

<sup>10</sup> J. Jacquet: *Remarques sur l'architecture domestique à l'époque méroïtique. Documents réunis sur les fouilles d'Ash-Shaukan. Beiträge zur Ägyptischen Bauforschung* 12 (1971) 121–131 Pl. 20/3a, 4b.

<sup>11</sup> For the Kerma vessel, see C. Bonnet: *Les fouilles archéologiques de Kerma (Soudan). Genava* 28 (1980) 31–62 59, figs 28, 29.

<sup>12</sup> Hinkel 1981; 1982; 1984; 1989, 1991.

sculptural program of the “water sanctuary” was designed in, or close to, a Ptolemaic royal workshop, yet alongside the design no first class sculptors trained in Alexandrian Greek sculpture had been dispatched to Meroe. The leading masters were probably recruited in some Egyptian provincial centre, as it is indicated by the obvious weaknesses of their work: they were far better trained in traditional Egyptian than Hellenistic sculpture.

The imported designs were not blindly executed. The work of the teams executing the “water sanctuary” at Meroe City or buildings 101–102, 201–203 and 301–302 in the Great Enclosure at Musawwarat es Sufra was coordinated by Meroitic experts who intervened in the adoption of the iconographical programs and forms arriving from Egypt in order to give them a Meroitic meaning or fit them into a Meroitic context. The Dionysiac program adopted in the “water sanctuary” was fitted into the concepts of Meroitic dynastic/royal cult and the perpetual renewal of royal legitimacy by the Nile. The interventions were carried out in the knowledge of the meaning of the Ptolemaic models so that the Dionysiac aspect of Ptolemaic kingship, the iconography of the “Ptolemaic exedra” at Memphis, or the Hellenistic type of the reclining royal ancestor could be translated into the visual language of Meroitic kingship ideology. It is needless to say that the meaning of the Meroitic intervention can be sufficiently understood only if all elements that constitute the “water sanctuary” are taken into consideration. For the time being we are unable to fulfill this condition.

With all their Hellenizing and Egyptianizing architectural and sculptural features, the buildings of the Great Enclosure at Musawwarat es Sufra were designed to serve *Meroitic* royal cult and presented its symbolic visual image. On the whole, the teams working at Period 6 Great Enclosure (cf. Chapter VI.1.1) were better skilled than the “water sanctuary” teams. While the leading masters working at Musawwarat did not import a Hellenistic program that could be compared in its complexity to the “water sanctuary” statuary, they received nevertheless their training closer to Alexandria than the masters who were working at Meroe City. Also admixing Achaemenid features, the designer(s) of the peripteral colonnade of building 101–102 composed Egyptianized columns from elements of classical orders in the experimenting spirit of early Ptolemaic architecture (Chapter VI.2.1.1, Pls 75–77, and cf. Chapters III.1.1–2, III.3). The figural relief friezes running around the lower part of the shaft of some columns at the front of the building indicate the international context of their training: in

spite of their hybrid style, they recall the columns of the temple of Artemis at Ephesos.

The architecture of the third to first century BC and AD first century palaces and houses in the “Royal Enclosure” at Meroe City (Chapter V.1.4, Pls 18–23) attest to the intermittent (?) influence of Hellenistic Egyptian urban architecture. Features of Hellenistic Greek palace/urban house types were adopted probably through the mediation of palaces, private villas and houses standing in Egyptian cities of the *chôra*, especially in Greek foundations. M 97, an enigmatic building interpreted as a small prostyle temple or a representative reception room had a hybrid architecture with campaniform as well as Ionic capitals, and an entablature with Hellenistic dentil. Fragments of Ionic capitals and classical entablatures with dentils and modillion cornice were also found at Gebel Barkal. They may perhaps be associated with large-scale construction works carried out under Natakamani and Amanitore in the AD first century.<sup>13</sup>

Architecture and sculpture also receive inspirations from Egypt in the second golden age of Meroitic art, i.e., in the second half of the first century BC and in the AD first century. Painters decorating fine pottery adopted current Hellenistic designs (wavy and sinuous scrolls, branches with/without leaves, net patterns, trefoils, cannellured wall decorations etc.) combining them with Egyptian/Meroitic symbolic images (lotus, ‘nh, s3) in a manner that does not differ from the fashion in which designs of different origins were combined in Egypt in the arts of the late Ptolemaic period. The Hellenizing of the visual world of the Meroitic elite and middle classes, as far as luxury pottery destined principally for mortuary display may be considered a significant part of it, was also promoted by a special fine decorated pottery ware produced in workshops at Syene/Aswan for the Lower Nubian market (Chapter VII.5.2.5, Pls 121, 123–127, 132–135). The lucrativeness of the production of high-quality vases for a Nubian clientele provided a remarkable impetus for the development of Upper Egyptian vase painting. In artistic invention and quality, the vases of the “Painter of Karanog Grave 712” and contemporary masters represent a unique and so far unrecognized episode of Egyptian art history. With their paintings representing Hellenistic themes or presenting

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<sup>13</sup> L. Sist: Motivi ellenistici nell’architettura meroitica: nuove scoperte a Napata. in: Caneva – Roccati (eds) 2006 475–481.

remarkable renderings of the African, that is, Meroitic environment the vessels belonging to this splendid ware lastingly influenced Meroitic vase painting too.

Hellenistic influence in monumental architecture and sculpture was more episodic. It may partly be ascribed to the occasional presence of Egyptian artesans in the workshops executing complex projects, and partly to the reinterpretation of Meroitic theological conceptions. The first type of Hellenizing may be illustrated with the incorrectly employed heart-shaped corner piers from the peripteral colonnade of the first century BC temple of Basa.<sup>14</sup> The badly damaged Alexandrian Corinthian capital found at the site may have belonged to one of these piers. For the special form of Hellenizing occurring in iconographical programs carrying theological “innovations” may stand here the example of the Apedemak temple built at Naqa under the coregency of King Natakamani and Queen Amanitore around the middle of the AD first century.

Naqa was the earliest, or one of the earliest Meroitic settlements with a temple cult of Apedemak.<sup>15</sup> In the third century BC Apedemak temple at Musawwarat es Sufra the god is “lord of Naqa and lord of Musawwarat”. The early Apedemak temple referred to in this epithet stood perhaps at the site of Natakamani’s temple under the walls of which recently remains of an earlier temple building have been identified.<sup>16</sup>

The regency of Natakamani and Amanitore was one of the most prosperous periods in Kushite history as is evidenced by the monumental restoration of the great Amun temple B 500 at Napata, the restoration and enlargement of the late Amun temple at Meroe City,<sup>17</sup> the erection of the Amun temples of Naqa and Amara, of the Isis temple at Wad ban Naqa, and the monumental Meroitic palace B 1500 at Napata. Urban growth was significant during Natakamani’s and Amanitore’s reign in Meroe City,<sup>18</sup> Naqa,<sup>19</sup> Wad ban Naga, Napata

<sup>14</sup> J.W. Crowfoot: *The Island of Meroe*. London 1911 14 ff., Pls IV, V, IX; Török 1976.

<sup>15</sup> Cf. V. Rondot: Les dieux de Méroé. in: Baud – Sackho-Autissier – Labbé-Toutée (eds) 2010 189–201 194 ff.

<sup>16</sup> Wildung-Schoske 1999 49 f.

<sup>17</sup> Török 1997b 116–128.

<sup>18</sup> Török 1997b 37 ff.

<sup>19</sup> For Naqa see now Wildung – Schoske 1999.—Natakamani, Amanitore, and a prince were probably represented also in a temple at Duanib, LD V 68/e.

and other settlements in the Butana.<sup>20</sup> The prosperity of the period is indicated by the artistic quality of these buildings as well as by the mass production of luxury pottery wares.

The iconography of the co-regents in the Apedemak and Amun temples of Naqa recalls in several details the kingship ideology of the early Meroitic period. At the same time, however, considerable changes may also be observed in the intellectual orientation of their period. The learned literature frequently compares the Apedemak temple of Musawwarat with the Naqa temple of Apedemak.<sup>21</sup> The cult character and iconography of Naqa is usually considered to have derived from Musawwarat. A comparison of the two iconographical programs reveals, however, that—besides changes in the theology of Apedemak<sup>22</sup>—the iconographic program of the Naqa temple was designed to articulate a new edition of the Kushite myth of the state and not to copy the message of the earlier iconographical program.

Differences between the compositional structure of the Musawwarat and Naqa decoration programs occur most conspicuously in the interior. At Musawwarat es Sufra, there is a narrow base register of a compositionally and thematically subordinate character. Instead of a base register, at Naqa, there is a narrow upper register with cult scenes indicating that the Naqa decoration was influenced by an iconographic tradition that had no precedents in Kush. The Musawwarat program reflects an intellectual process in which new theological interpretations were created for a number of ancient native deities who had possessed until then only an unimportant temple cult or no temple cult at all so that they could now be incorporated into the “official” pantheon and, thus, integrated into Kushite kingship ideology as it was re-formulated in the early Meroitic period (cf. Chapter VI.1.3).

At Naqa, we are confronted with a markedly different kind of syncretism.<sup>23</sup> The scenes on the west, i.e., main wall of the interior,<sup>24</sup> represent the legitimation of Natakamani and Amanitore by Apedemak and Amun (Pl. 155).<sup>25</sup> Both Apedemak and Amun appear on the exterior as well as on the interior walls in their traditional form(s). Here,

<sup>20</sup> Cf. Baud 2008; 2010.

<sup>21</sup> See first of all Gamer-Wallert 1983; Zibelius 1983; Hintze *et al.* 1993.

<sup>22</sup> Gamer-Wallert 1983; Onasch 1993.

<sup>23</sup> For the iconography and relief style, see now the acute remarks made by Michel Baud, Baud 2010a 78 ff.

<sup>24</sup> Gamer-Wallert 1983 Bl. 12.

<sup>25</sup> Gamer-Wallert 1983 Bl. 12, detail.

and also in the centre of the interior south (Apedemak) and north (Amun) walls, they are represented in syncretistic forms which show the influence of late Ptolemaic and early Roman Egyptian religion. The fusion of Kushite and Egyptian deities was part of a general process during the course of which traditional cults were re-formulated under the impact of contemporary Egyptian cults and new deities were imported whose cults belonged primarily in the sphere of "personal piety".<sup>26</sup> This process was doubtless generated by close contacts with Egyptian temples, especially the sanctuaries of Philae.

In the centre of the south wall Apedemak is represented with a bearded human head shown *en face* instead of the traditional lion's head in profile view (Pl. 156).<sup>27</sup> The identity of the Hellenistic deity inspiring the *en face* representation is revealed by the rendering of the full lips, the deep nasolabial furrows, and especially the symmetrical pair of corkscrew-locks from the beard: there can be no doubt that it is Sarapis who is fused here with the Nubian lion god.<sup>28</sup> Above the image of Apedemak-Sarapis there appears the badly damaged figure of an enthroned Nubian Amun, establishing a sort of equilibrium between the two deities.

The deity in the northern half of the main wall is identified as Amun by his crown superstructure and the ram's horn curling around his ear (Pl. 155). He appears with the same attributes in the centre of the interior north wall as well. In both cases, he is represented *en face*. This detail as well as his wreath, long locks of hair, full beard and Hellenistic drapery indicate that he was fused with a Hellenistic deity. In the Mediterranean world Amun had been identified with Zeus since the sixth century BC and the same identification had been generally accepted in Ptolemaic Egypt<sup>29</sup> ever since Alexander the Great was

<sup>26</sup> Cf. C. Onasch: Zur Struktur der meroitischen Religion. *Meroitica* 7 (1984) 135–142; C. Onasch: Die kuschitische Religion aus der Sicht von E.E. Kormyschewa in ihrem Werk "Religija Kuša". *Nubica* 1/2 (1990) 47–75. See also E. Segueny: Quelques éléments de la religion populaire du Soudan ancien. *Meroitica* 7 (1984) 149–155; *ead.*: L'influence de l'Égypte gréco-romaine sur la religion méroïtique. Témoignage des objets d'art mineur. in: M. Krause (ed.): *Nubische Studien*. Mainz 1986 171–177.

<sup>27</sup> Gamer-Wallert 1983 Bl. 10/a.

<sup>28</sup> For the iconography of Sarapis see W. Hornbostel: *Sarapis—Studien zur Überlieferungsgeschichte, den Erscheinungsformen und Wandlungen der Gestalt eines Gottes*. Leiden 1973.

<sup>29</sup> Cf. E. Otto: Amun. *LÄ* I (1973) 237–248 237; G. Hölbl: Verehrung ägyptischer Götter im Ausland, bes. griech.-röm. Zeit. *LÄ* VI (1985–1986) 920–969 920 ff.; Hölbl 1994 10 ff., 91 f.

declared son of Zeus-Ammon.<sup>30</sup> The Naqa representation of Amun with long hair and curly beard was modeled on Egyptian representations of the Hellenistic Zeus-Ammon.<sup>31</sup> The rendering of the beard and the association of the figure with Apedemak-Sarapis on both the west and north walls suggest, however, that it was actually Sarapis-Ammon, i.e., a particular syncretistic aspect of Zeus-Ammon that provided the iconographical model for the Naqa representations.<sup>32</sup> The notion of *iconographical* model is emphasized here because these Hellenized Nubian images of Amun and Apedemak were masques inspired by iconographical interest rather than theological orientation. The iconographical motivation does not mean, however, that the designers of the Naqa program were ignorant of the theology of the Hellenistic gods. Yet the Naqa representations refer only to those features of Sarapis and Zeus-Ammon, which were also present in the Kushite gods who wear their masques. Namely, Zeus-Amun appears in the role of the traditional Kushite Amun gods when he legitimates the co-regents' royal power and establishes their divinity. Apedemak-Sarapis only adopted the fertility aspect of Sarapis,<sup>33</sup> doubtless because the cult of Apedemak already possessed this particular feature. In addition, the representations on the side walls emphasize the warrior aspect shared by Amun, Apedemak, Zeus-Ammon, and Sarapis. Apedemak-Sarapis and Zeus-Amun-Sarapis are mirror images of each other as lords of victory.

In a scene preserved from the upper register of the north wall the co-regents and the prince adore a god with a frontally represented face. The god's head is surrounded by an aureola from which radiate twelve (?) rays (Pl. 157).<sup>34</sup> There are strong arguments for his identification as a syncretistic Zeus-Helios-Amun.<sup>35</sup>

<sup>30</sup> Arrian, *Anab.* 3.3,2.

<sup>31</sup> For the iconography of Ammon and his syncretistic forms see Leclant 1981.

<sup>32</sup> Leclant 1981 141–152.

<sup>33</sup> Cf. G. Hölbl: Serapis. *LÄ V* (1984) 870–874.—For the monuments of the popular Sarapis cult in Kush see E. Segueny – J. Desanges: Sarapis dans le royaume de Kouch. *CdE* 61 (1986) 324–329.

<sup>34</sup> Gamer-Wallert 1983 Bl. 11/a.

<sup>35</sup> For an identification of Amun-Re with Zeus-Helios-Ammon in the Greek version of a Demotic votive inscription from Karnak, see G. Grimm: Die Vergöttlichung Alexanders des Grossen in Ägypten und ihre Bedeutung für den ptolemäischen Königs-kult. in: Maehler – Strocka (eds) 1978 106 with note 39; Gamer-Wallert 1983 213.—For a related divine image in the triumphal monument of King Shorakaror (first successor of Natakamani and Amanitore, middle-second half of the AD first cent.) at



The Naqa sanctuary displays remarkable changes in the traditional grammar of the Kushite temple. While at Musawwarat on the south front and on the southern half of the west front (i.e., to the left of the temple axis) the triumphal, on the north front and on the northern half of the west front (i.e., right of the temple axis) the fertility aspect of the represented deities was emphasized, at Naqa we find on the south front (left of the temple axis) only male and on the north front (right of the temple axis) only female deities.<sup>36</sup> On the south front,<sup>37</sup> the co-regents, accompanied by the prince, adore the lion-headed Apedemak, Horus, Amun of Napata, Khonsu, and Amun of Pnubs (Kerma) and receive life from them. Apedemak legitimates in the southern half of the west front the king, in the northern half the queen.<sup>38</sup> In the north front reliefs the co-regents and the prince adore Isis, Mut, Apedemak's consort Amesemi, Hathor, and Satis.<sup>39</sup> A similar division also prevails in the central scenes of the interior side walls. In the south, "male", half of the temple the king is shown alone before the enthroned Apedemak-Sarapis;<sup>40</sup> in the north, "female", half the queen appears alone before the enthroned Zeus-Amun-Sarapis.<sup>41</sup> These representations are, however, in a chiastic correspondence with the royal figures of the main, west, wall where the king is legitimated in the north (right) and the queen in the south (left) half.

The chiasmus of the representations of Natakamani and Amanitore reinforces the observation made at other Kushite temples, namely that the central idea around which the iconographic program of the whole sanctuary was designed was determined by kingship ideology rather than the actual temple cultus. The co-regency of Natakamani and Amanitore was a new development—or perhaps a unique case—in Kushite history,<sup>42</sup> which not only resulted in a number of changes in

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Gebel Qeili, see F. Hintze: Preliminary Report of the Butana Expedition. *Kush* 7 (1959) 171–196 fig. 2; *FHN* III No. (215).

<sup>36</sup> A certain gender division is, however, also present in the side front reliefs at Musawwarat: on the south front only male deities are represented; on the north front there are pairs of male and female deities who are, however, not couples.

<sup>37</sup> Gamer-Wallert 1983 Bl. 5/a, 5/b.

<sup>38</sup> Gamer-Wallert 1983 Bl. 7.

<sup>39</sup> Gamer-Wallert 1983 Bl. 6/a, 6/b.

<sup>40</sup> Gamer-Wallert 1983 Bl. 10/a.

<sup>41</sup> Gamer-Wallert 1983 Bl. 11/a.

<sup>42</sup> Cf. Török 1997a 460 ff.

royal titulary and regalia<sup>43</sup> but also required the creation of a new type of pictorial discourse on the male-female dualism of rulership.

The reliefs on the sides and rear walls of the pylon towers<sup>44</sup> also convey the concept of reciprocity between the god and the ruler. These reliefs display remarkable iconographic and artistic inventions. On the rear wall of the towers we see the god's standard crowned with Apedemak's striding lion image. The standard pierces the body of a bound captive.<sup>45</sup> The images on the pylon towers make manifest the invincibility of the rulers as a gift from Apedemak and, at the same time, they also refer to the concept of reciprocity. These concepts were already integral parts of the iconographic program of the Musawwarat temple. The new element at Naqa is the dualism of regency conveyed by the symmetrical images of the co-regents. On the side wall of the towers, fitted into the narrow, high field, the serpent-bodied, human-armed, lion-headed image of Apedemak emerges from a classically rendered acanthus chalice (Pl. 158)<sup>46</sup> as if to protect the co-regents on the pylon front. The serpent image of the god recalls Hellenistic Egyptian deities such as the snake-legged Dionysos,<sup>47</sup> while the acanthus chalice from which he emerges may refer to the birth of the god. Namely, in Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt the lotus flower from which Horus, the young sun god emerges may take the form of an acanthus chalice.<sup>48</sup>

Similarly to Musawwarat, the west front (Pl. 159)<sup>49</sup> fulfilled the function of a contra-temple insofar as the figure of Apedemak served in its reliefs as a cult image of popular piety.<sup>50</sup> The wall is decorated with two scenes in which Apedemak legitimates the king (south side, i.e., left temple half) and the queen (north side, i.e., right temple half). The prince is present in both scenes. Instead of repeating the scene twice in a complete form, however, the designer(s) of the iconographic program created here a unique pictorial solution. In the centre of the wall stands a frontally represented human-bodied and lion-headed

<sup>43</sup> Cf. Török 1987 49 ff.

<sup>44</sup> Gamer-Wallert 1983 Bl. 3/a–4/b.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.* Bl. 4/a, 4/b.

<sup>46</sup> Gamer-Wallert 1983 Bl. 3/a.

<sup>47</sup> Cf. D.M. Bailey: A Snake-Legged Dionysos from Egypt, and Other Divine Snakes. *JEA* 93 (2007) 263–270.

<sup>48</sup> Cf. Beck – Bol – Bückling (eds) 2005 Cat. 192.

<sup>49</sup> Gamer-Wallert 1983 Bl. 7.

<sup>50</sup> This is also indicated by the Meroitic cursive graffito incised under the left arm of the god with the invocation of Apedemak, the now unintelligible name of the writer, and a similarly destroyed prayer. *REM* 0021; Zibelius 1983 37.

Apedemak who has, besides a head represented *en face* also two other heads shown in profile on the two sides of the central head and turning towards the king and the queen, respectively. The god also has four arms: the right and left hand of the frontally represented figure touch the elbow of the queen and the king, respectively, while an extra right arm extends a bunch of sorghum with symbols of life towards the queen while an extra left arm proffers an identical symbol of fertility and life towards the king. This remarkable invention has caused much debate about a—highly unlikely—Indian model behind the triple-headed and four-armed Apedemak.<sup>51</sup> It is not necessary to go that far: while the designer(s) of the curious image may well have received inspiration from two- or multi-headed Egyptian divine images,<sup>52</sup> the invention seems to have been inspired in the first place by the concept of the co-regents' equality as well as by the lack of space for two scenes with a full figure of Apedemak in each scene.

The iconographical program speaks for the participation of Egyptian priestly experts in its composition. The precise iconography and fine modeling of the *en face* represented deities in the interior and the expert rendering of the acanthus chalice from which the serpent-bodied Apedemak emerges on the pylon towers indicates the presence of one (or more?) excellently skilled sculptor(s) who was (were) trained in classical-style sculpture. The calculated use of inlaid eyes in the interior<sup>53</sup> may also be ascribed to Roman Egyptian sculptors participating in the creation of the design and the execution of the reliefs.<sup>54</sup> It may be noted, however, that inlaid eyes also occur in earlier Meroitic sculpture such as the granite statue of Queen Shanakadakheto (?) and

<sup>51</sup> E.g., A.J. Arkell: Meroe and India. in: *Aspects of Archaeology in Britain and Beyond. Essays Presented to O.G.S. Crawford*. London 1951 32–38 32 ff.; W. Vycichl: Hindu Influence in Meroitic Art. On the Three-headed Lion-God Apezemak. *Kush* 6 (1958) 174–175; I. Hofmann: Der sogenannte Omphalos von Napata (Boston M.F.A. 21.3234). *JEA* 56 (1970) 187–192; for a comprehensive discussion of the supposed Indian contacts, see I. Hofmann: *Wege und Möglichkeiten eines indischen Einflusses auf die meroitische Kultur*. St. Augustin b. Bonn 1975 (15 ff. on Naqa). For a summary of the debate, see Gamer-Wallert 1983 200 ff., 243 ff.

<sup>52</sup> For a related representation of a triple-headed, but two-armed god in the Hibis temple, see N. de Garis Davies: *The Temple of Hibis in El Khargeh Oasis* III. New York 1953 Pl. 4 VII, extreme right.

<sup>53</sup> Interior east wall, south half, Sebiumeker: Gamer-Wallert 1983 Pls 45–47/a; south wall east half, queen: *ibid.* Pl. 50/a; south wall, centre, Apedemak-Sarapis: *ibid.* Pl. 56/b; north wall, east half, king: *ibid.* Pl. 60/a; centre, queen: *ibid.* Pl. 63/b.

<sup>54</sup> Cf. Bothmer 1996 225.

a prince (Pl. 160)<sup>55</sup> carved in the late second century BC for a mortuary cult sanctuary at Begarawiya North.<sup>56</sup>

Further examples such as a now destroyed relief from a temple at Duanib representing two Satyrs drawing water with buckets from a well (?) could be cited from the second golden age of Meroitic art (Pl. 111). But let us draw instead the conclusion of the case studies presented in this book. Elements of Greek art arriving in Meroe were absorbed there in no other quality than elements of Egyptian culture which since times immemorial provided a great part, sometimes all, of the means by which Nubian culture formulated, communicated, and perpetuated itself. They arrived through the filter of Ptolemaic Egypt's dual culture and there are no indications that the recipient would have been prepared to fully perceive the fact that he is encountering not one Egypt but two Egypts in one—the actual political perception and successful exploitation of conflicts between Greek rulers and native opposition being an altogether different matter of no direct cultural consequences. Such an interaction between the Hellenistic and the native culture as was essential and possible in Egypt would have been meaningless in Meroe where there were no Macedonian rulers and no masses of Greek settlers who were compelled to get somehow accommodated to the ancient foreign land on the Nile and at the same time make its people accept their dominance.

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<sup>55</sup> Cairo CG 684, height 1.65 m, Wenig 1975 No. 432.

<sup>56</sup> R. Herzog: Die Fundumstände einer meroitischen Statuengruppe. in: Endesfelder – Priebe *et al.* (eds) 1977 171–174.



## ABBREVIATIONS

*Periodicals, series and abbreviations used in the text and the footnotes*

AA	<i>Archäologischer Anzeiger</i> , Berlin.
Acta Ant. Hung.	<i>Acta Antiqua Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae</i> , Budapest.
Acta Arch. Hung.	<i>Acta Archaeologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae</i> , Budapest.
Acta Hyperborea	<i>Acta Hyperborea. Danish Studies in Classical Archaeology</i> , Copenhagen.
AJA	<i>American Journal of Archaeology</i> , Baltimore, from 1897 Norwood.
ANM	<i>Archéologie du Nil Moyen</i> , Lille.
AoF	<i>Altorientalische Forschungen</i> , Berlin.
APF	<i>Archiv für Papyrusforschung und verwandte Gebiete</i> , Leipzig.
Azania	<i>Azania. The Journal of the British Institute in Eastern Africa</i> , London.
Ägypten und Levante	<i>Ägypten und Levante. Internationale Zeitschrift für ägyptische Archäologie und deren Nachbargebiete</i> , Wien.
BABesch	<i>Bulletin Antieke Beschaving. Annual Papers on Classical Archaeology</i> , Leuven.
Baltimore	The Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore.
Bar.	Burial in the Barkal cemetery.
BCH	<i>Bulletin de correspondance hellénique</i> , Athens.
Beg. N.	burial in the Begarawiya North cemetery.
Beg. S.	burial in the Begarawiya South cemetery.
Beg. W.	burial in the Begarawiya West cemetery.
Berlin	Ägyptisches Museum, Berlin.
BIFAO	<i>Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale</i> , Le Caire.
BiGen	see IFAO BiGen.
BiOr	<i>Bibliotheca Orientalis</i> , Leiden.
Bl.	Blatt.
BM	The British Museum, London.
BMFA	<i>Bulletin of the Museum of Fine Arts</i> , Boston.
Brooklyn	The Brooklyn Museum, Brooklyn.
BSAA	<i>Bulletin de la Société Archéologique d'Alexandrie</i> , Alexandria.
BSFE	<i>Bulletin de la Société française d'égyptologie</i> , Paris.
Budapest	Museum of Fine Arts, Department of Antiquities, Budapest.
BzS	<i>Beiträge zur Sudanforschung</i> , Wien.
CAJ	<i>Cambridge Archaeological Journal</i> , Cambridge.
CCE	<i>Cahiers de la Céramique Égyptienne</i> , Le Caire.
CdÉ	<i>Chronique d'Égypte</i> , Bruxelles.
Cleveland	The Cleveland Museum of Art, Cleveland.
CRAIBL	<i>Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres. Comptes rendus des séances</i> , Paris.
CRIPEL	<i>Cahier de Recherches de l'Institut de Papyrologie et d'Égyptologie de Lille</i> , Lille.
E	East.
EAZ	<i>Ethnographisch-archäologische Zeitschrift</i> , Berlin.

ÉtTrav	<i>Études et Travaux</i> , Warsaw.
HÄB	<i>Hildesheimer Ägyptologische Beiträge</i> , Hildesheim.
IBAES	<i>Internet-Beiträge zur Ägyptologie und Sudanarchäologie. Studies from the Internet on Egyptology and Sudanarchaeology</i> , Berlin-London.
IFAO	Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, Le Caire.
IFAO BiGen	<i>Institut Français d'Archéologie, Bibliothèque Générale</i> , Le Caire.
Imago Aegypti	<i>Imago Aegypti. Internationales Magazin für ägyptische und koptologische Kunstforschung, Bildtheorie und Kulturwissenschaft</i> , Oxford.
JARCE	<i>Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt</i> , Boston.
JbKuGewHamb	<i>Jahrbuch des Museums für Kunst und Gewerbe Hamburg</i> , Hamburg.
JdI	<i>Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts</i> , Berlin.
JRA	<i>Journal of Roman Archaeology</i> , Ann Arbor.
JSSEA	<i>Journal of the Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities</i> , Toronto.
Khartoum SNM	Sudan National Museum, Khartoum.
LAAA	<i>Liverpool Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology</i> , Liverpool.
Liverpool	Garstang Museum of Archaeology, University of Liverpool.
Louvre	Musée du Louvre, Paris.
MDAIK	<i>Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Abteilung Kairo</i> , Mainz.
MEFRA	<i>Mélanges de l'École Française de Rome, Série Antiquité</i> , Rome.
MFA	Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.
MIO	<i>Mitteilungen des Instituts für Orientforschung</i> , Berlin.
MittSAG	<i>Mitteilungen der Sudanarchäologischen Gesellschaft zu Berlin e.V.</i> , Berlin.
MNL	<i>Meroitic Newsletter. Bulletin d'Informations Méroïtiques</i> , Paris.
Munich	Staatliche Sammlung Ägyptischer Kunst, Munich.
N	North.
OLA	<i>Orientalia Lovanensia Analecta</i> , Leuven(-Paris-Dudley, MA).
OLZ	<i>Orientalische Literaturzeitung</i> , Berlin.
Oxford	Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.
Paris	Musée du Louvre, Paris.
PBA	<i>Proceedings of the British Academy</i> , London.
Ph.	Philae, Demotic inscription, number according to Griffith 1937.
Philadelphia	The University Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, Egyptian Section, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia.
P.Oxy.	<i>Oxyrhynchos papyrus</i> .
RA	<i>Revue Archéologique</i> , Paris.
RAC	T. Klauser et al. (eds): <i>Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum</i> . Stuttgart 1950–.
RdE	<i>Revue d'Égyptologie</i> , Le Caire/Paris.
RE	<i>Paulys Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft</i> . Stuttgart.
RecTrav	<i>Recueil de travaux relatifs à la philologie et à l'archéologie égyptiennes et assyriennes</i> , Paris.
RHR	<i>Revue de l'Histoire des Religions</i> , Paris.
RM	<i>Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Römische Abteilung</i> , Mainz.
ROM	Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto.
S	South.
SAK	<i>Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur</i> , Hamburg.
SARS Newsletter	<i>The Sudan Archaeological Research Society Newsletter</i> , London.

SEG	<i>Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum</i> , Amsterdam.
SO	<i>Symbolae Osloenses</i> , Oslo.
SSEA	Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities, Toronto.
Sudan & Nubia	<i>Sudan &amp; Nubia. The Sudan Archaeological Research Society Bulletin</i> , London.
VA	<i>Varia Aegyptiaca</i> , San Antonio.
W	West.
WZHU	<i>Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Humboldt-Universität, Gesellschafts- und Sprachwissenschaftliche Reihe</i> , Berlin.
ZÄS	<i>Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde</i> , Leipzig, Berlin.
ZDMG	<i>Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft</i> , Wiesbaden.
ZPE	<i>Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik</i> , Bonn.

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1959	A. Adriani: <i>Divagazioni intorno ad una coppa paesistica del Museo di Alessandria</i> . Roma 1959.
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## INDEX OF NAMES

- Adikhalamani xxv, 4, 18  
 Agatharchides of Cnidus 2, 3, 14–17, 20, 103, 104, 108, 109  
 Agathos Daimon 54, 84  
 Akhratane 18–19, 38  
 Aktisanes xxv, 20, 106–107, 111, 123  
 Alara 119  
 Alexander III of Macedon, the Great xxv, 19, 28, 50, 51, 54, 74, 85, 95, 96, 98, 99, 103, 104  
 Alexander IV 50  
 Amanikhabale 184  
 Amani-nataki-lebte 117  
 Amanishakheto 199  
 Amanislo 17, 18, 109, 111, 122  
 Amanitekha 18, 109  
 Amanitore xxvi, 127, 199, 248, 250, 273, 301, 318–325  
 Amasis 18–19, 95  
 Amenhotep III 17  
 Amenhotep IV/Ekhnaton 217  
 Amesemi 205, 206, 211, 322  
 Amonirdis I 116  
 Amun 4, 17, 20, 34, 35, 36, 39, 52, 84, 97, 106, 117–120, 122, 123, 124, 125, 132, 136, 137, 184, 197, 199–204, 206, 209, 210, 212, 213, 217, 225, 226, 227, 229, 232, 248, 285, 286, 302, 303, 318–325  
 Amun-Re 4, 84, 194, 285  
 Amun-Re-Montu 218, 219  
 Ankh-Wennofer 4  
 Anlamani 37, 100  
 Antaios 84, 86, 93  
 Antiochus III 105  
 Antiwy 84  
 Antoninus Pius 74  
 Anubis 80, 82, 84, 86  
 Anuket 137  
 Apedemak 29, 66, 136, 137, 153, 154, 155, 176, 184, 185, 190, 194, 196, 199–206, 208, 211, 213, 214, 220, 225, 226, 227, 229, 230, 235, 237, 238, 248, 267, 274, 286, 290, 291, 292, 301, 307, 318–325  
 Aphrodite 77, 84, 84, 157–158, 178, 186  
 Aphrodite-Hathor 84  
 Apis 84, 86, 87, 89, 91, 92–97  
 Apollo 84, 97, 181–182  
 Aramatelqo 38, 117  
 Arensnuphis 39, 194, 197, 199–204, 209, 211, 212, 213, 214, 220–221, 226, 227, 229–236  
 Ares 84  
 Argeads 16  
 Arikankharor 274  
 Aristophanes of Byzantium 13–14  
 Ariteneyesebokhe 191  
 Arkamaniqo (Ergamenes I) xxv, 14–21, 108, 109, 110, 111, 123, 169  
 Arnekhmani xxv, 190, 191, 193, 202, 206, 209, 216, 237  
 Arqamani (Ergamenes II) xxv, 3–5, 66  
 Arrian 19, 95, 103  
 Arsinoe II 52, 183  
 Artemidorus of Ephesus 2  
 Artemis 84, 97, 225  
 Aryamani 107  
 Asklepios 85, 96  
 Asoka 28  
 Aspelta 7, 37, 38, 100, 118  
 Aten 217  
 Athena 84  
 Atlanersa 37, 232  
 Augustus xxvi, 71, 72, 75, 179, 216, 220, 282  
 Bartare *see* Karatari  
 Bastet 116, 118  
 Bes 60, 84, 85, 88, 92–93, 96, 272, 273, 290, 291  
 Beset 88, 89, 93, 96  
 Bubastis 97  
 Buchis 85  
 Callisthenes 19  
 Cambyses 100  
 Candace 19, 99, 103  
 Caracalla 73, 80, 82  
 Cerberus 187  
 Claudius xxvi  
 Cleopatra III xxvi  
 Cleopatra VII Philopator xxvi, 71, 85  
 Constantius II (Flavius Iulius Constantius) xxvi

- Dalion 275–276  
 Darius I 101  
 Demeter 84, 97  
 Demetrius of Phaleron 187  
 Diodorus Siculus 1, 2, 6, 14  
 Dionysos 84, 90, 95, 96, 97, 157,  
 177–178, 182–188, 272–273, 281, 316,  
 323  
 Dionysos/Osiris 90  
 Dioscuri 84  
 Diotimos 133  
 Djed-Thoth-ef-Ankh 61, 62, 63, 65  
  
 Ekhnaton *see* Amenhotep IV/Ekhnaton  
 Epaphos 97  
 Eratosthenes of Cyrene 14  
 Ergamenes I *see* Arkamaniqo  
 Ergamenes II *see* Arqamani  
 Eros 84  
  
 GDR (king of Aksum) 102  
  
 Gʾṭisn xxv, 19–20  
  
 Hades 82, 96  
 Hadrian 72, 74, 285  
 Hap-ıu 71  
 Ἀποχράτης *see* Harpocrates  
 Harpocrates 60, 74, 76, 78, 84, 89, 90,  
 92, 93, 96, 233  
 Harsiyotef 118, 232  
 Hathor 63, 84, 92, 303, 305, 322  
 Hathor-Tefnut 36, 228  
 Hatshepsut 231  
 Hecataeus of Abdera 20, 106  
 Heliodorus 6  
 Helios 96  
 Hephaistas 80  
 Hephaistos 84  
 Hera 84  
 Heracles 16, 84, 248  
 Herakleitos 187  
 Hermes 84, 249  
 Hermes-Thoth 92  
 Hermes-Thoth-Triptolemos 92  
 Herodotus 6, 18, 97, 100, 285  
 Hesiod 187  
 Homer 3, 187  
 Hor-teby 110  
 Horus 62, 84, 87, 88, 89, 92, 97, 184,  
 186, 187, 201, 210, 220, 226, 227, 250,  
 322  
 Horus-son-of-Isis 210  
  
 Horus-the-Child 78, 89, 226  
 Hor-Wennofer 4  
  
 Ḥr-p3-ḥrd 78  
  
 Imhotep 85  
 Imouthes 85  
 Irike-Amannote 18, 118–119  
 Irike-Piye-qo 107  
 Isis 4, 5, 58, 63, 74, 84, 85, 87, 89,  
 91, 96, 97, 125, 201, 210, 248,  
 322  
 Isis-Agathe Tyche 54, 84  
 Isis-Hathor 84  
 Isis-Sothis 130  
  
 Kanarta 110, 111  
 Karatari 110, 111  
 Kash(...) 107  
 Kashta 17, 34, 35, 36, 116, 117, 119  
 Khawitaror 298  
 Khnum 84, 137, 214  
 Khnum-Re 63  
 Khonsu 84, 322  
  
 Maʿat 62, 196  
 Maenad 153, 168, 169, 177, 183, 281  
 Mahes 136, 229  
 Malonaqene 117  
 Maloton 298, 299  
 Malowiebamani 191  
 Mandulis 85  
 Marcus Aurelius 75  
 Mendes 97  
 Min 85  
 Montu 84  
 Muhammad Ali 5  
 Mut 84, 137, 184, 209, 211, 248, 322  
  
 Nastasene 113, 118–119, 123  
 Natakamani xxvi, 127, 176, 191, 199,  
 248, 250, 273, 301, 318–325  
 Nectanebos I 52  
 Nectanebos II 52, 87, 95  
 Nekhbet 63, 209  
 Nemesis 74  
 Nemtiwy 84  
 Nero xxvi  
 Nes-Shu 61, 62, 63, 65  
 Netewitara 296, 298  
 Nile (god) 84, 86, 93, 181  
 Nofretrenpet 62  
 Nut 62

- Octavian *see* Augustus  
 Onuris 203, 229  
 Osiris 1, 58, 62, 63, 74, 83, 84, 85, 89, 90, 91, 97, 126, 185, 203, 273–274, 280, 286  
 Osiris-Apis *see* Osorapis  
 Osiris Canopus 91  
 Osiris-Hydreios 91, 93, 97  
 Osorapis 87, 95, 96, 187  
 Osorapis *see also* Sarapis, Wsir-ḥp  
  
 Pan 97, 159  
 Panehesy 33  
 Pemui 116  
 Persephone 82  
 Petosiris 29, 51, 52, 61–69, 99, 312  
 Philip III Arrhidaios 20, 50, 63, 64  
 Philo 72  
 Piankhy 4, 7, 17, 34, 35, 100, 116  
 Pindar 97, 186  
 Plato 16, 187  
 Plautilla 80  
 Pliny 6  
 Plutarch 16, 96  
 Priapos 84, 90  
 Protagoras 187  
 Psamtek II 104  
 Pseudo-Callisthenes 99  
 Ptah 47, 48, 49, 84, 87, 196  
 Ptah-Sokaris-Osiris 60, 89, 92  
 Ptolemy I Soter xxv, 20, 55, 96, 111, 186  
 Ptolemy II Philadelphos xxv, 14, 15, 52, 53, 59, 92, 103–105, 106, 111, 182, 186  
 Ptolemy III Euergetes I xxv, 52, 56, 74, 91, 92, 182, 190, 192, 218, 225  
 Ptolemy IV Philopator xxv, 3, 13, 14, 53, 66, 92, 186, 190  
 Ptolemy V Epiphanes xxv, 4, 14, 48, 50, 88, 89, 182  
 Ptolemy VI Philometor xxv, 48, 50, 66, 105  
 Ptolemy VIII Euergetes II (Physkon) xxvi, 180, 218  
 Ptolemy IX Soter II xxvi, 256  
 Ptolemy X Alexander I xxvi  
 Ptolemy XII Neos Dionysos xxvi, 186, 235  
 Ptolemy XV Caesarion 71  
 Pylon 255  
  
 Re 4, 18  
 Re-Harakhte 84, 125, 226  
  
 Sabacos *see* Shabaqo  
 Sabrakamani 107  
 Sarapis 54, 67, 84, 89, 96, 187, 320–322  
 Satet 136–137, 201, 214, 322  
 Satis *see* Satet  
 Satyr 271, 273, 281, 282, 283, 325  
 Sebiuwerker 39, 194, 196, 197, 199–204, 209, 210, 213, 220–221, 226, 227, 228, 230–236  
 Senkamanisken 37, 100, 120  
 Septimius Severus 72  
 Seth 136  
 Shabaqo 16, 34, 100  
 Shanakadakheto xxvi, 196, 271, 272, 301, 324  
 Shebitqo 34  
 Shorakaror 321  
 Silenus 158–159  
 Σινωπίτης 96  
 Siren 187  
 Skopas 181  
 Sobek 85  
 Soknopaios 48  
 Sotades 101–102  
 Soter 83  
 Sothis 130  
 Strabo 6  
 Sbk-nb-p3-jw 48  
  
 Tacitus 96  
 Taharqo 34, 35, 37, 100, 120, 196, 209, 218, 219  
 Talakhamani 127, 206  
 Taneyidamani xxvi  
 Tanwetamani 7, 37, 220  
 Taweret 85, 131  
 Tefnut 209, 226, 227  
 Teos 62  
 Teqorideamani 191  
 Thales 187  
 Thoeris *see* Taweret  
 Thoth 62, 63, 66, 84, 91–93, 201, 210  
 Thutmose I 34  
 Thutmose III 35, 137  
 Tiberius 282  
 Tiberius Julius Alexander 72  
 Tjanefer 70  
 Tutu 85  
 Tyche 84  
  
 Valens xxvi  
 Venus 157  
 Vitruvius 133, 304

Wadjet 63, 209

Wayekiye (A) 130

Wsîr-ḥp *see* Osorapis

Xerxes I 101

Zenon 133

Zeus 16, 84, 95, 96, 97

Zeus-Ammon 95, 321

Zeus-Helios-Amun 321

Zeus Basileus 95

## INDEX OF PLACES, PEOPLES, AND MONUMENTS

Recurrent names as Africa, (Lower, Middle, and Upper) Egypt, Egyptians, Kush, Aethiopia, Aithiopia (Αἰθιοπία), Aithiopians, Meroe (except for the City of Meroe), Meroites, Middle Nile Region, (Lower and Upper) Nubia, Sudan are not listed. Place-names and ethnonyms transcribed from Egyptian are referred to according to the order of the Latin alphabet. The placenames in titles and in names of deities are omitted except where they are the subject of discussion (for theonyms, see Index of names).

- Aborepi 190  
 Abri-Missiminia 243, 244  
 Abu Hamed 33  
 Abukir 74, 91  
 Abu Simbel  
     Great Temple 232  
 Abydos 85  
 Addi Gelamo 102  
 Akhmim 75, 85  
 Aksum 102  
 Alexandria xxv, 23, 28, 42–48, 52–60,  
     72–75, 94–96, 106, 133, 161, 175, 178,  
     181, 249, 254, 256, 260, 262, 264, 266,  
     268, 269, 279, 304, 305, 307, 312  
 Anfushy Tomb II 55  
 Anfushy Tomb V 287  
 Arsinoeion 52  
 Caesareum 170  
 Isis temple 74  
 Kom el-Shoqafa “Persephone tombs”  
     82  
 Kom el-Shoqafa “Main Tomb” 82  
 Mouseion 58  
 Mustafa Pasha Tomb I 55  
 Nemesis temple 74  
 obelisk of Nectanebos I or II 52  
 Pharos 52  
 Tychaion 53, 54  
 Amara 318  
 Amir Abadalla 243, 244, 252, 265, 283,  
     293  
 Aniba 33  
 Antinoopolis 72, 75, 90  
 Argo 233  
 Armant 85  
 Arsinoe 75  
 Ashmunein 75  
 Asia 2  
 Aswan 243, 256, 259, 260, 267, 270,  
     274, 277–288  
 Athribis 90, 182, 264, 269  
 Automoloi (“Deserters”) 7  
 Awam 243  
 ʾIbrp 190  
 ʾIpbr-ḥḥ 190, 202  
 Ballana 259, 274, 276, 281, 293, 295  
 Barkal *see* Gebel Barkal  
 Basa  
     temple 318  
 Begarawiya North 5, 17, 109, 113, 114,  
     122, 124, 325  
     Beg. N. 7 5  
     Beg. N. 11 271–272  
 Begarawiya South xxv, 17, 101, 102,  
     107–111, 113, 114, 116, 122–123  
     Beg. S. 1 111  
     Beg. S. 2 111  
     Beg. S. 3 108, 110, 123  
     Beg. S. 4 110, 111  
     Beg. S. 5 111  
     Beg. S. 6 17, 108, 111, 123  
     Beg. S. 7 110  
     Beg. S. 10 111, 123  
     Beg. S. 27 102  
     Beg. S. 28 102, 110  
     Beg. S. 52 111  
     Beg. S. 501 102, 110  
     Beg. S. 503 110, 111  
 Begarawiya West 107–109, 113, 114,  
     116, 262, 265–266, 267  
     Beg. W. 139 261  
     Beg. W. 284 261  
     Beg. W. 306 261  
     Beg. W. 308 261



- Boiotia 57  
 Buhen 243  
     tomb J 28 247  
 Butana 33, 113, 117, 189  
  
 Canopus 91, 97  
     Osiris temple 74  
 Caromemphites 95, 98  
 Chemmis 220  
 Coptos 77  
 Crete 254, 260  
 Cyrene 170  
  
 Dakka 66, 243  
     Arensnuphis temple 4  
 Deir el Bahari  
 Hatshepsut temple 231  
 Dendera 303, 305  
     fountain houses 74  
     sacred lake 172  
 Dimeh 85  
 Dodekaschoenus *see* Dodekaschoinos  
 Dodekaschoinos xxiii, 241, 243  
 Δωδεκάσχοινος xxiii  
 Dokki Gel  
     Amun temple 31, 37, 232, 247, 252,  
         285, 315, 322, 232  
 Duaniib  
     temple 273  
  
 Edfu 56, 77, 303  
 el-Bahnasa 75  
 Elephantine 7, 36, 58, 103, 106, 137  
     Khnum temple 172  
 el Hobagi 271–272  
 el Kurru *see* Kurru  
 el-Mansha 133  
 el-Sheikh 'Ibada *see* Sheikh 'Ibada  
 Ephesos 225, 317  
 er-Riqa 243  
 Esna  
     sacred lake 172  
  
 Faras 100, 107, 236, 240–245, 258, 259,  
     268, 269, 274, 277–279, 281, 282, 286,  
     290–293, 298  
  
 Gabbari (Alexandria) 178  
 Gebel Barkal  
     Amun temple/cult 7, 37, 38, 106,  
         114, 124, 125, 207, 232–233, 235,  
         240, 248, 261, 268, 290, 292, 318  
     palace B 100 205  
     palace B 1200 128, 205  
     palace B 1500 127–128, 176–177,  
         248, 250  
     temple B 700 232  
 Gebel Barkal *see also* Napata  
 Gebel Qeili  
     triumphal monument 321–322  
  
 Gematon 122  
 Gerf Hussein  
     temple, hypostyle 232  
  
 Heliopolis 70  
 Hellenomemphites 95, 98  
 Hermonthis 85  
 Hermopolis Magna 51, 56, 61–71, 75,  
     280  
     Khnum temple 63  
     *komasterion* 73  
     Petosiris tomb 51, 61–71  
     Thoth temple 63  
 Hermopolis West 260  
 Hibis 324  
 Hirour  
     Khnum-Re temple 63  
  
 Irki Saab 283  
  
 Jrm 103  
 Jrmmr 103  
  
 Kalabsha 85, 216  
     Mandulis temple 4–5  
     Mandulis temple, birth house 220  
 Karanog 100, 236, 240, 241, 243, 259,  
     260, 267–269, 273, 279, 280–284, 287,  
     290, 295–300  
 Karnak 321  
     Amun-Re-Montu temple 219  
     Mut temple 221  
     Opet temple 218  
 Kawa 37, 117, 118, 122, 196–197,  
     200–204, 209, 211, 212, 303  
 Keraba 189  
 Kerma 30  
     tumulus K III 247  
     tumulus K X 247  
     tumulus K XIV 247  
 Kerma *see also* Dokki Gel  
 Kerma *see also* Pnubs  
 Kerma-Dokki Gel *see* Dokki Gel  
 Khartoum 113  
 Khnum-Re temple 63  
 Kom Abou Billou 79, 82  
 Kom el-Kharaba el-Khebir 133

- Kom el-Shoqafa (Alexandria) 82  
 Kom Ombo 303  
 Kom Trouga-el Beheria (Alexandria) 279  
 Korosko 243, 245  
 Krokodilopolis 133  
 Kurru 32, 114  
  
 Land of the Thirty Miles xxiii  
 Land of the Thirty Miles *see also*  
     Triakontaschoinos  
 Land of the Twelve Miles xxiii  
 Land of the Twelve Miles *see also*  
     Dodekaschoinos  
 Luxor 137  
  
 Maharraka 243  
 Mahdia 60  
 Marina el-Alamein 133  
 Medinet el-Fayoum 75  
 Medinet Habu 231  
 Memphis 34, 47, 49, 60, 85–87, 89, 96,  
     179, 183, 185, 264, 269  
     Sarapieion, Hellenistic statuary 95,  
         186–187, 316  
 Meroe City xix, xxi, 13, 15, 16, 18,  
     21, 23, 28, 29, 66, 100, 101, 107,  
     109, 113–139 *passim*, 219, 234–235,  
     240–241, 243–246, 248, 249, 252–254,  
     256–257, 260–262, 264, 266–273, 284,  
     285, 290, 295, 298, 301–304, 314–318  
     Amun temple (early) 117, 120, 122  
     Amun temple (late) 113, 119,  
         122–126  
     building M 95–194–195 *see* “water  
         sanctuary”  
     building M 220–221 135–139, 159,  
         225  
     building M 282/KC 102 235  
     building M 284–287 266–268,  
         275–277  
     building M 621 128  
     building M 923 128, 131  
     building M 932 128  
     building M 950 127, 128–131  
     building M 954 127  
     building M 990 132, 134  
     building M 996 131  
     building M 998 131, 132  
     chapel M 292 127  
     enclosure wall 13–14, 123–126, 146  
     Houses A–D 128, 132, 134  
     magazine M 740 118  
     palace M 293 117, 120  
     palace M 294 117, 120, 126, 127  
     palace M 295 127, 128  
     palace M 750 116, 119, 205  
     temple KC 100 125  
     temple KC 101 125  
     temple KC 104 125  
     temple M 7 114  
     temple M 250 114, 121, 132,  
         217–218  
     temple M 600 114, 234  
     temple M 720 125  
     “water sanctuary” 12, 23, 121,  
         139–188 *passim*  
 Missiminia 293  
 Musawwarat es Sufra xix, 29, 66, 136,  
     137, 139, 185  
     Apedemak temple 196, 208, 210,  
         225, 229–230  
     Great Enclosure 189–238 *passim*,  
         246, 248, 249, 252, 255, 257, 268,  
         284, 286, 291, 301, 315, 318, 319,  
         322, 323  
     temple II A 208  
 Muweis 118, 251, 252, 257–258  
 Myrina 57  
  
 Nag Gamus 275  
 Nag Shayeg 285  
 Napata xxiii, 16, 17, 20, 34, 35–36,  
     37, 38, 100, 109, 111, 117, 118, 120,  
     232–233, 302, 303, 318  
     Aktisanes temple 19–20, 106  
     Amun temple 35–36, 38, 232  
     Hathor-Tefnut temple B 200 36  
     Mut temple B 300 35  
 Napata *see also* Gebel Barkal  
 Naqa xix, 23, 117, 185, 196, 205, 235,  
     248, 274  
     Amun temple 217, 301  
     Apedemak temple 201, 301,  
         318–324 *passim*  
     building 600 198–200  
     “Roman Kiosk” 301–308 *passim*  
     temple G 220  
     temple of Shanakadakheto 301  
 Naukratis 72  
 Neferusi  
     Hathor temple 63  
 Nile Delta 34  
 Nuri 17, 114  
  
 Oxyrhynchos 75, 85

- Palestrina 57, 91  
 Panopolis 75, 85  
 Perga 124  
 Pergamon 246  
 Persepolis 101  
 Petra 305  
 Philadelphia 133  
 Philae 4, 58, 125, 136, 202, 204, 232,  
     274, 286, 303, 320  
 Pnubs 117, 202  
 Port Sudan 105  
 Ptolemais 72  
 Ptolemais Hermiou 133  
 Ptolemais Theron 105  
  
 p<sub>3</sub> t-n-30 xxiii  
  
 Qustul 244, 259, 295  
  
 Raphia 105  
 Ras el-Soda  
     Osiris-Isis-Harpocrates temple 74,  
     77  
 Rome 23  
  
 Sa el Haggar 77  
 Sais 77  
 Sanam  
     magazines 100, 102  
 Sedeinga 280–281, 286, 294, 296  
 Semna South 275–276, 291, 294, 295, 299  
 Sesebi 217–218  
 Shablul 239, 273, 298  
 Sheikh 'Ibada 75  
  
 Shendi 113  
 Shenhur 85  
 Sinope 96  
 Siwa 95  
 Soknopaiou Nesos 48, 85  
     Sobek temple 48  
 Soleb 252  
 Spain 28  
  
 s<sub>h</sub>t n i<sub>t</sub>rw 12 xxiii  
  
 Tabo xx, 233–234, 237–238  
 Takompso 243  
 Tanagra 57  
 Tanis 90  
 Tare 118  
 Terenuthis 74, 79–81, 82  
 Thebes 4, 17, 33, 35, 83, 97, 137, 253,  
     255–259, 269, 313  
 Tod  
     sacred lake 172  
 Triakontaschoinos xxiii, 104, 243  
 Τριακοντάσχοινος xxiii, 104  
 Tukh el-Karamus 51–52, 107  
 Tuna el-Gebel *see* Hermopolis Magna  
  
 T<sub>w</sub>irk 202, 301  
  
 Wad ban Naqa 118, 207, 235, 244,  
     318  
 Wadi el-Hawad 113  
 Wadi es-Sebua  
     temple 232, 243, 282  
 Wadi Hadjala 113, 121

## MUSEUM INDEX<sup>1</sup>

- Alexandria, Graeco-Roman Museum  
380 tomb relief 70; 3215 stela 83;  
3364 head of a Ptolemy 50; 11261  
granite triad 52
- Alexandria, Alexandria National  
Museum  
794 pottery vessel 279
- Baltimore, The Walters Art Gallery  
22.97 relief 71
- Berlin, Staatliche Museen Preussischer  
Kulturbesitz, Ägyptisches Museum  
2249 Aramatelqo statue 38; 2989  
bronze bowl 102; 4603 pottery vessel  
292, *Pl. 142, right*; 20631 pottery  
vessel 269, *Pl. 105, centre*; 20836  
pottery vessel 269, *Pl. 105, left*; 20838  
pottery vessel 269, *Pl. 105, right*;  
20856 pottery vessel 292, *Pl. 142, left*;  
24300 triple head sculpture 201
- Boston, Museum of Fine Arts  
13.4038 pottery vessel 285, *Pl. 128*;  
21.2286 rhyton 101; 23.1466 pottery  
vessel 261, *Pl. 99*; 23.1469 pottery  
vessel 267, *Pl. 102*; 23730 Aspelta  
statue 38; 23733 Thutmose III stela  
35; 23735 Akhratane statue 38;  
24.1041 silver bowl 107
- Brooklyn, Brooklyn Museum  
55-1 faience bowl 265; 37.1489E  
portrait of Ptolemy XII 235; Charles  
Edwin Wilbour Fund 71.84 pottery  
vessel 287, *Pl. 134*
- Bruxelles, Musées Royaux d'Art et  
d'Histoire  
E 3709 faience relief 153
- Budapest, Museum of Fine Arts  
T 252 terracotta statuette 59, *Pl. 5*;  
T 534 terracotta statuette 57, *Pl. 4*
- Cairo, Coptic Museum  
TS 1430 mortuary stela 80
- Cairo, Egyptian Museum  
38125A fragment of golden  
statuette 51; CG 684 granite statue  
group 324-325, *Pl. 160*; E 7079  
pottery vessel 297; E 40229 painted  
stela 297; 48862+47086-47089  
Piankhy stela 7, 34; 48864 Harsiyotef  
stela 7; JE 36460 bronze bowl 265;  
JE 40086 pottery vessel 287, *Pl. 132*;  
JE 41017 bronze bowl 299-300, *Pl. 149*; JE 63802 ostrakon 275; JE 67848  
stela 80
- Cleveland, The Cleveland Museum of  
Art  
199.14 tomb relief 71
- Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek  
Æ.I.N. 1082 sandstone statue 234, *Pl. 84*; Æ.I.N. 1484 statue of reclining  
man 23, 161-162, 174-175, 179-181,  
*Pls 48-49*
- Edinburgh, Royal Scottish Museum  
1910.110.36 sandstone statue 234
- Firenze, Museo Archeologico  
2288 bronze bust 59
- Frankfurt am Main, Liebieghaus  
St.P.565 statue of a Ptolemy (?) 50
- Hildesheim, Pelizaeus Museum  
2244 tomb relief 71
- Karima (Gebel Barkal), Karima Museum  
GB 88 1 faience relief 250
- Khartoum, Sudan National Museum  
163 pottery vessel 292; 522 votive  
stela 184; 1123 pottery vessel 247;  
1841 Taharqo statue 38; 1985 seal  
ring 285; 5209 Atlanersa statue 37;  
18875 pottery vessel 291, *Pl. 141*;  
18886 pottery vessel 294, *Pl. 144*;  
18890 triple head sculpture 201;

---

<sup>1</sup> Only objects referred to with inventory numbers are listed.

- 19466 triple head sculpture 202, 213, 235; 20406 glass flute 280–281; 23982 colossal statue 233; 23983 colossal statue 233, *Pl.* 83; 24564 sandstone statue fragment 235, *Pl.* 85; 24705 bronze statue 237–238, *Pl.* 86; 27367 pottery vessel 294, *Pl.* 143; 27368 pottery vessel 286, *Pl.* 131; 31330 faience relief 250; 62/10/140 pottery jar 244, *Pl.* 88
- Liverpool, Garstang Museum of Archaeology, Liverpool University  
E 702 sandstone head 157, 177–178, *Pl.* 40; E 707 sandstone statue 157, 179, *Pl.* 41; E 8304 statue fragment 167, 178, *Pl.* 61; E 8339 pottery vessel 275, 299; E 8622 statue fragment 167; E 8625 statue fragment 166–167; E 8664 statue fragment 166, *Pl.* 60; without inv. no. statue fragment 158, 175, 178, *Pl.* 43; without inv. no. statue fragment 165, *Pl.* 59, *left*; without inv. no. statue fragment 165–166, *Pl.* 59, *right*; temp. inv. no. 951 pottery vessel 261
- Liverpool, World Museum  
47.48.128, pottery vessel 277, *Pl.* 118; 47.48.130 red figure sherd 101; 49.47.803 pottery vessel 248–249; 49.47.836 pottery vessel 248; 49.47.840 pottery vessel 249; 49.47.847 faience relief 153; 49.47.904 pottery vessel 249; 49.47.906 pottery vessel 250; 1973.1.698 pottery vessel 277, *Pl.* 118
- London, British Museum  
51488 pottery vessel 291, *Pl.* 140; 51615 pottery vessel 286, *Pl.* 130; 63585 bronze aegis 237–238; EA 1190 limestone statue 234; 1955–10–8–1 head vessel 59; GR 73.8–20.389 faience jug 181
- London, Petrie Museum, University College London  
EG 1.63 [A400,036] sandstone statue 159–160, 182 *Pl.* 46
- Luxor, Luxor Museum of Ancient Egyptian Art  
J 33 sandstone relief 188, *Pl.* 64
- Montreal, Redpath Museum of the McGill University  
without inv. no. faience cylinder 136–137, *Pl.* 25
- München, Staatliche Sammlung Ägyptischer Kunst  
ÄS 1334 sandstone statue 157–158, 178, *Pl.* 42; ÄS 3851 pottery vessel 268, *Pl.* 104
- New Haven, University Art Gallery  
4.1.1953 head of a Ptolemy 50
- New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art  
25.184.20 painted shroud 83; 26.5 painted shroud 83
- Oxford, Ashmolean Museum  
1912.321 pottery vessel 274, *Pl.* 115; 1912.401 pottery vessel 285, *Pl.* 129; 1912.410 pottery vessel 290, *Pl.* 138
- Paris, Musée du Louvre, Département des Antiquités Égyptiennes  
AF 12839 pottery vessel 291, *Pl.* 139; E 11378+E 27493 pottery vessel 270–273, *Pls.* 106–107; E 11522 faience cylinder 138–139, *Pl.* 26; E 13484 pottery vessel 260, *Pl.* 97; E 16256 bronze statuette 88; E 32530 pottery vessel 296, *Pl.* 145; MA 3532 portrait of Ptolemy V 182–183
- Philadelphia, The University Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, Egyptian Section, University of Pennsylvania  
E 5271 pottery vessel 298; E 5331 pottery vessel 273, *Pl.* 112; E 7155 bronze bowl 299–300, *Pl.* 150; E 8154 pottery vessel 284; E 8157 pottery vessel 279–281, *Pls.* 121, 123; E 8162 pottery vessel 287, *Pl.* 135; E 8182 pottery vessel 281; E 8183 pottery vessel 283, *Pl.* 127; E 8192 pottery vessel 283, *Pl.* 126; E 8216 pottery vessel 282, *Pl.* 124; E 8291 pottery vessel 292; E 8293 pottery vessel 283, *Pl.* 125; E 8310 pottery vessel 291, *Pl.* 137; E 8313 pottery vessel 273, *Pl.* 113; E 8469 pottery vessel 260, *Pl.* 98
- Toronto, Royal Ontario Museum  
921.4.1 faience cylinder 135–136, *Pl.* 24
- Wien, Kunsthistorisches Museum  
Antikensammlung I 262 stela 80
- Worcester, Worcester Art Museum  
1922.145 votive stela 274

## PLATES



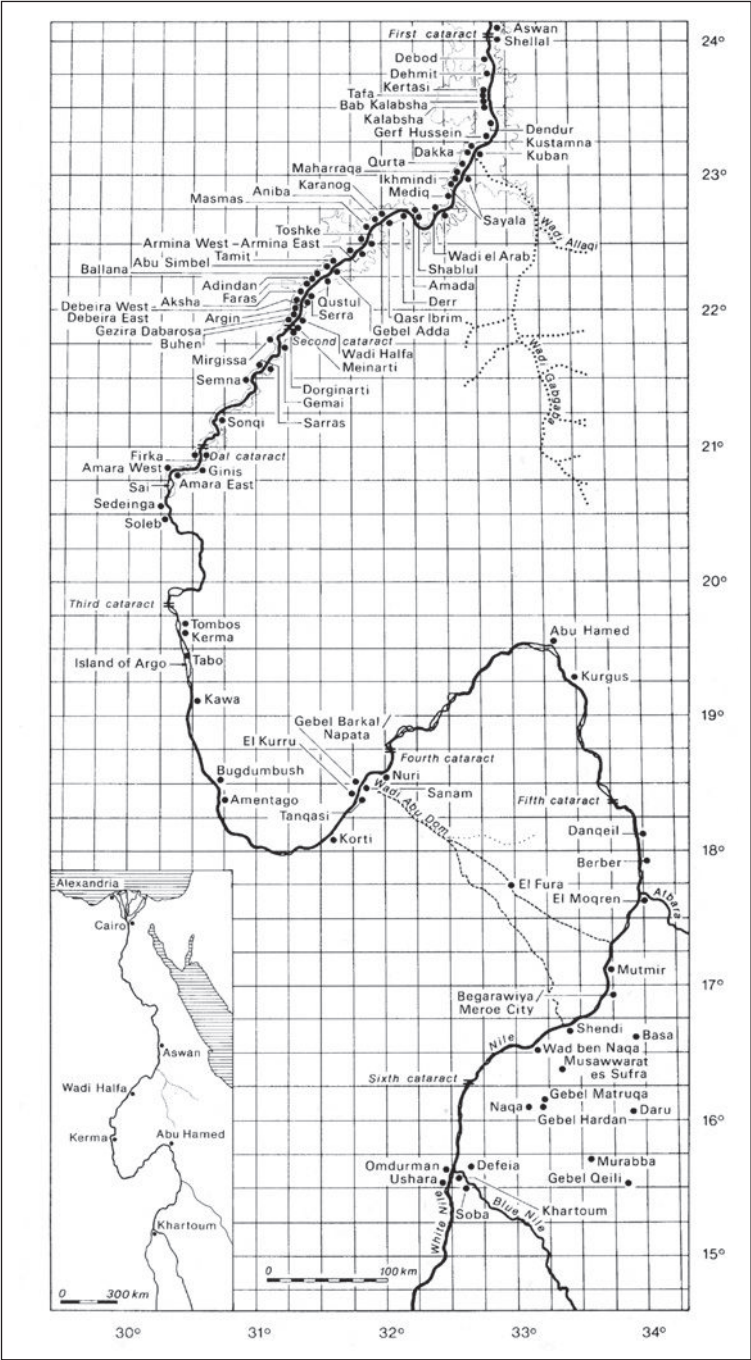


Plate 1. Map of the Middle Nile Region

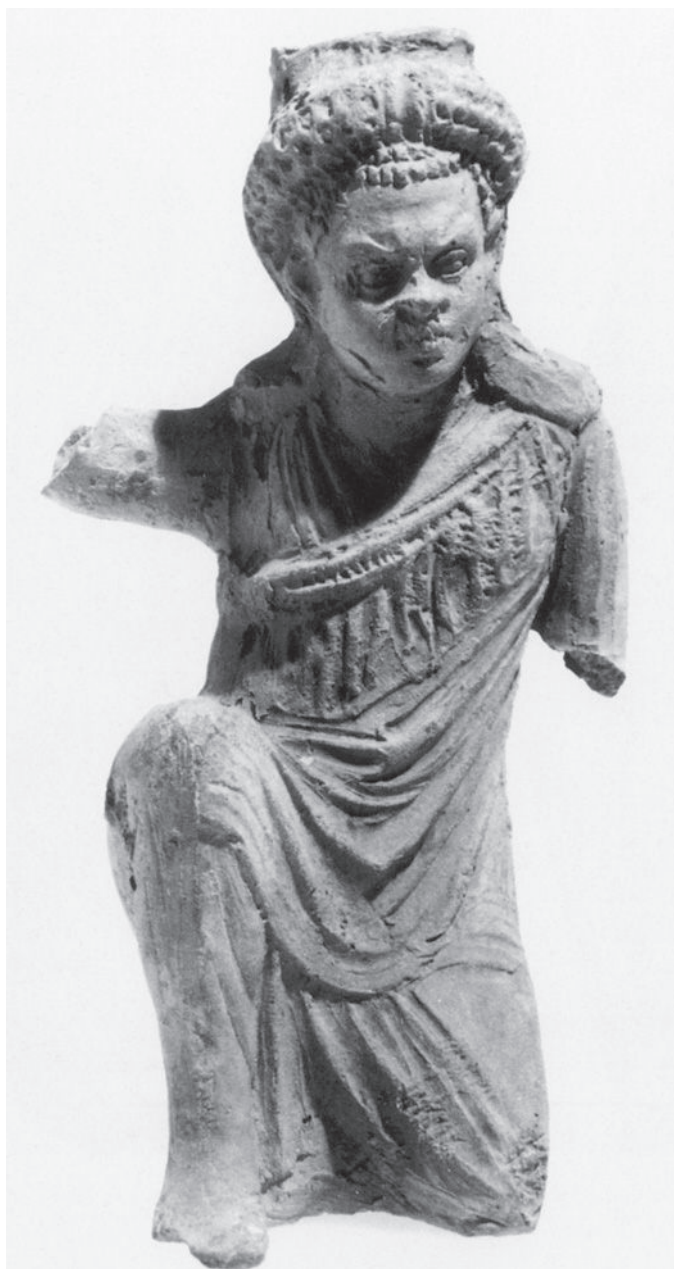




**Plate 2.** Hellenizing Egyptian capital. After McKenzie 2007 fig. 191



**Plate 3.** Fragment of Egyptian terracotta statuette of cult attendant, Budapest, private collection. After Török 1995 Cat. 163



**Plate 4.** Egyptian terracotta statuette of Nubian priestess, Budapest, Museum of Fine Arts T 534. After Török 1995 Cat. 145



**Plate 5.** Head of Egyptian terracotta statuette of Nubian, Budapest, Museum of Fine Arts T 252. After Török 1995 Cat. 222



**Plate 6.** Tuna el-Gebel, Petosiris tomb, pronaos, relief scene. After Lefebvre 1924/2007 Pl. XIX





**Plate 7.** Tuna el-Gebel, Petosiris tomb, pronaos, relief scene. After Lefebvre 1924/2007 Pl. XX, bottom



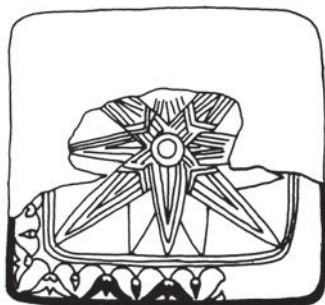
**Plate 8.** Tuna el-Gebel, Petosiris tomb, naos, scene 88, detail. After C-C-G 123





**Plate 9.** Tuna el-Gebel, Petosiris tomb, naos, scene 93, detail. After C-C-G 140

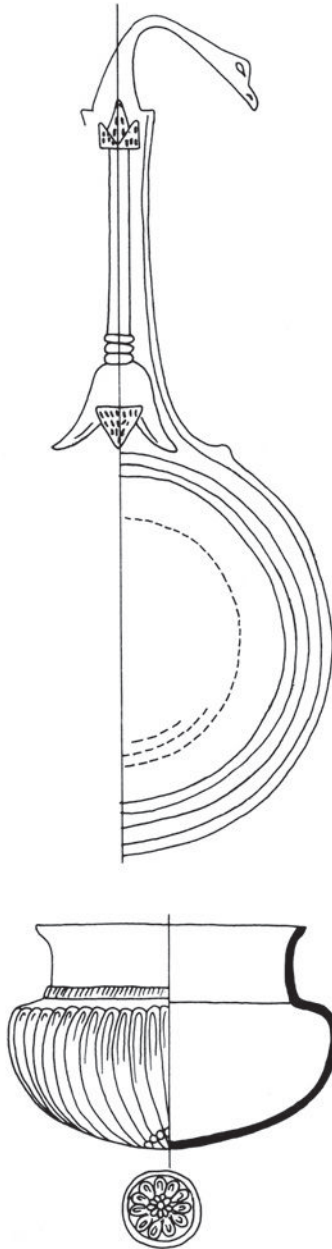




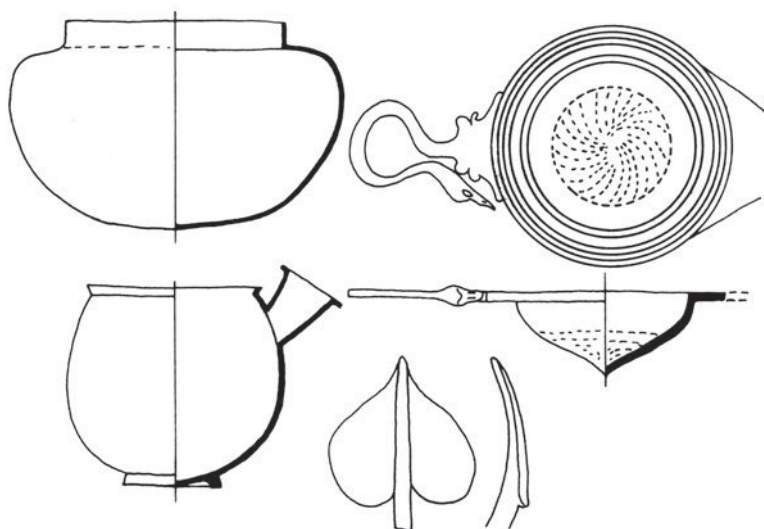
**Plate 10.** Begarawiya West grave 501, inlaid casket lid. After Török 1989  
No. 6



**Plate 11.** Meroe City, leg of bronze censer. After Török 1997b Pl. 189 (right)



**Plate 12.** Begarawiya South grave 3, top: bronze strainer;  
bottom: silver bowl. After Török 1989 Nos 1a, 2



**Plate 13.** Begarawiya South grave 6, metal vessels. After Török 1989  
Nos 12–15

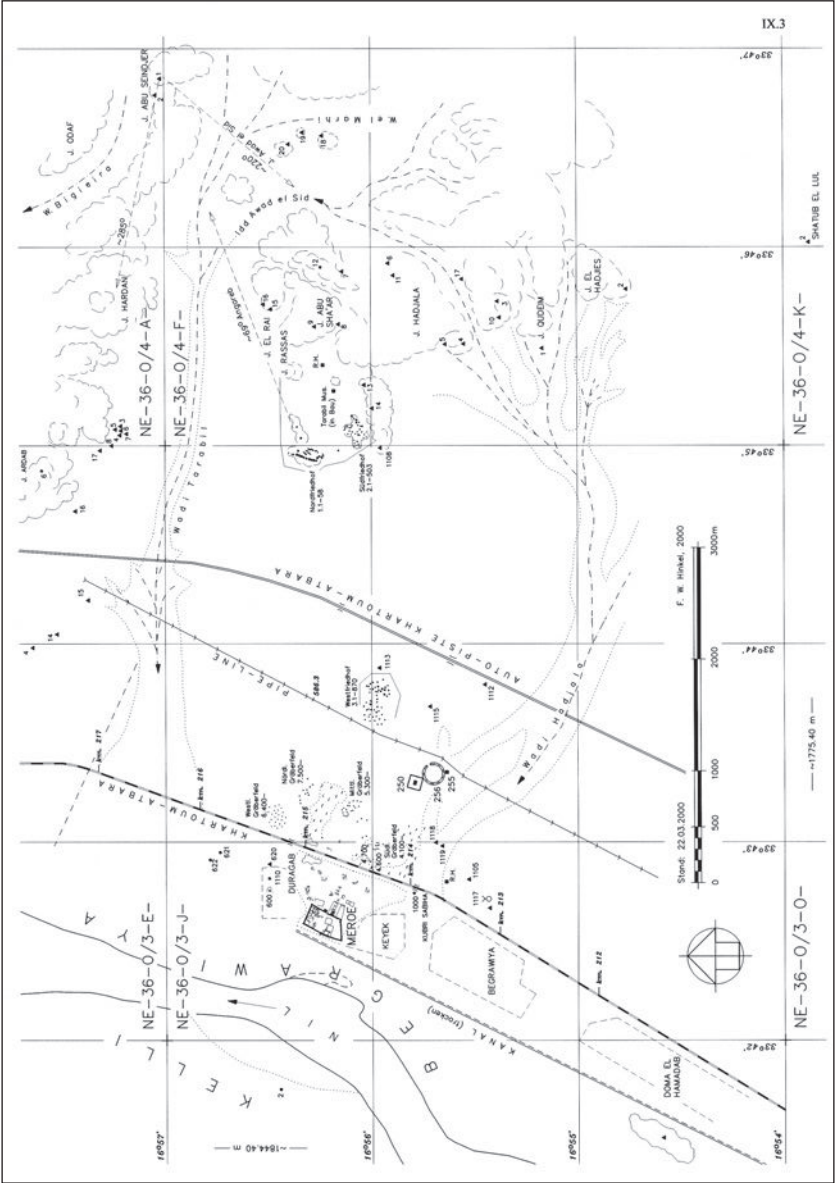
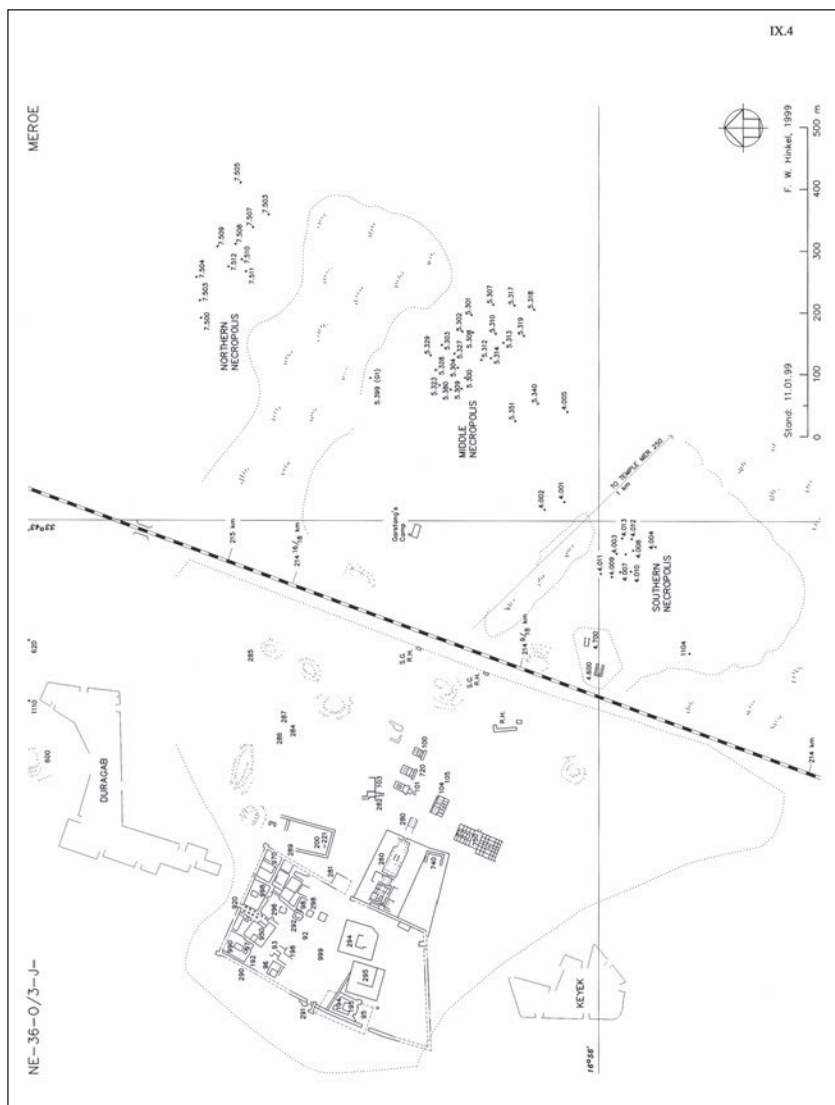


Plate 14. The region of Meroe City. After Hinkel – Sievertsen 2002 Pl. IX.3



**Plate 15.** Meroe City. After Hinkel – Sievertsen 2002 Pl. IX.4

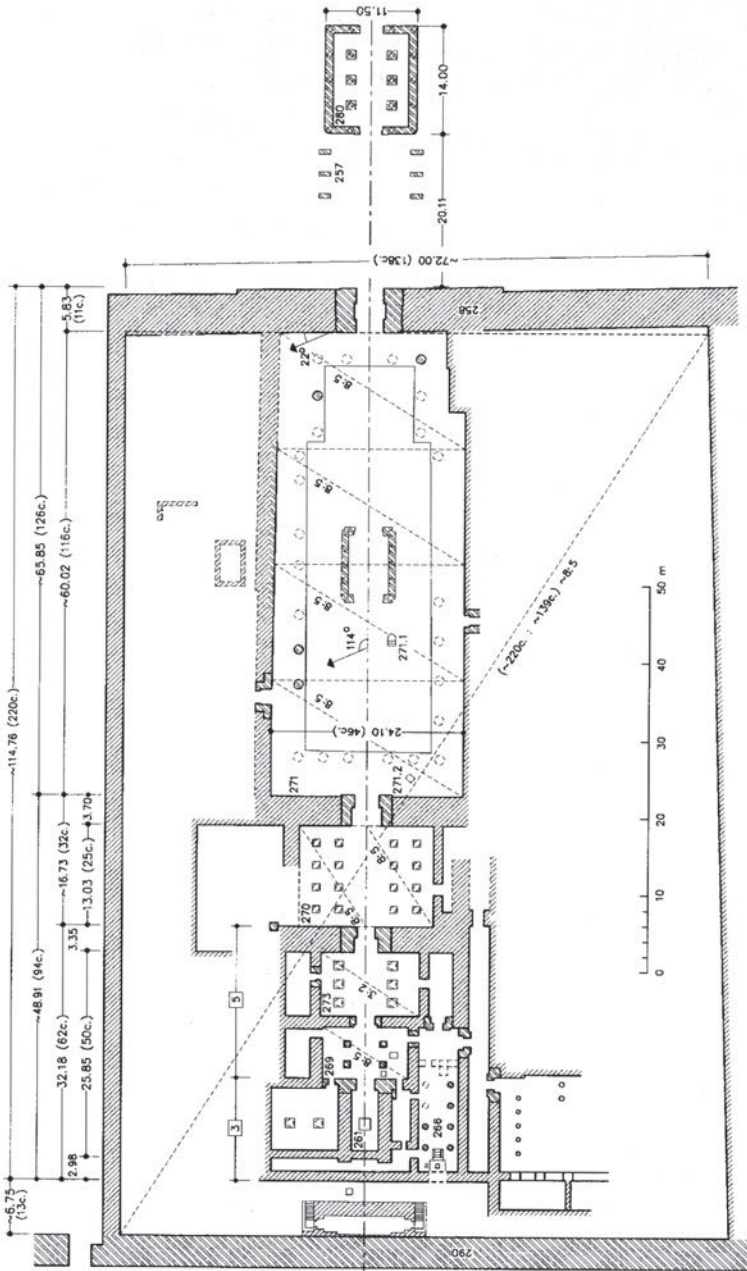
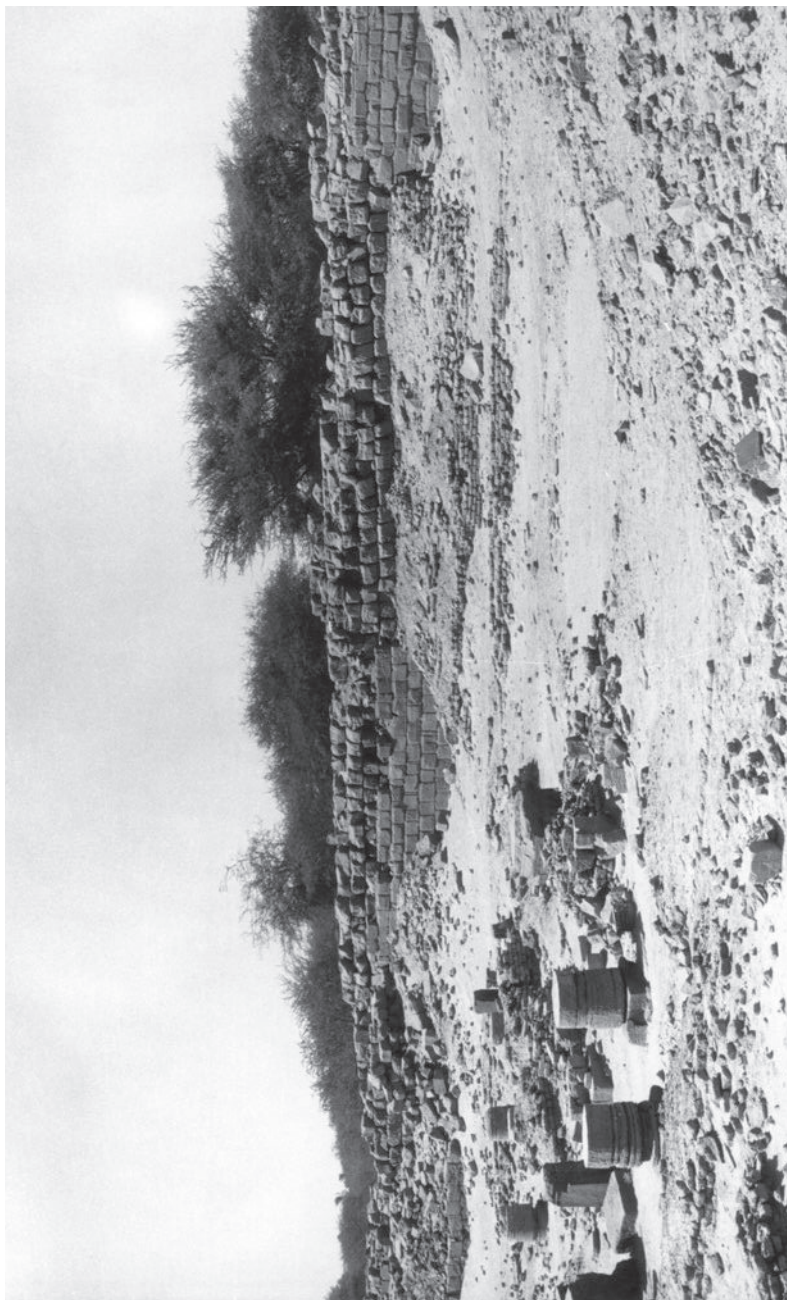


Plate 16. Meroe City, late Amun temple M 260. After Wildung (ed.) 1997 fig. 52





**Plate 17.** Meroe City, "Royal Enclosure", west wall behind the late Amun temple





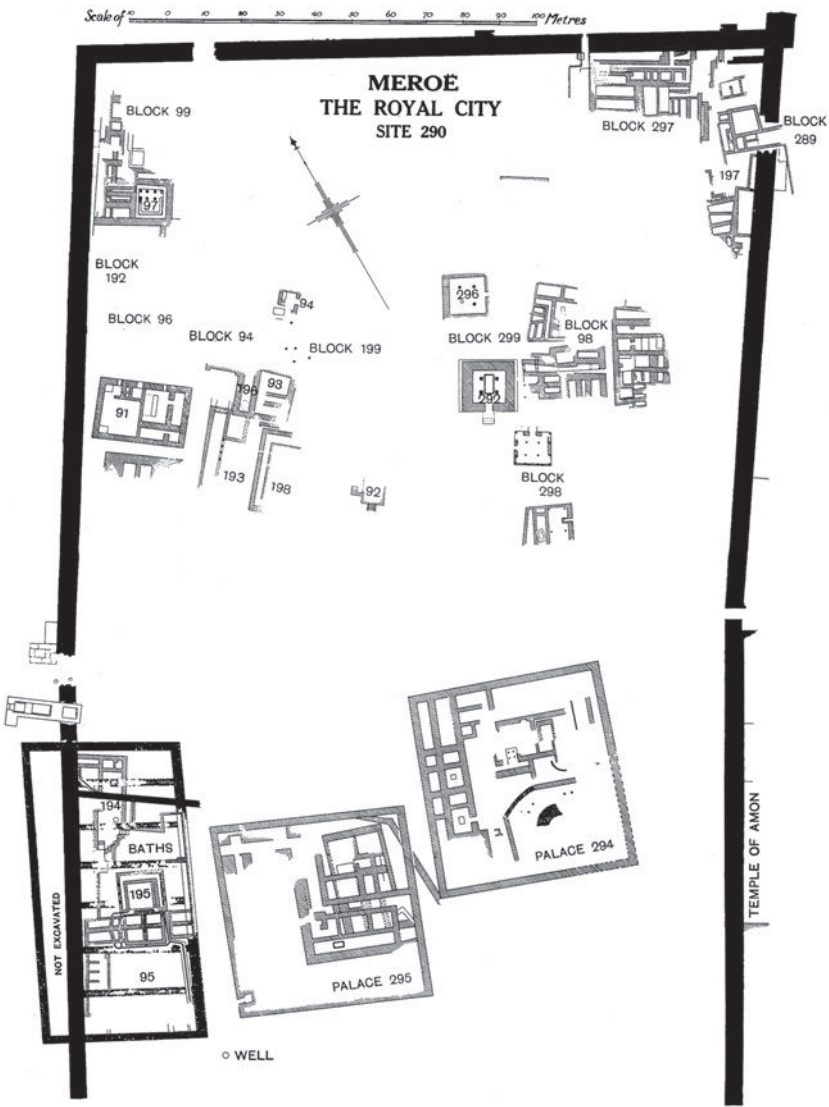


Plate 19. Meroe City, "Royal Enclosure". After Garstang 1913 Pl. VI

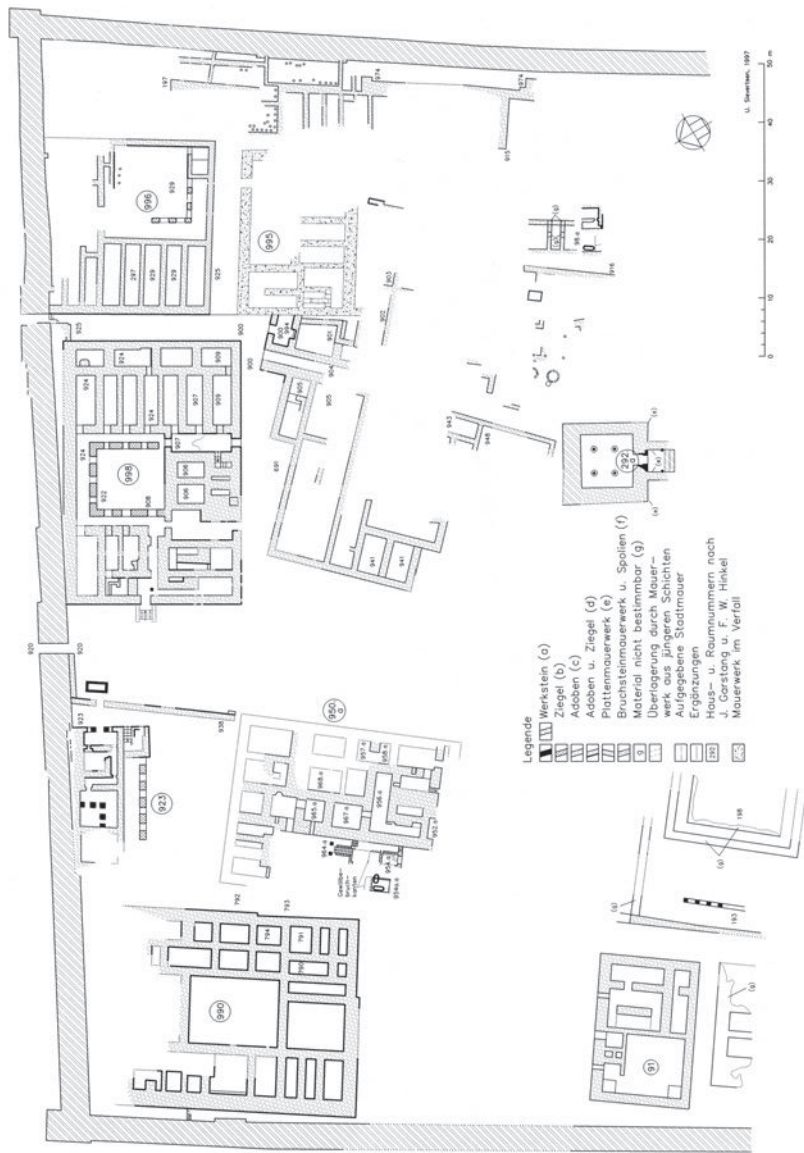


Plate 20. Meroe City, "Royal Enclosure", northern part. After Hinkel – Sievertsen 2002 Pl. IX.29



Plate 21. Meroe City, "Royal Enclosure", northern part. After Hinkel – Sievertsen 2002 Pl. IX.13



Plate 22. Meroe City, “Royal Enclosure”, northern part. After Hinkel – Sievertsen 2002 Pl. IX.31

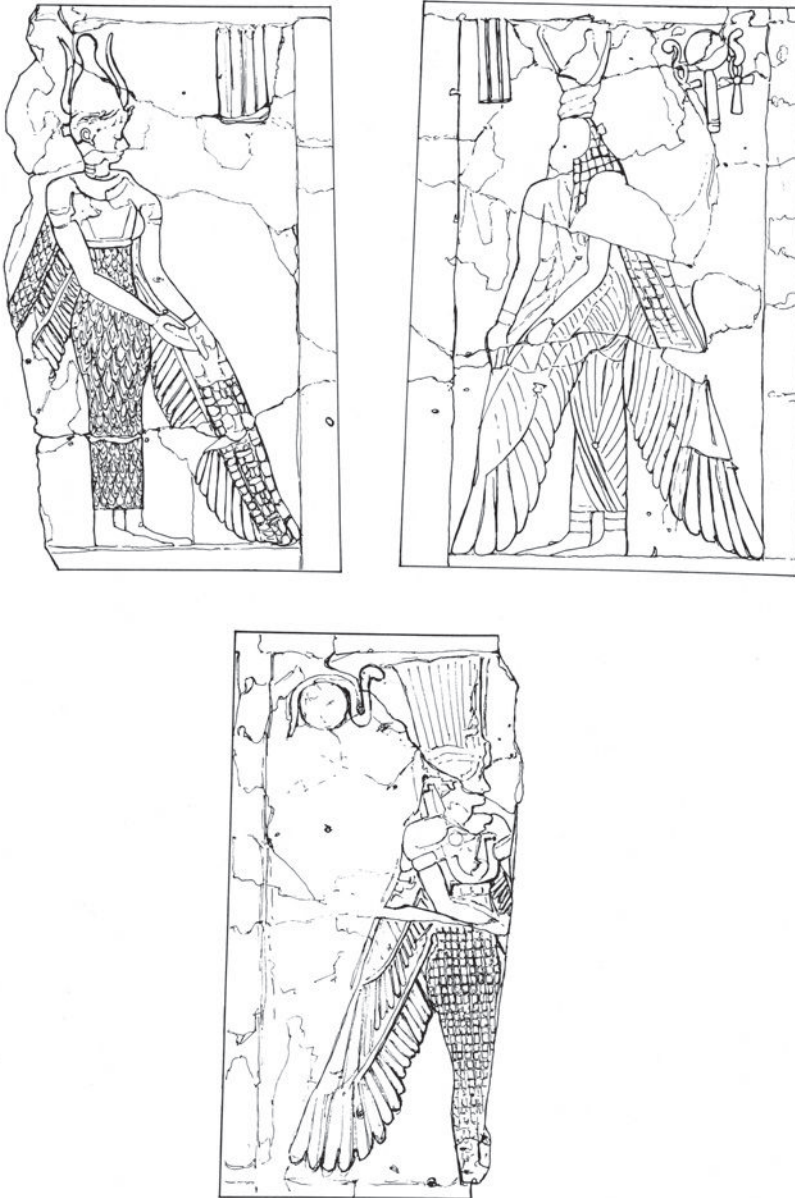




**Plate 23.** Meroe City, engaged sandstone capital. After Török 1997b Pl. 8



**Plate 24.** Meroe City, faience cylinder (Cylinder I), ROM 921.4.1. After Török 1997b Pl. 62



**Plate 25.** Meroe City, faience cylinder (Cylinder II), Montreal, Redpath Museum of the McGill University. After Trigger 1994 fig. p. 393



**Plate 26.** Meroe City, faience cylinder (Cylinder III), Louvre AE E 11522.  
After Trigger 1994 fig. p. 395





**Plate 27.** Meroe City, faience cylinder (Cylinder III), Louvre AE E 11522, panel with Pan. After Baud – Sackho-Autissier – Labbé-Toutée (eds) 2010 Cat. 163



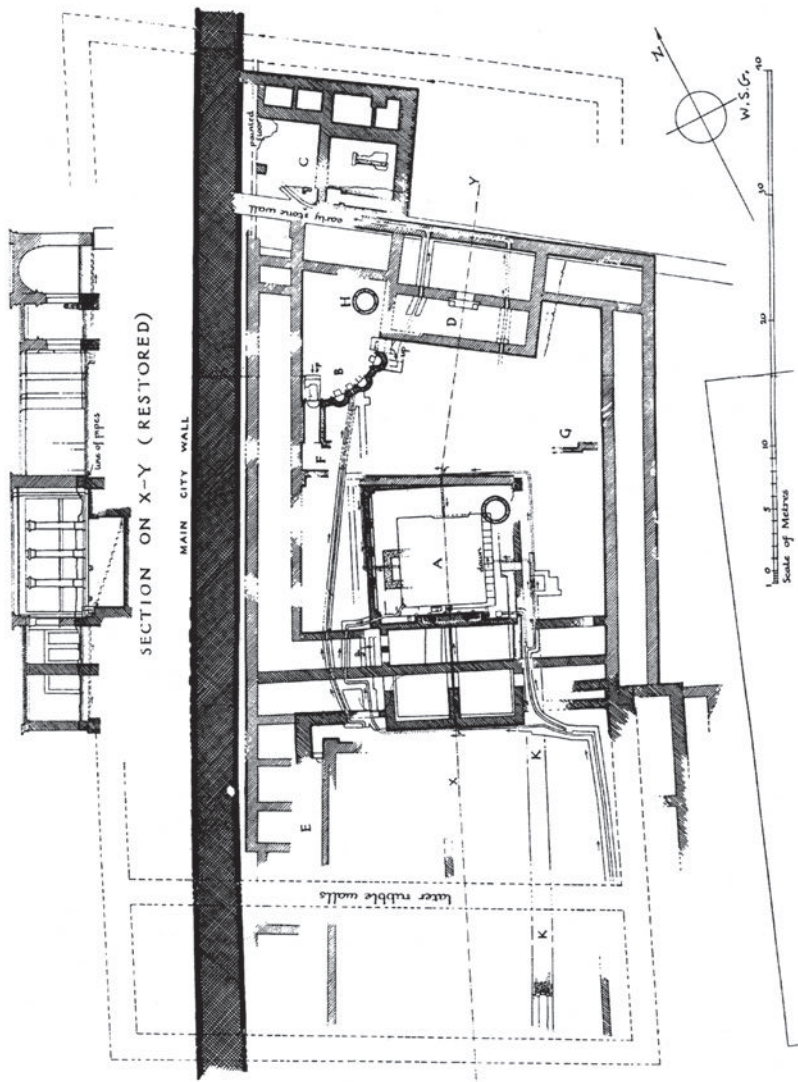
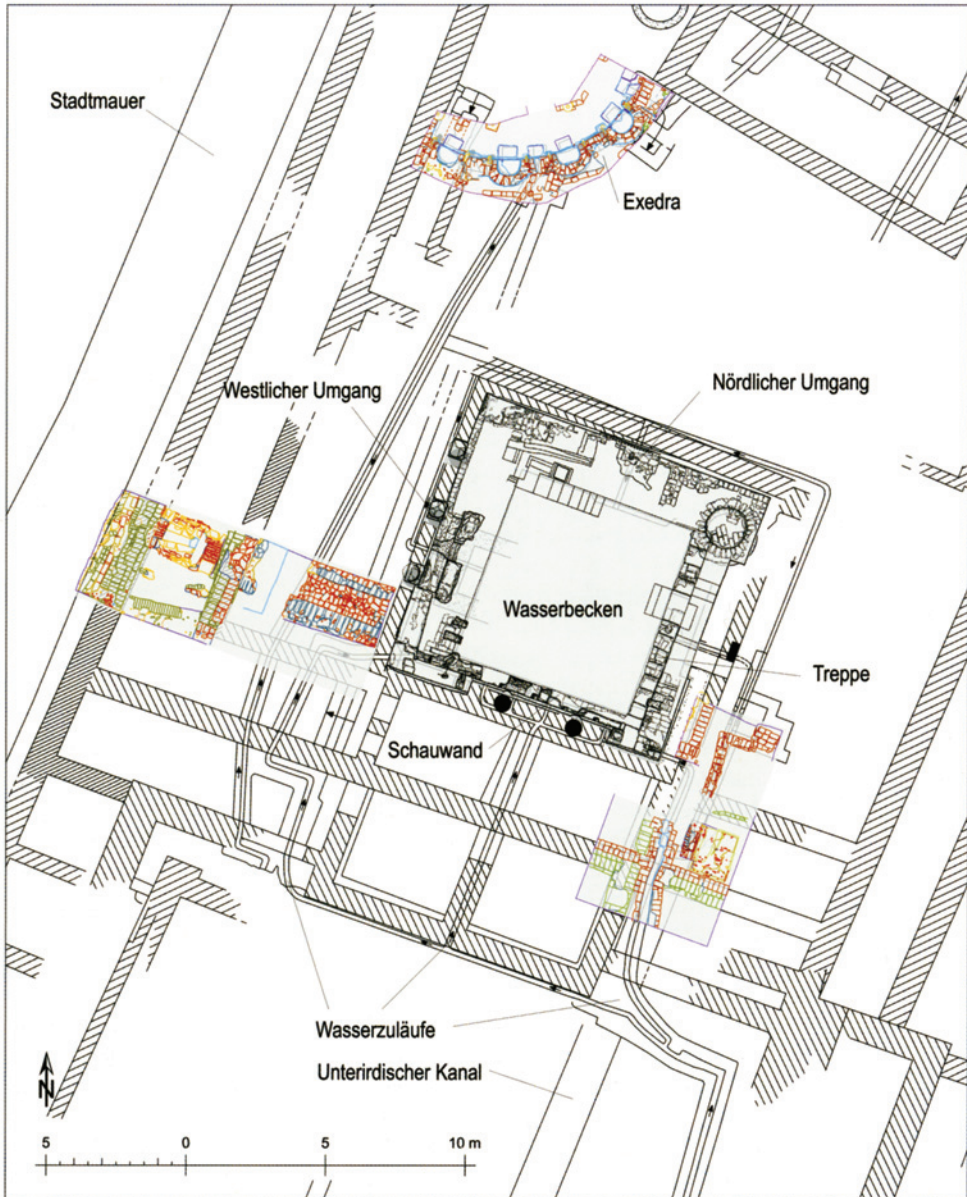
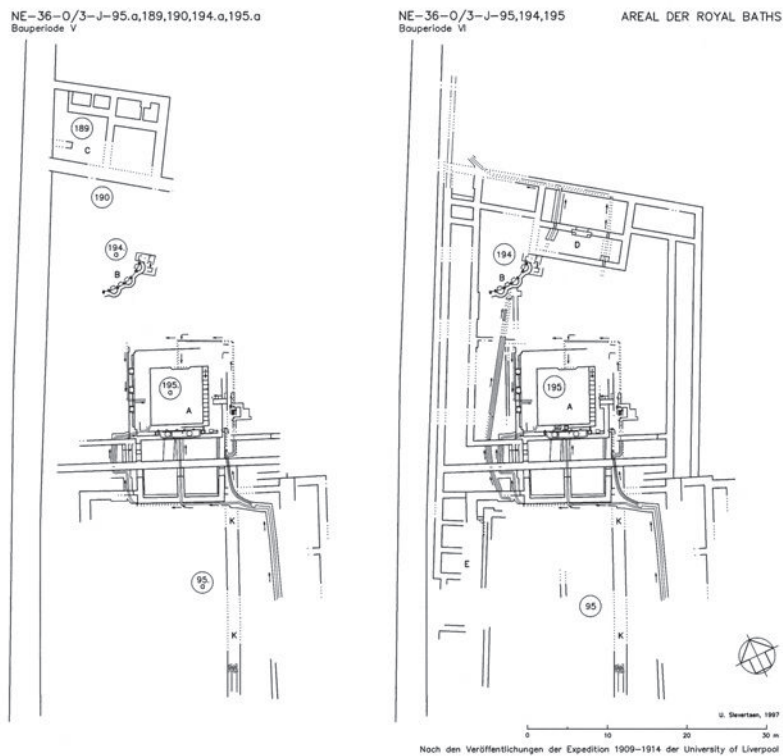


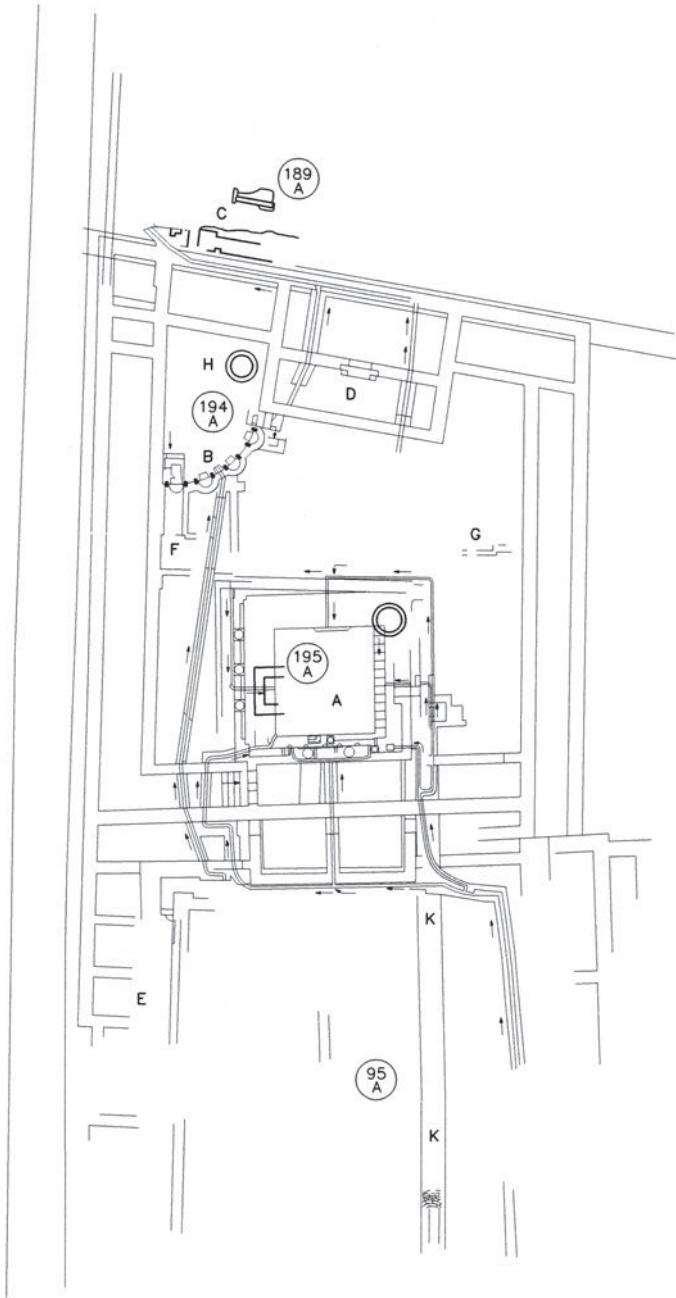
Plate 28. Meroe City, "water sanctuary", Garstang's excavations. After Garstang - George 1914  
Pl. VII



**Plate 29.** Meroe City, “water sanctuary”, German Archaeological Institute excavations, ground plan in 2008. After Wolf, Simone *et al.* 2008 fig. 9



**Plate 30.** Meroe City, “water sanctuary”, left: Hinkel – Sievertsen 2002 “Bauperiode V”, right: “Bauperiode VI”. After Hinkel – Sievertsen 2002 Pls IX.40, 41



**Plate 31.** Meroe City, “water sanctuary”, “Bauperiode VIII” of Hinkel – Sievertsen 2002 Pl. IX.43





**Plate 32.** Meroe City, “water sanctuary”, south wall of M 195 in 1912. After Török 1997b Pl. 28



**Plate 33.** Meroe City, “water sanctuary”, south wall of M 195 in 1912, centre: *Cat. 34*, right: *Cat. 37*. After Török 1997b Pl. 29



**Plate 34.** Meroe City, “water sanctuary”, south wall of M 195 in 1912. After Török 1997b Pl. 30



**Plate 35.** Meroe City, “water sanctuary”, south wall of M 195 in 1912. After Török 1997b Pl. 31





**Plate 36.** Meroe City, “water sanctuary”, south wall of M 195 in 1912, right: *Cat. 36*. After Török 1997b Pl. 32



**Plate 37.** Meroe City, “water sanctuary”, south wall of M 195 in 1912. After Török 1997b Pl. 33

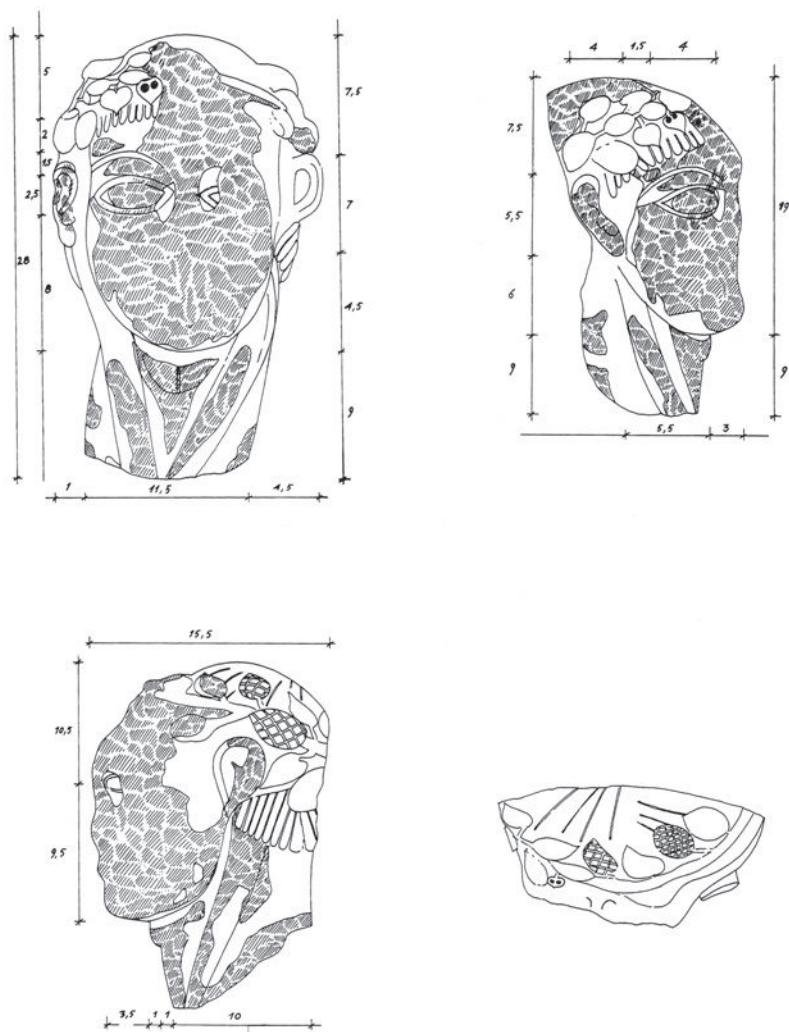


**Plate 38.** Meroe City, “water sanctuary”, the cachette in 1912. After Török 1997b Pl. 20

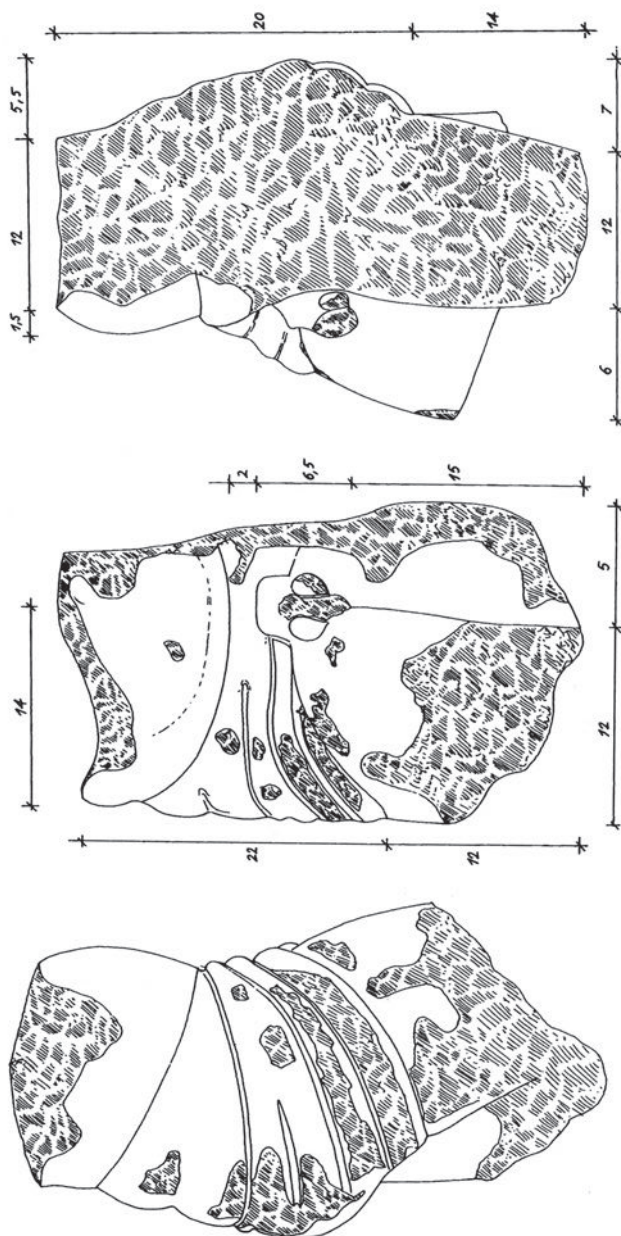


**Plate 39.** Meroe City, “water sanctuary”, the cachette in 1912. After Török 1997b Pl. 21





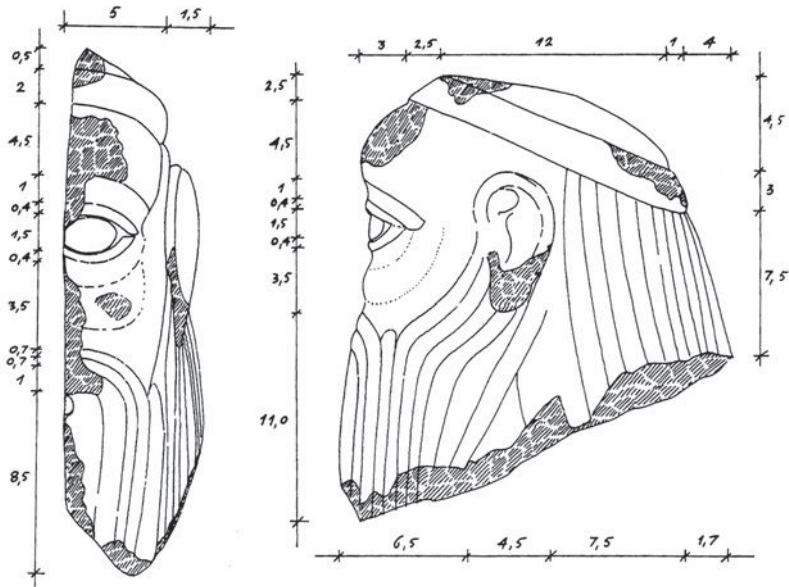
**Plate 40.** Meroe City, "water sanctuary", *Cat. 1*, head of statue. After Török 1997b fig. 75



**Plate 41.** Meroe City, "water sanctuary", *Cat. 2*, fragment of statue. After Török 1997b fig. 77



**Plate 42.** Meroe City, “water sanctuary” (?), *Cat. 3*, statue of Aphrodite, Munich ÄS 1334. After Wildung (ed.) 1997 Cat. 439



**Plate 43.** Meroe City, “water sanctuary”, *Cat. 4*, fragment of Silenus head.  
After Török 1997b fig. 77



**Plate 44.** Meroe City, “water sanctuary”, bottom centre: *Cat. 5*, head of Silenus;  
top centre: *Cat. 14*, head of reclining man (?). After Török 1997b Pl. 43





**Plate 45.** Meroe City, “water sanctuary”, *Cat. 7*, *kithara* player.  
After Hofmann – Tomandl 1986 fig. 53



**Plate 46.** Meroe City, "water sanctuary", *Cat. 8*, *aulos* player.  
After Garstang photo, Liverpool



**Plate 47.** Meroe City, “water sanctuary”, right: *Cat. 9A*, syrx player, left: *Cat. 28*, sphinx. After Török 1997b Pl. 52



**Plate 48.** Meroe City, “water sanctuary”, *Cat. 11*, reclining man, front view, Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek Æ.I.N. 1484. After Wenig 1975b No. 437



**Plate 49.** Meroe City, “water sanctuary”, *Cat. 11*, reclining man, back view, Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek Æ.I.N. 1484. After Török 1997b Pl. 37





**Plate 50.** Meroe City, “water sanctuary”, *Cat. 12*, reclining couple. After Török 1997b Pl. 35



**Plate 51.** Meroe City, “water sanctuary”, *Cat. 16*, fragment of head of reclining man (?). After Török 1997b Pl. 45



**Plate 52.** Meroe City, “water sanctuary”, left: *Cat. 17*, head of reclining man (?), front view, right: *Cat. 18*, head of reclining man (?), front view. After Török 1997b Pl. 46



**Plate 53.** Meroe City, “water sanctuary”, left: *Cat. 17*, head of reclining man (?), profile view, right: *Cat. 18*, head of reclining man (?), profile view. After Török 1997b Pl. 47



**Plate 54.** Meroe City, "water sanctuary", extreme left: *Cat. 19*, second from left: *Cat. 12*, male figure, second from right: *Cat. 20*, extreme right: *Cat. 21*, heads of reclining figures (?), all front view. After Török 1997b Pl. 48



**Plate 55.** Meroe City, "water sanctuary", extreme left: *Cat. 19*, second from left: *Cat. 12*, male figure, second from right: *Cat. 20*, extreme right: *Cat. 21*, heads of reclining figures (?), all profile view. After Török 1997b Pl. 49





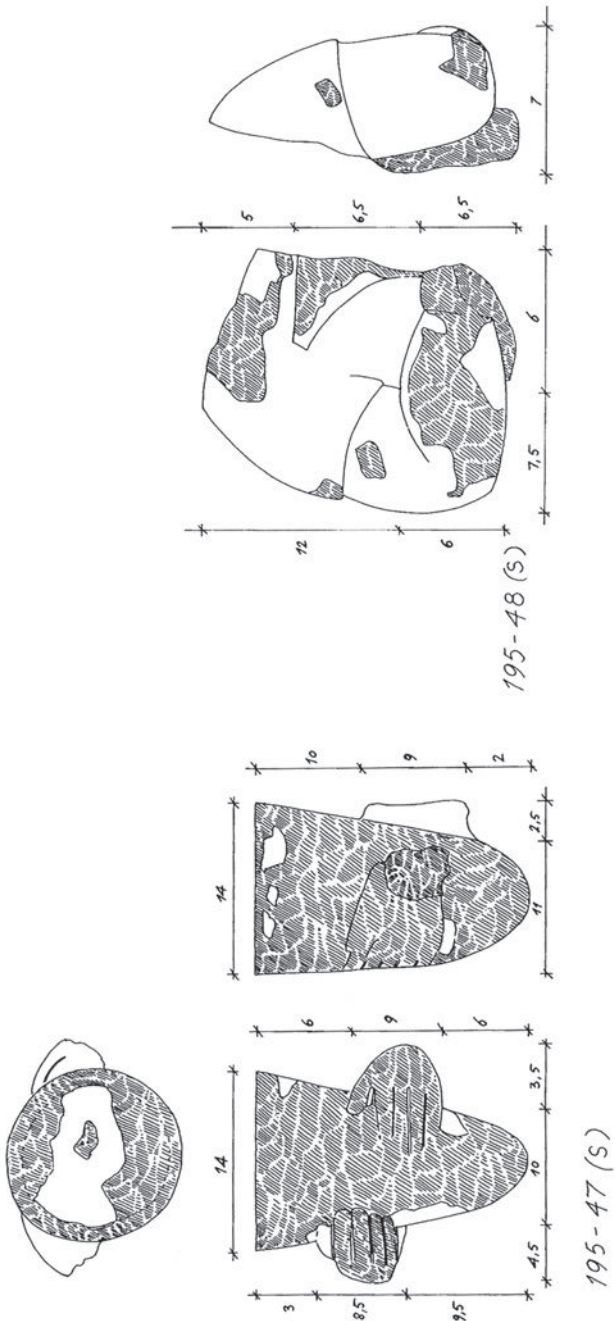
**Plate 56.** Meroe City, "water sanctuary", *Cat. 22*, standing draped male figure. After Török 1997b Pl. 44



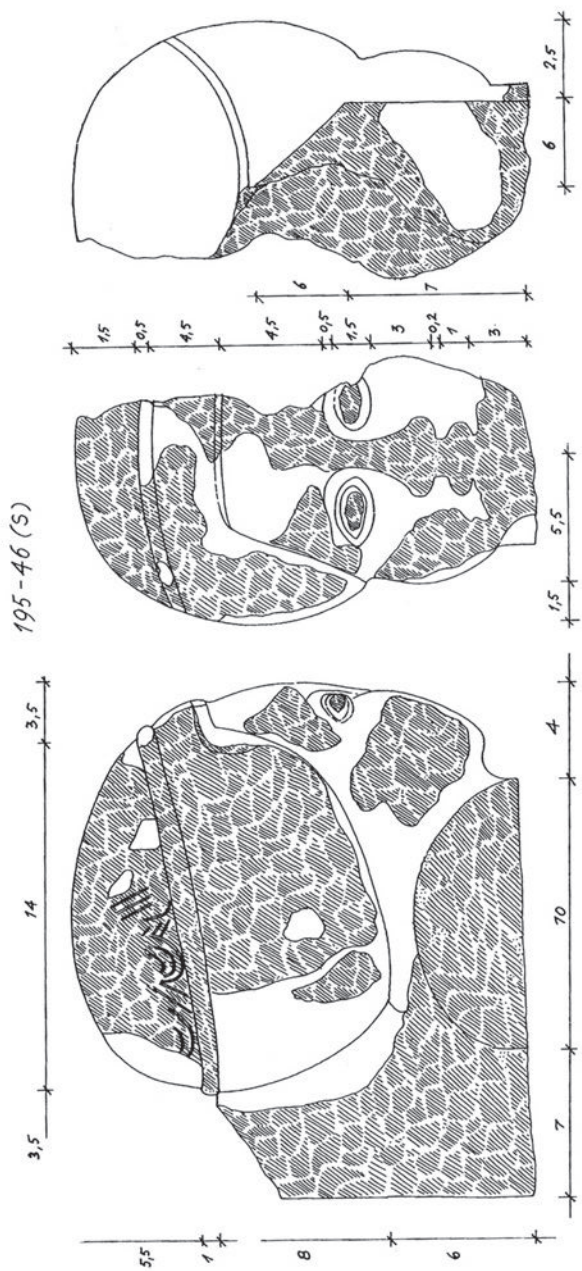
**Plate 57.** Meroe City, “water sanctuary”, *Cat. 23*, seated draped male figure. After Török 1997b Pl. 39



**Plate 58.** Meroe City, “water sanctuary”, *Cat. 23*, seated draped male figure. After Török 1997b Pl. 40

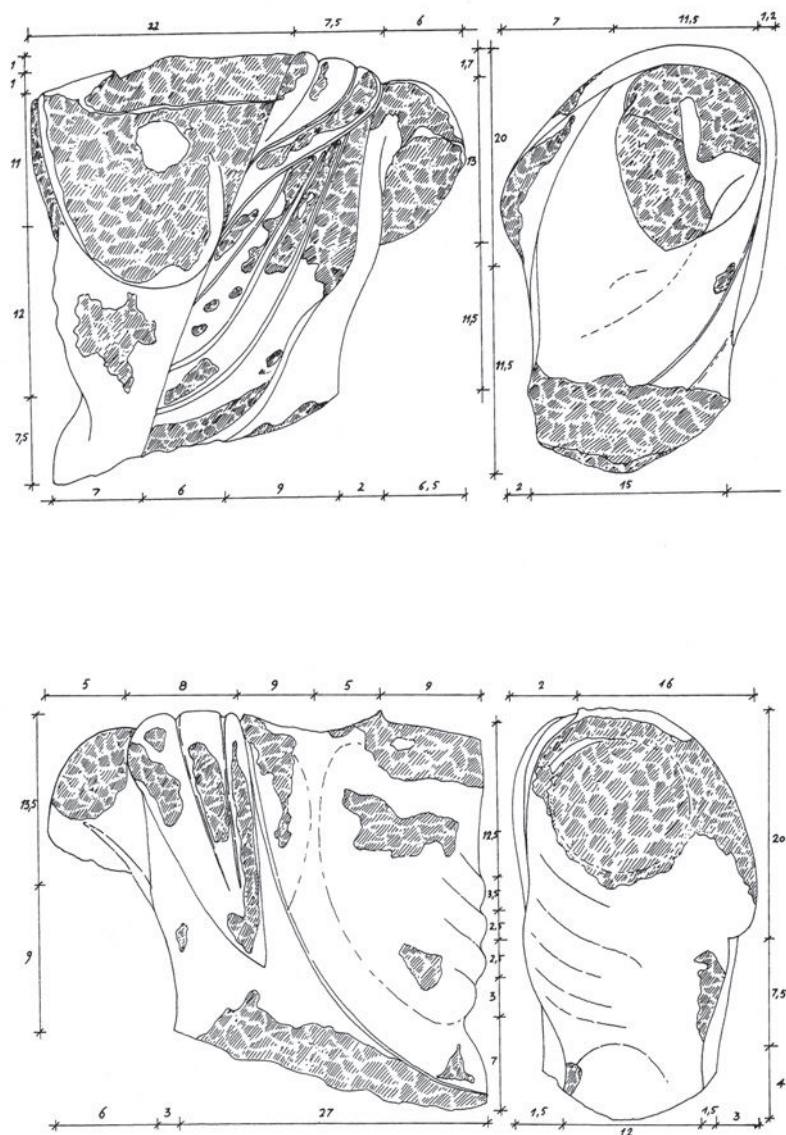


**Plate 59.** Meroe City, “water sanctuary”, left: *Cat.* 25, fragment of statue, right: *Cat.* 26, fragment of statue. After Török 1997b fig. 78

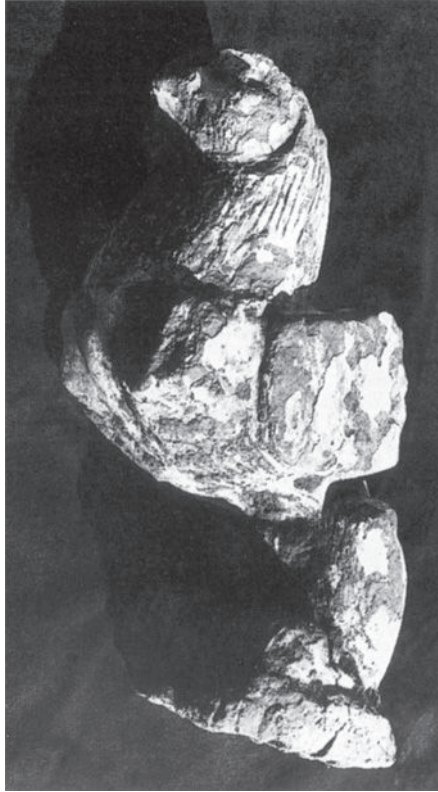


**Plate 60.** Meroe City, “water sanctuary”, *Cat. 27*, head of female figure. After Török 1997b fig. 78





**Plate 61.** Meroe City, "water sanctuary", *Cat. 31*, fragment of male figure.  
After Török 1997b fig. 76



**Plate 62.** Meroe City, “water sanctuary”, *Cat. 33*, falcon statue. After Török 1997b Pl. 16

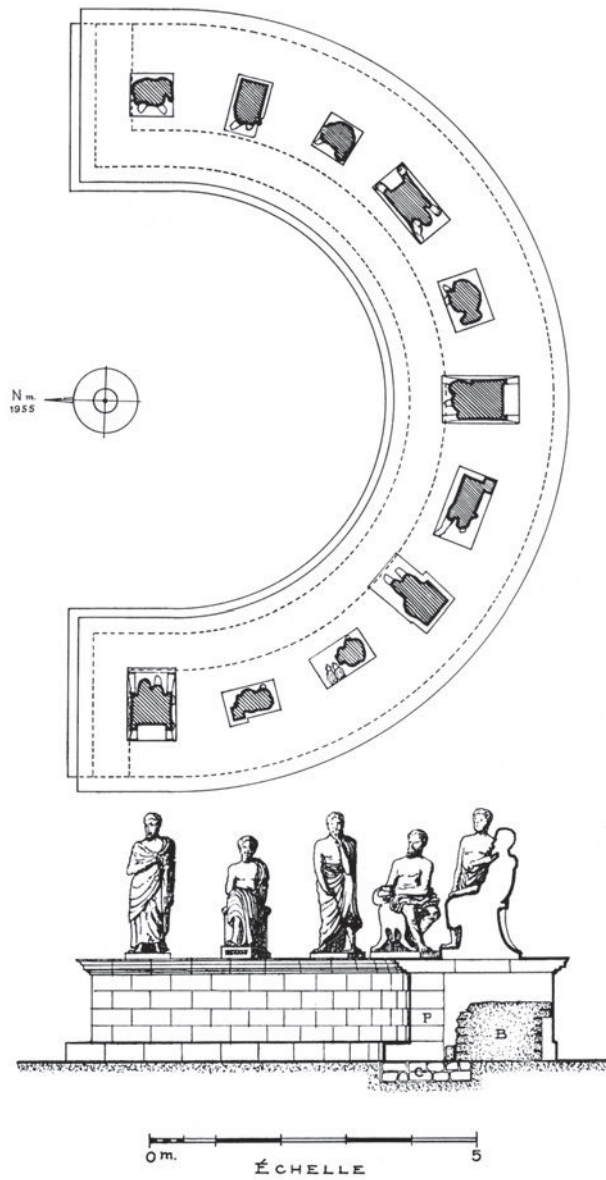


Plate 63. Memphis, Serapeum, Ptolemaic exedra. After Lauer – Picard 1955  
Pl. 28



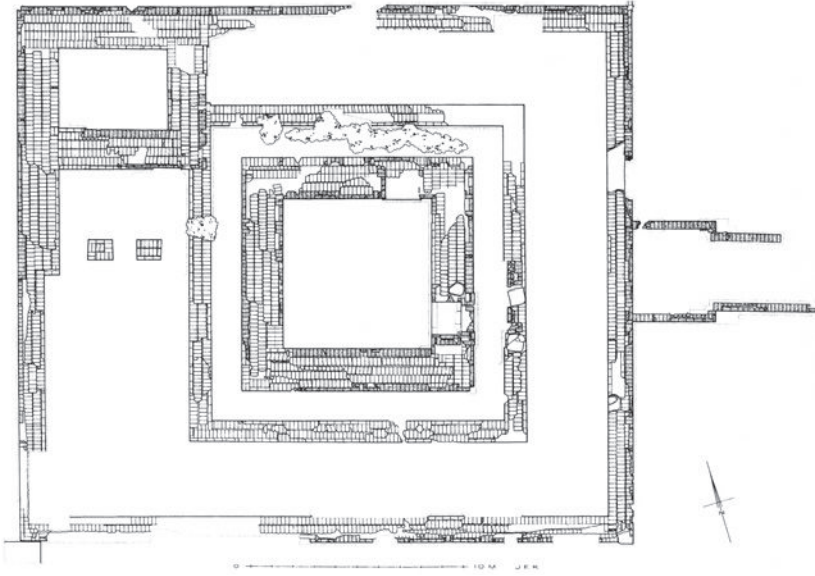
**Plate 64.** Relief with figure of reclining boy Dionysos, Luxor Museum of Ancient Egyptian Art J 33. After Bothmer (ed.) 1979 Cat. 281

NE-36-O/14-G-(100-600)

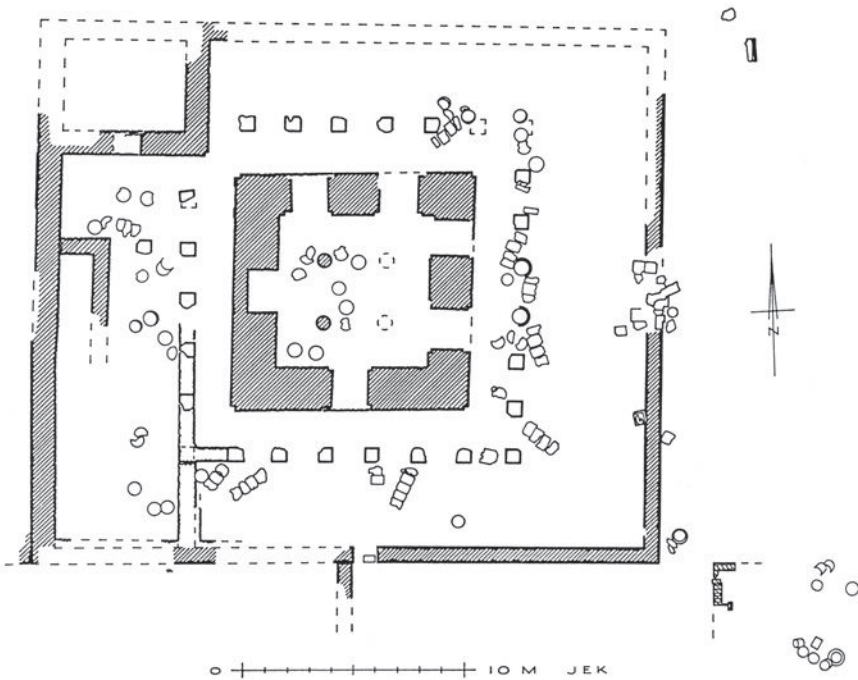
MUSAWWARAT ES SUFRA  
Große Anlage

**Plate 65.** Musawwarat es Sufra, Great Enclosure. After Hinkel – Sievertsen 2002  
Pl. IX.77





**Plate 66.** Naqa, building 600. After Wildung – Schoske 1999 fig. 80



**Plate 67.** Naqa, building 600. After Knudstad – Frey 1998 fig. p. 195, upper half

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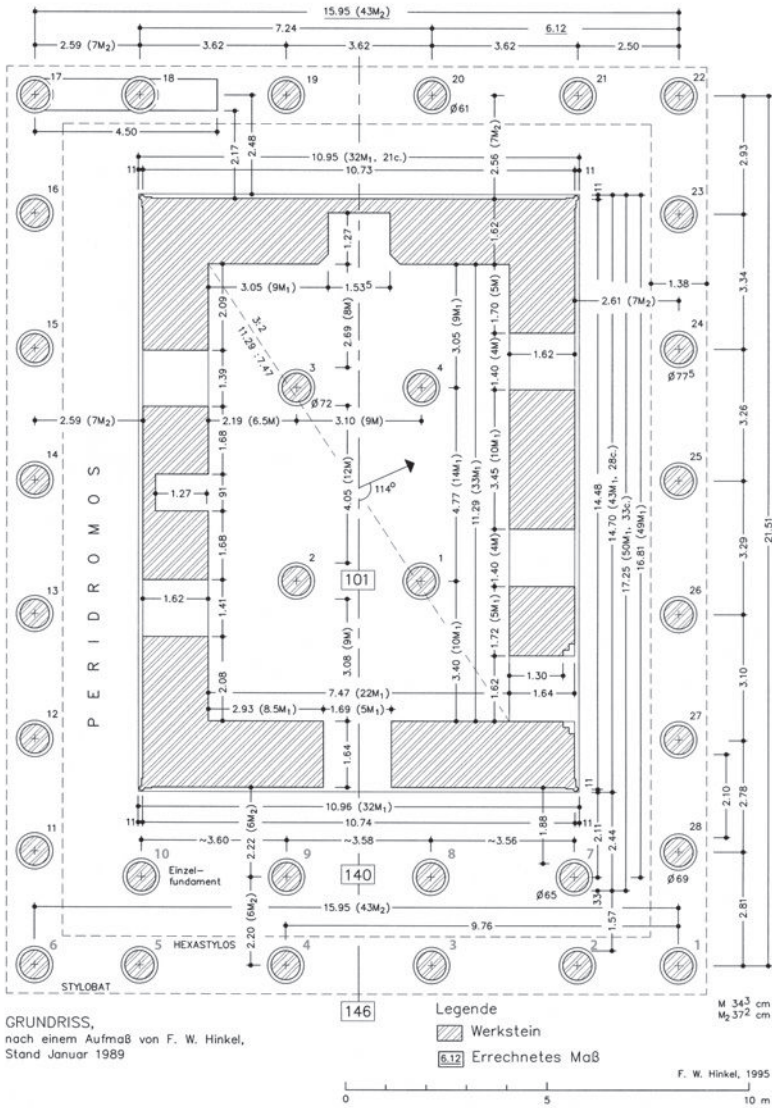
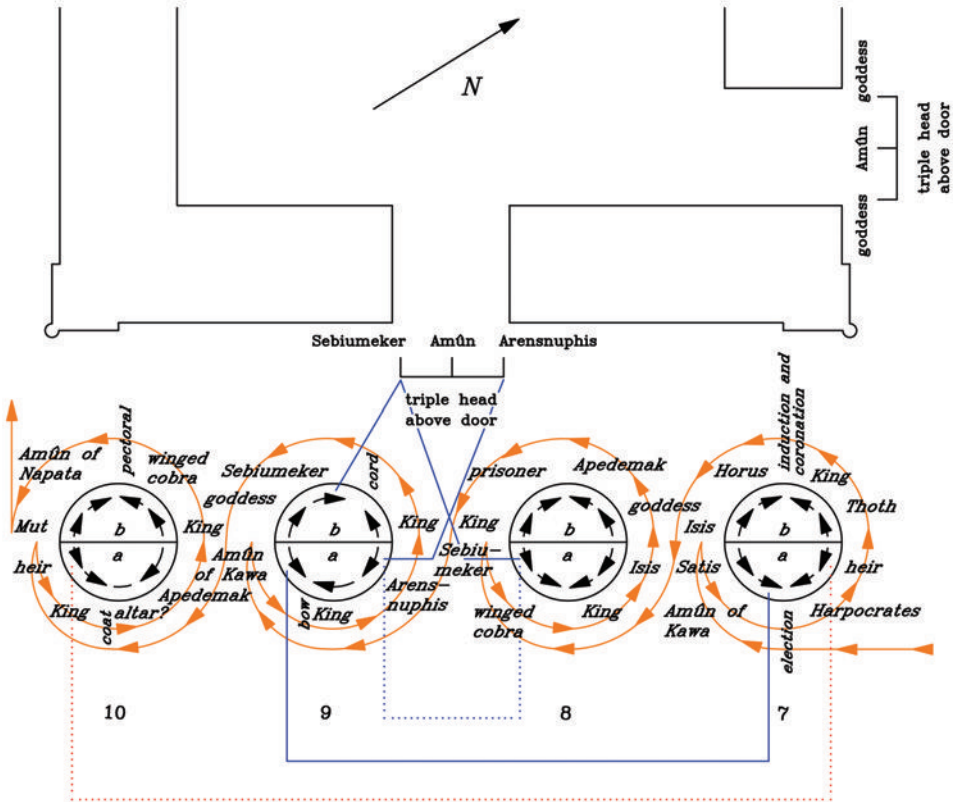
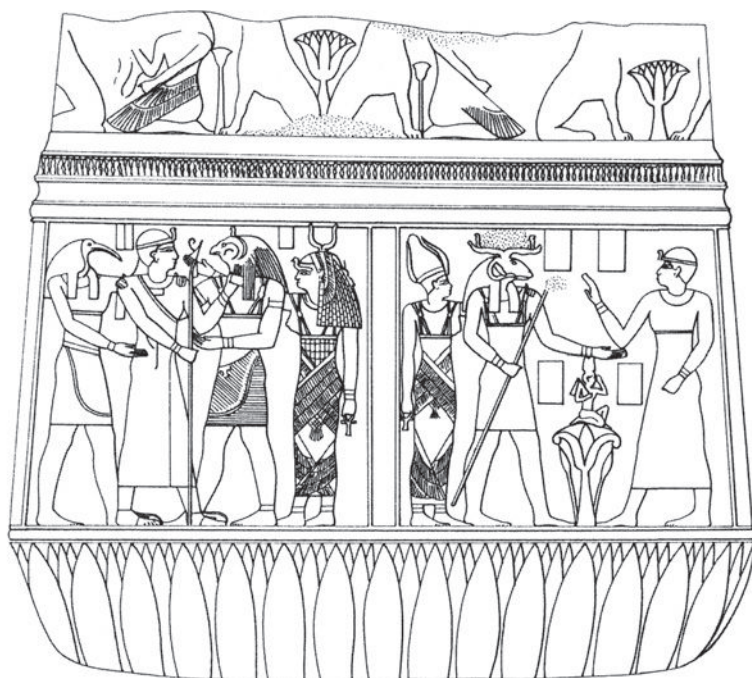


Plate 68. Musawwarat es Sufra, Great Enclosure, building 101-102. After Hinkel – Sievertsen 2002 Pl. IX.78

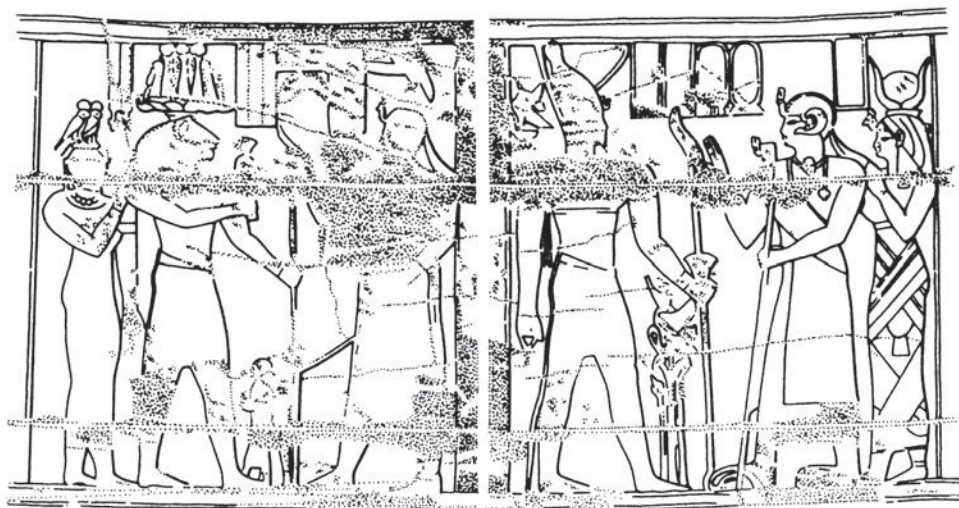


**Plate 69.** Musawwarat es Sufra, Great Enclosure, front colonnade of building 101-102, structure of iconographical program. After Török 2002a Pl. XII

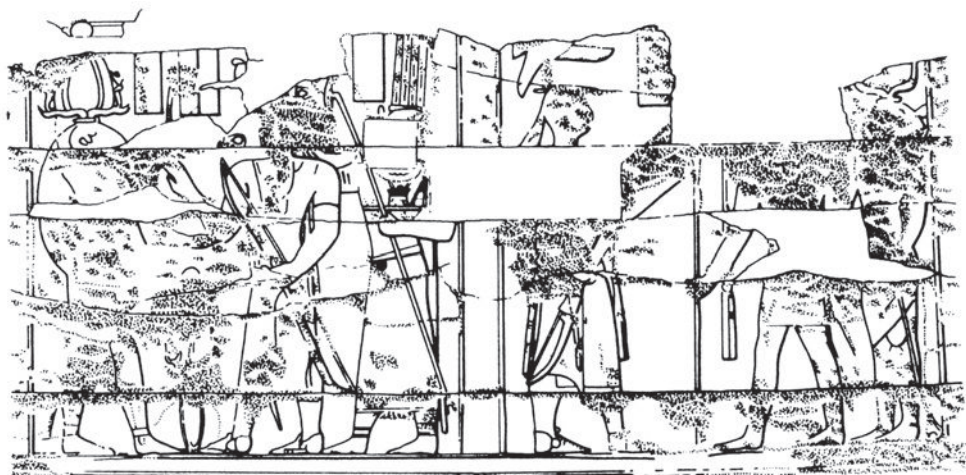




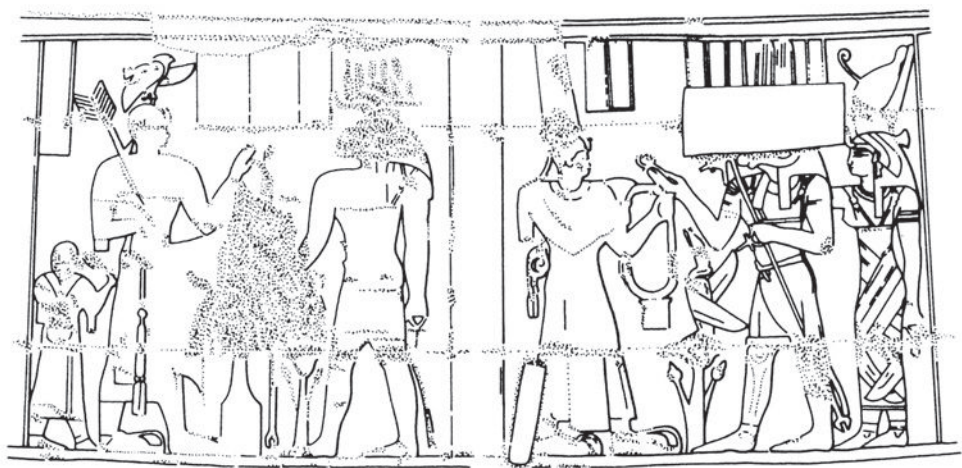
**Plate 70.** Musawwarat es Sufra, Great Enclosure, front colonnade of building 101-102, column 7, scenes 7a (right), 7b (left). After LD V 72/a



**Plate 71.** Musawwarat es Sufra, Great Enclosure, front colonnade of building 101-102, column 8, scenes 8a (right), 8b (left). After Wenig 1993 fig. 179



**Plate 72.** Musawwarat es Sufra, Great Enclosure, front colonnade of building 101-102, column 9, scenes 9a (right), 9b (left). After Wenig 1974 fig. 13



**Plate 73.** Musawwarat es Sufra, Great Enclosure, front colonnade of building 101-102, column 10, scenes 10a (right), 10b (left). After Wenig 1993 fig. 192

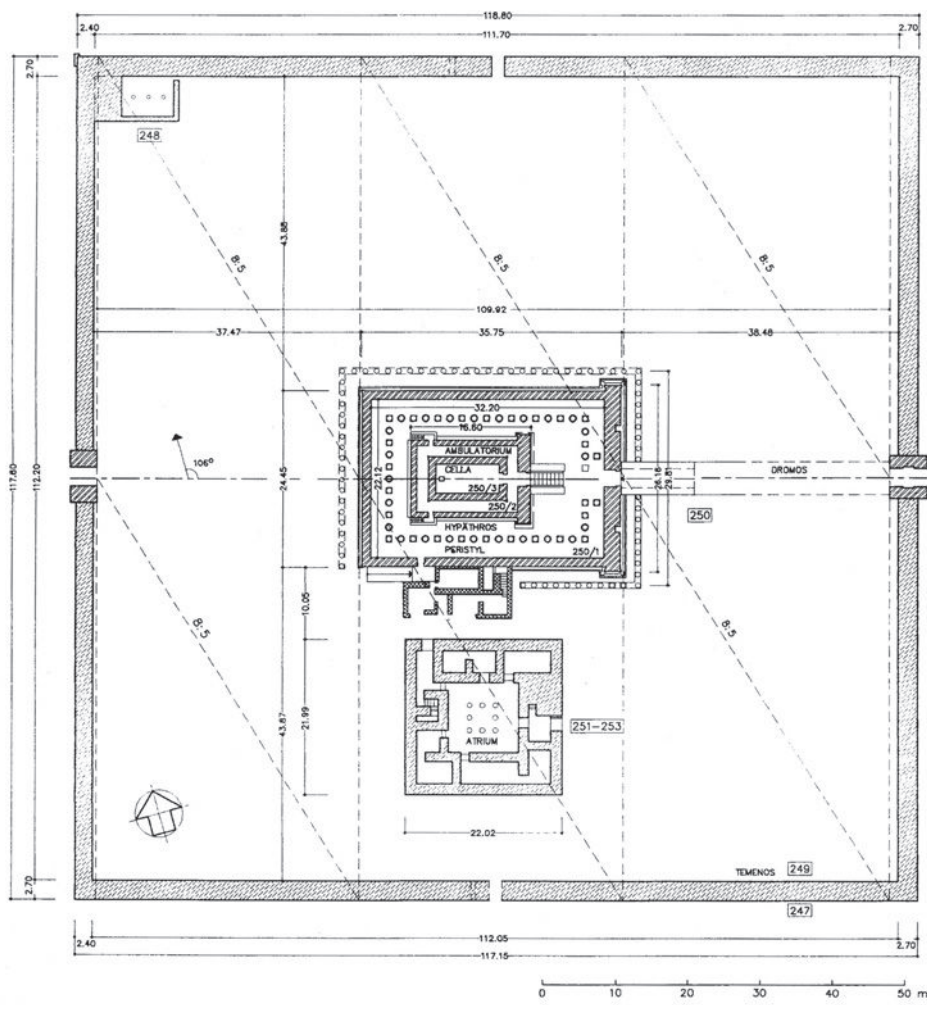
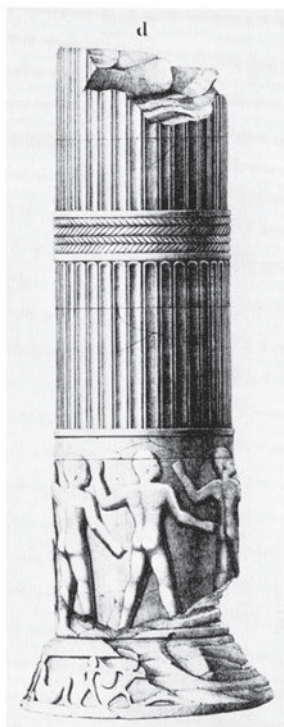


Plate 74. Meroe City, Temple M 250. After Wildung (ed.) 1997 fig. 61



**Plate 75.** Musawwarat es Sufra, Great Enclosure, front colonnade of building 101–102, columns No. 1 (left), 5 (centre), 2 (right). After Cailli aud 1823–1826 I Pl. XXX





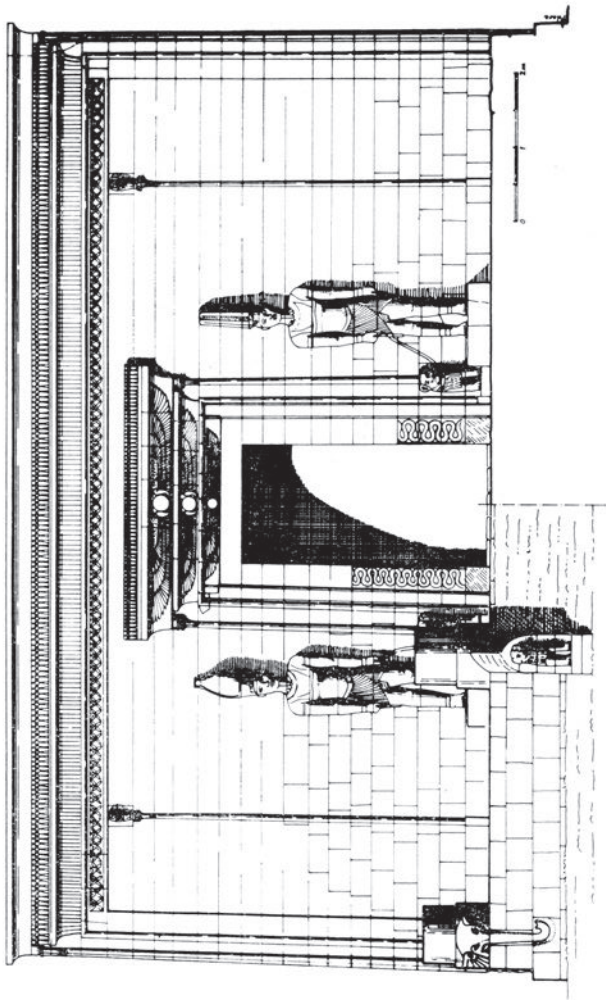
**Plate 76.** Musawwarat es Sufra, Great Enclosure, front colonnade of building 101-102, columns No. 5 (top), 2 (bottom). After *LD V* 71/d, e



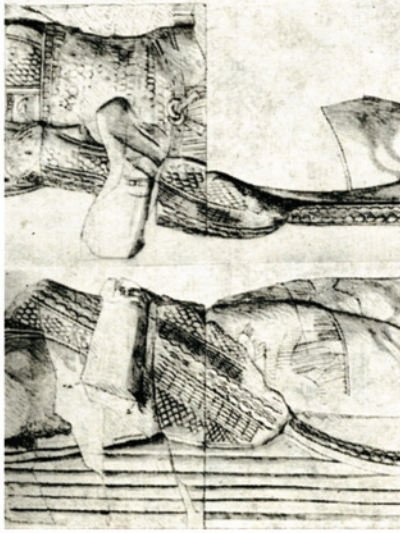
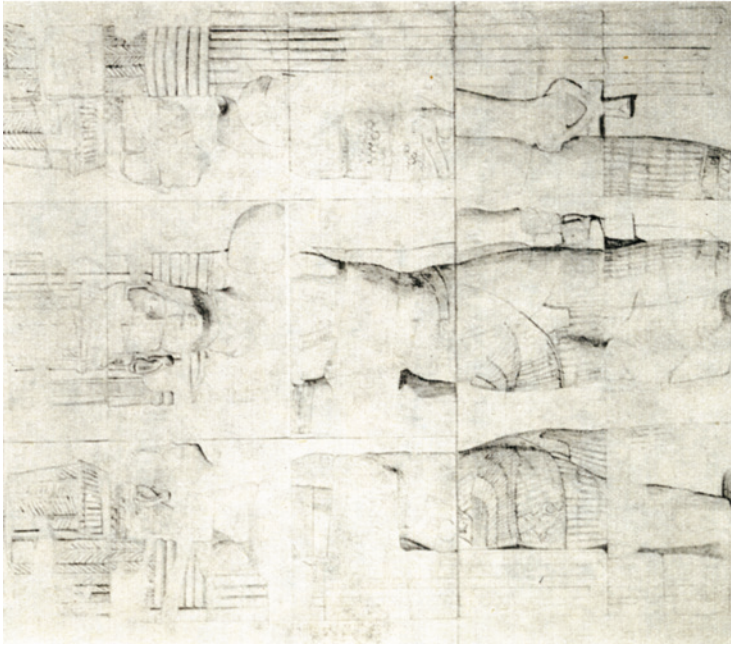
**Plate 77.** Musawwarat es Sufra, Great Enclosure, front colonnade of building 101–102, columns No. 8, 9. After Wenig 1999a fig. 26



**Plate 78.** Musawwarat es Sufra, Great Enclosure, room 108, elephant wall terminal. After Wenig 1999a fig. 28



**Plate 79.** Musawwarat es Sufra, Great Enclosure, Temple 300, front, reconstruction drawing by K.-H. Priese. After Wenig 1974 fig. 4



**Plate 80.** Musawwarat es Sufra, Great Enclosure, room 108, column statues, drawing by K.-H. Priese. After Wenig 1974 figs 6, 7





**Plate 81.** Musawwarat es Sufra, Great Enclosure, building 101–102, triple protome from the main entrance. After Wenig 1975b No. 434



**Plate 82.** Musawwarat es Sufra, Great Enclosure, room 108, column statue of Arensnuphis, reconstruction drawing by K.-H. Priese. After Wenig 1999a fig. 27



**Plate 83.** Tabo, north colossus. After Wenig 1975b No. 430



**Plate 84.** Meroe City, Temple M 600, statue of Sebiuwerker. After Baud – Sackho-Autissier – Labbé-Toutée (eds) 2010 fig. 61





**Plate 85.** Meroe City, building M 282=KC 102, head of Sebiuwerker statue, Khartoum SNM 24564. After Wildung (ed.) 1997 Cat. 298



**Plate 86.** Tabo, bronze statue of a king, Khartoum SNM 24705. After Baud  
– Sackho-Autissier – Labbé-Toutée (eds) 2010 Cat. 229



**Plate 87.** Musawwarat es Sufra, Apedemak temple, north front, King Arnekhamani and Prince Arka. After Wenig 1975b No. 424





**Plate 88.** Wad ban Naga, pottery vessel from the palace, Khartoum SNM  
62/10/140. After Barcelona 2003 Cat. 35





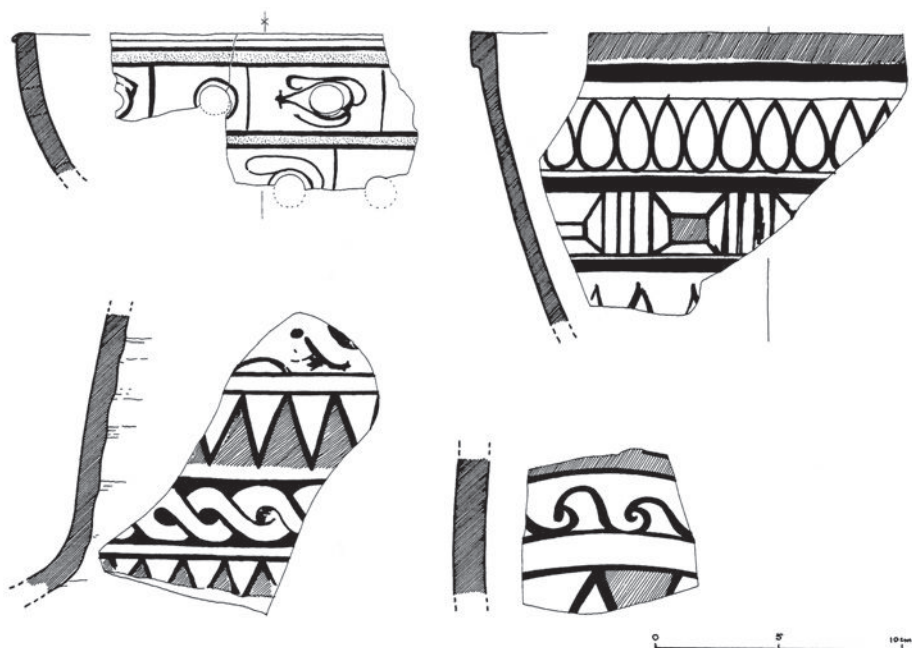
**Plate 89.** Meroe City, fragment of pottery vessel. Liverpool, World Museum 49.47.836



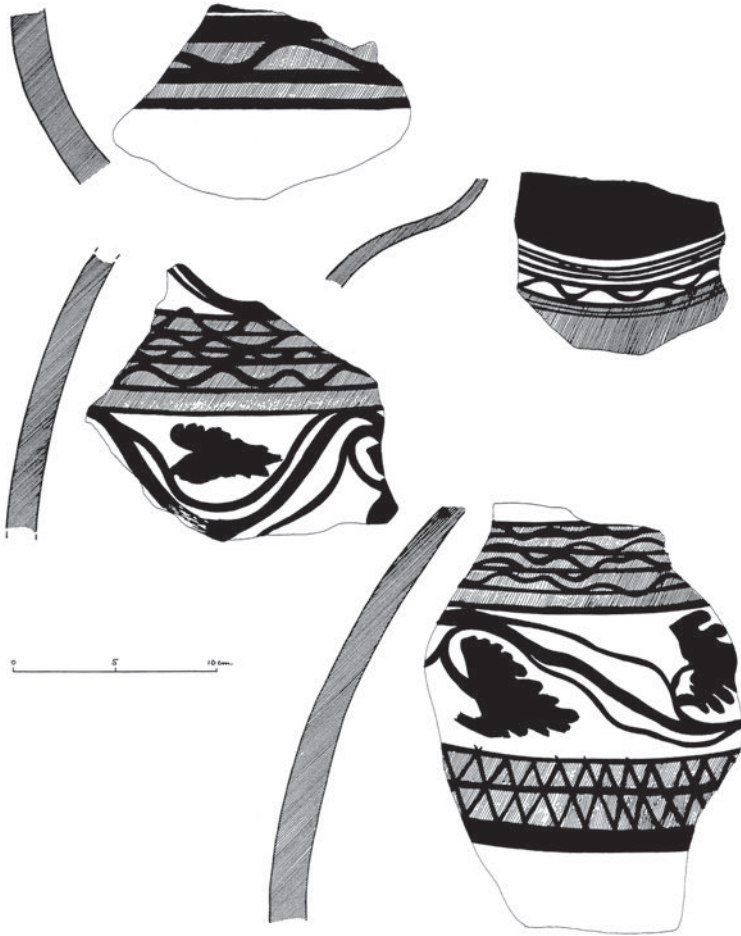
**Plate 90.** Meroe City, fragment of pottery vessel, Liverpool, World Museum 49.47.904



**Plate 91.** Meroe City, fragment of pottery vessel, Liverpool, World Museum 49.47.840



**Plate 92.** Meroe City, fragments of pottery vessels. After Török 1997b fig. 131/x-60 to x-63



**Plate 93.** Meroe City, fragments of pottery vessels. After Török 1997b  
fig. 132



**Plate 94.** Meroe City, fragments of pottery vessels. After Török 1997b  
fig. 133





**Plate 95.** Musawwarat es Sufra, building 101–102, table amphora.  
After Wenig – Fitzenreiter 1994 fig. 20



**Plate 96.** Meroe City, fragment of pottery vessel. Stray find photographed at the site



**Plate 97.** Meroe City, pottery vessel, Louvre AE E 13484. After Baud – Sackho-Autissier – Labbé-Toutée (eds) 2010 Cat. 90

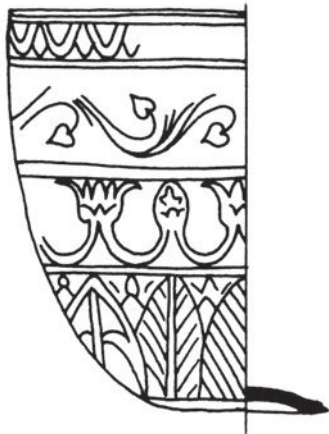


**Plate 98.** Karanog, grave 325, pottery vessel, Philadelphia E 8469.  
After O'Connor 1993 Pl. 29



**Plate 99.** Begarawiya West grave 306, pedestal bowl, MFA 23.1466.  
After Wenig 1978 Cat. 250





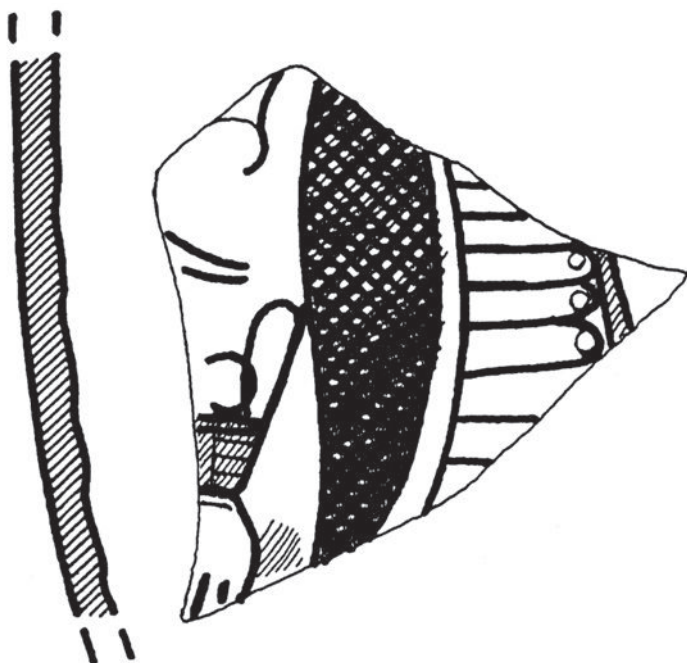
**Plate 100.** Begarawiya West grave 369, bronze bowl. After Török 1989  
No. 92



**Plate 101.** Meroe City, fragment of pottery vessel. After Török 1997b  
Pl. 201



**Plate 102.** Begarawiya West grave 308, pottery bowl, MFA 23.1469.  
After Wenig 1978 Cat. 251



**Plate 103.** Meroe City, fragment of pottery vessel. After Török 1997b  
fig. 116/297-9



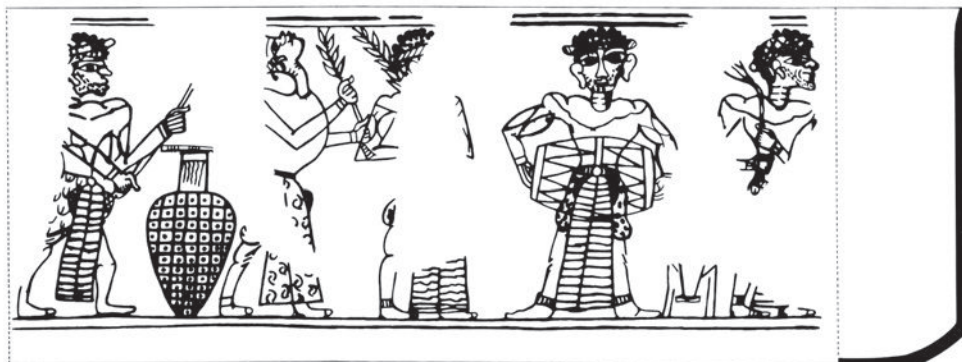
**Plate 104.** Faras grave 2856, pottery cup, Munich ÄS 3851. After Wildung (ed.) 1997 Cat. 423



**Plate 105.** Pottery cups from Faras grave 2801, Berlin 20836 (left), Meroe City, Berlin 20631 (centre), Faras grave 856, Berlin 20838 (right). After Wildung (ed.) 1997 Cats 424–426



**Plate 106.** Meroe City, pottery cup, Louvre E 11378+E 27493.  
After Kendall 1996 figs 1/a–d



**Plate 107.** Meroe City, pottery cup, Louvre E 11378+E 27493 and Liverpool E 8384, reconstruction drawing by Y. Markowitz. After Kendall 1996 fig. 3



**Plate 108.** El Hobagi, bronze bowl, drawing of decoration, Khartoum SNM 36313. After Dissaux – Reinold – Lenoble 1997 figs 3/a, 3/b





**Plate 109.** El Hobagi, bronze bowl, drawing of decoration, Khartoum SNM 26317.  
After Lenoble 2004 fig. 1



**Plate 110.** Meroe City, fragment of pottery vessel. After Török 1997b  
fig. 128/x-27





**Plate 113.** Karanog grave 614, pottery vessel, Philadelphia E 8313.  
After Wenig 1978 Cat. 244

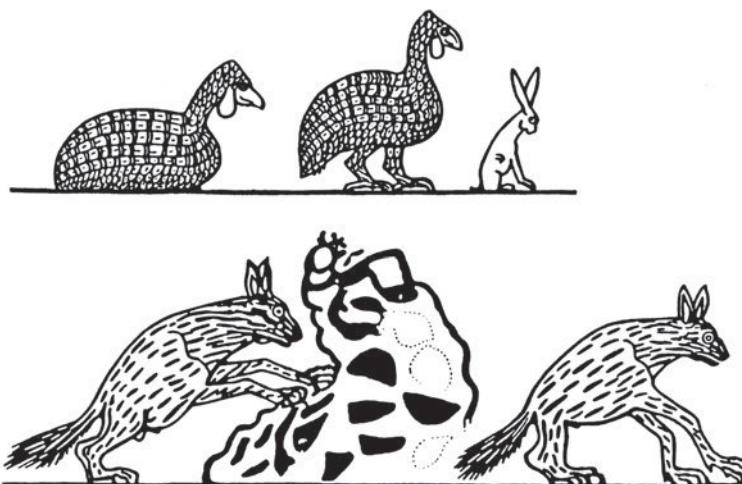




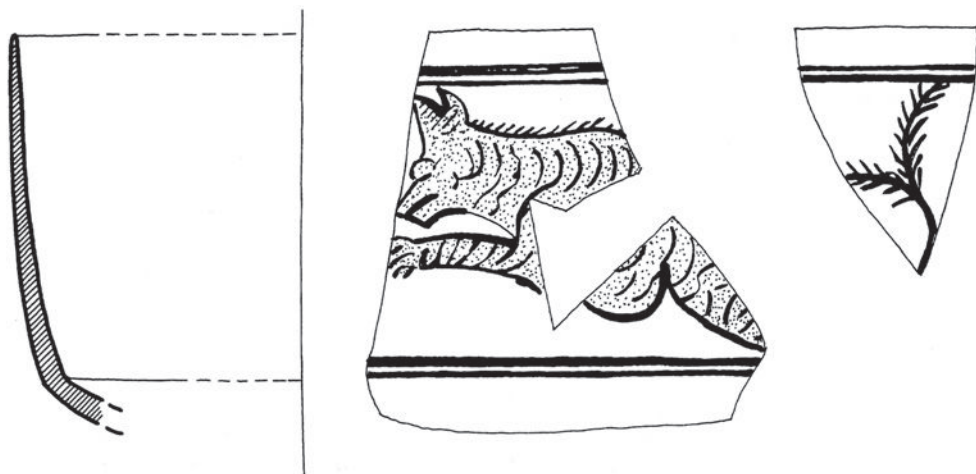
**Plate 114.** Faras grave 2698, pottery vessel, Oxford 1912.475. After Wenig 1978 Cat. 237



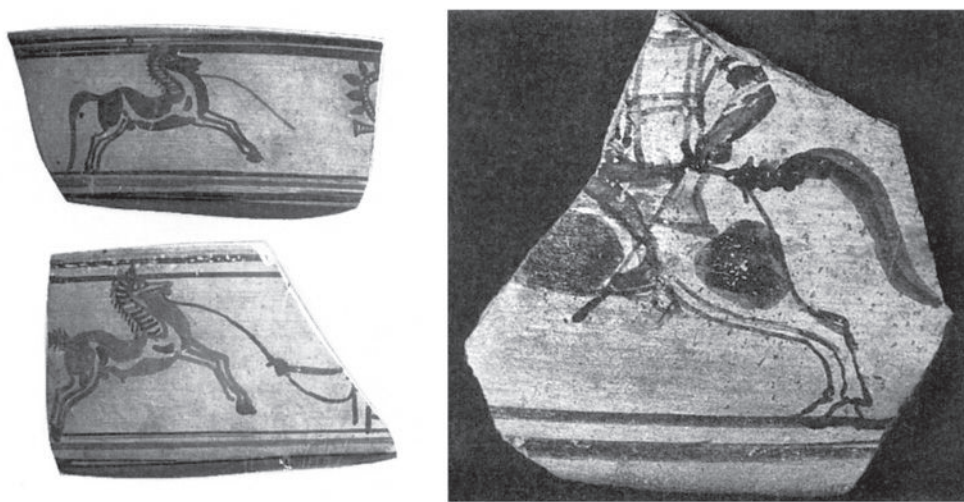
**Plate 115.** Faras grave 675, pottery vessel, Oxford 1912.321. After Wenig 1978 Cat. 232



**Plate 116.** Semna South, pottery vessel, drawing of decoration. After Hofmann 1988 fig. 2



**Plate 117.** Meroe City, fragment of pottery vessel. After Török 1997b fig. 90/284–6



**Plate 118.** Meroe City, fragments of pottery vessels, left: Eighteenth Dynasty painted bowl, Liverpool World Museum 1973.1.698, right: Meroitic bowl, Liverpool World Museum 47.48.128. After Török 1997b Pls 103, 104



**Plate 119.** Faras grave 1226, pottery vessel. After Török 1987a fig. 27

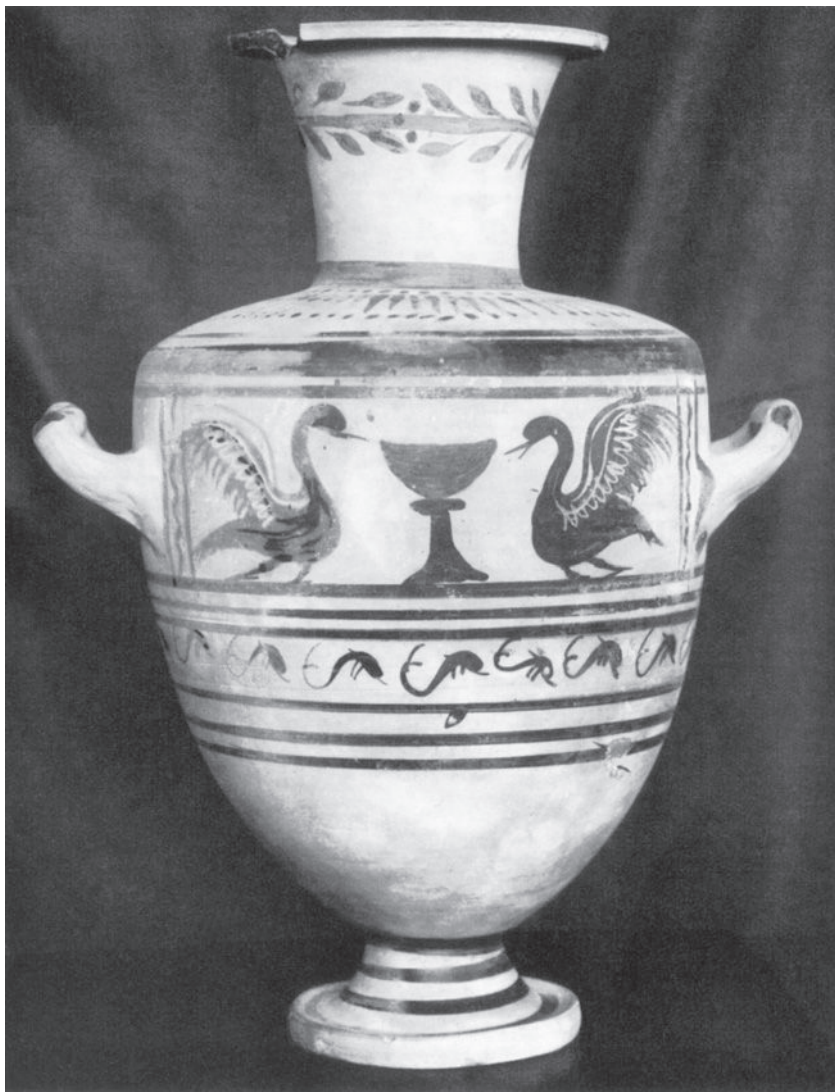


**Plate 120.** Faras grave 1087, pottery vessel. After Török 1987a fig. 29

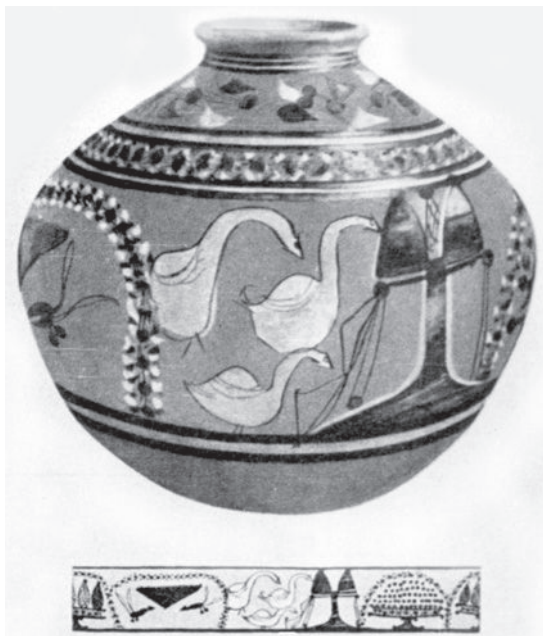




**Plate 121.** Karanog grave 712, pottery vessel, Philadelphia E 8157.  
After O'Connor 1993 Pl. 23



**Plate 122.** Hadra *hydria*, ex Coll. Benaki, Alexandria. After Guerrini 1964  
Pl. I/A 5



**Plate 123.** Karanog grave 712, pottery vessel.  
After Woolley – Randall-MacIver 1910 Pl. 45/8157



**Plate 124.** Karanog grave 112, pottery vessel, Philadelphia E 8216. After  
Baud – Sackho-Autissier – Labbé-Toutée (eds) 2010 fig. 273





**Plate 125.** Karanog grave 162, pottery vessel, Philadelphia E 8293.  
After O'Connor 1993 Pl. 21



**Plate 126.** Karanog grave 129, pottery vessel, Philadelphia E 8192.  
After O'Connor 1993 Pl. 24



**Plate 127.** Karanog grave 566, pottery vessel, Philadelphia E 8183.  
After O'Connor 1993 frontispiece



**Plate 128.** Kerma, pottery vessel, MFA 13.4038. After Baud – Sackho-Autissier – Labbé-Toutée (eds) 2010 fig. 91



**Plate 129.** Faras grave 1063, pottery vessel, drawing of decoration, Oxford 1912.401.  
After Bourriau 1981 No. 211



**Plate 130.** Faras grave 786, pottery cup, BM 51615. After Wenig 1978  
Cat. 253



**Plate 131.** Sedeinga grave I T 16, pottery vessel, Khartoum SNM 27368.  
After Perez Die (ed.) 2003 Cat. 189





**Plate 132.** Karanog grave 315 (?), pottery vessel, Cairo JE 40086.  
After Wenig 1978 Cat. 223



**Plate 133.** Karanog grave 315 (?), pottery vessel, Cairo JE 40486, detail. After Török 1988  
Pl. III/15



**Plate 134.** Pottery vessel, Brooklyn, Charles Edwin Wilbour Fund 71.84.  
After Wenig 1978 Cat. 221



**Plate 135.** Karanog grave 542, pottery vessel, Philadelphia E 8162.  
After Wenig 1978 Cat. 222



**Plate 136.** Karanog grave 738, pottery vessel. After Woolley – Randall-MacIver 1910 Pl. 78/8457



**Plate 137.** Karanog grave 543, pottery vessel, Philadelphia E 8310.  
After Wenig 1978 Cat. 240



**Plate 138.** Faras grave 1090, pottery vessel, Oxford 1912.410.  
After Wenig 1978 Cat. 241





**Plate 139.** Meroe City, pottery vessel, Louvre AF 12839. After Baud – Sackho-Autissier – Labbé-Toutée (eds) 2010 Cat. 124



**Plate 140.** Faras grave 2636, pottery cup, BM EA 51448. After Baud – Sackho-Autissier – Labbé-Toutée (eds) 2010 Cat. 128



**Plate 141.** Semna South grave M-153, pottery vessel, Khartoum SNM 18875. After Wildung (ed.) 1997 Cat. 413



**Plate 142.** Faras grave 1090, pottery vessel, Berlin 20856 (left), Gebel Barkal, pottery cup, Berlin 4603 (right). After Wildung (ed.) 1997  
Cats 414 (left), 415 (right)





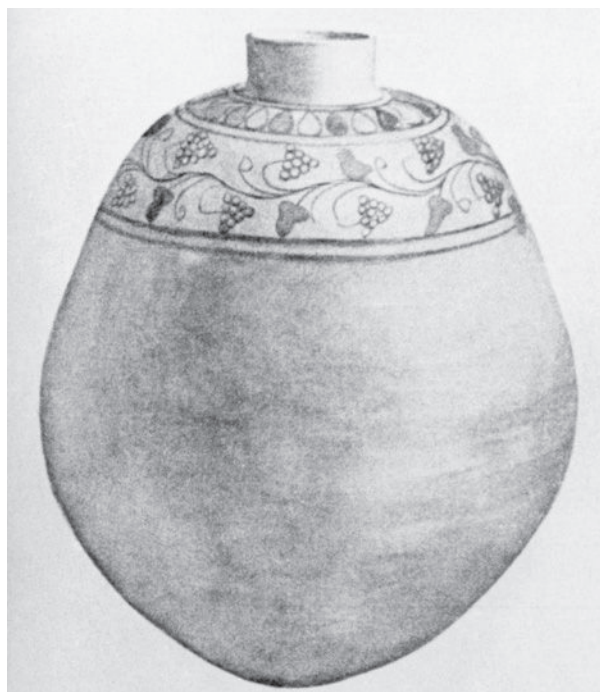
**Plate 143.** Sedeinga grave I T 16, pottery vessel, Khartoum SNM 27367.  
After Perez Die (ed.) 2003 Cat. 188



**Plate 144.** Semna South grave N-432, pottery vessel, Khartoum SNM 18886. After Wenig 1978 Cat. 245



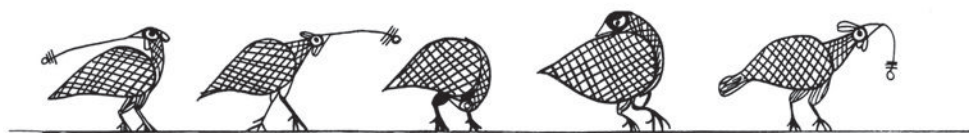
**Plate 145.** Sedeinga, pottery cup, Louvre AE E 32530. After Baud – Sackho-Autissier – Labbé-Toutée (eds) 2010 Cat. 126



**Plate 146.** Karanog grave 183, pottery vessel. After Woolley – Randall-MacIver 1910 Pl. 55/8169

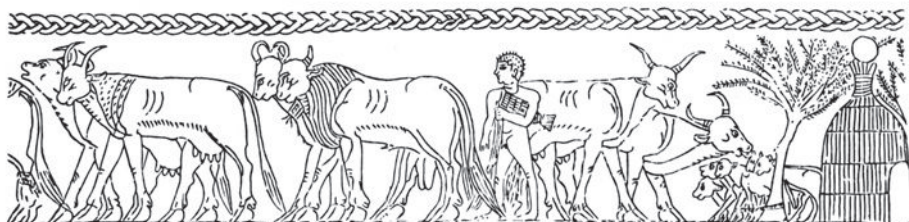
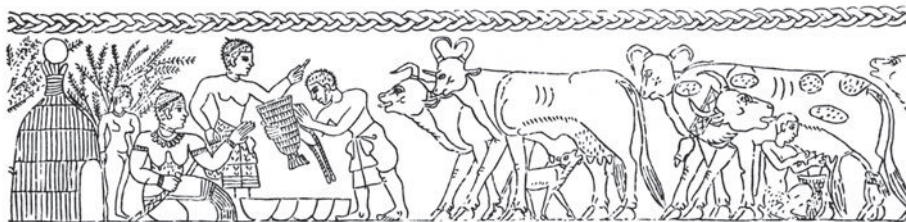


**Plate 147.** Karanog grave 187, pottery vessel. After Woolley – Randall-MacIver 1910 Pl. 64/8227

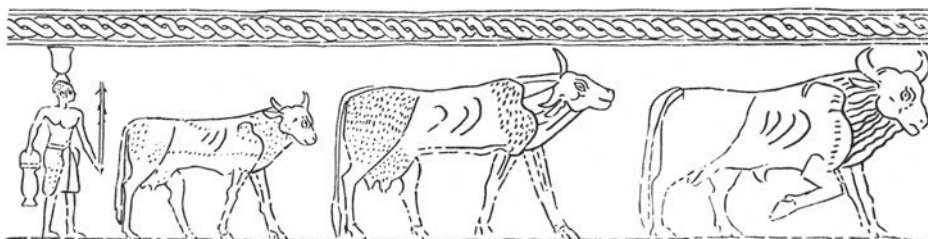


**Plate 148.** Cemetery 150, pottery vessel. After Emery – Kirwan 1935 Pl. 41/VII

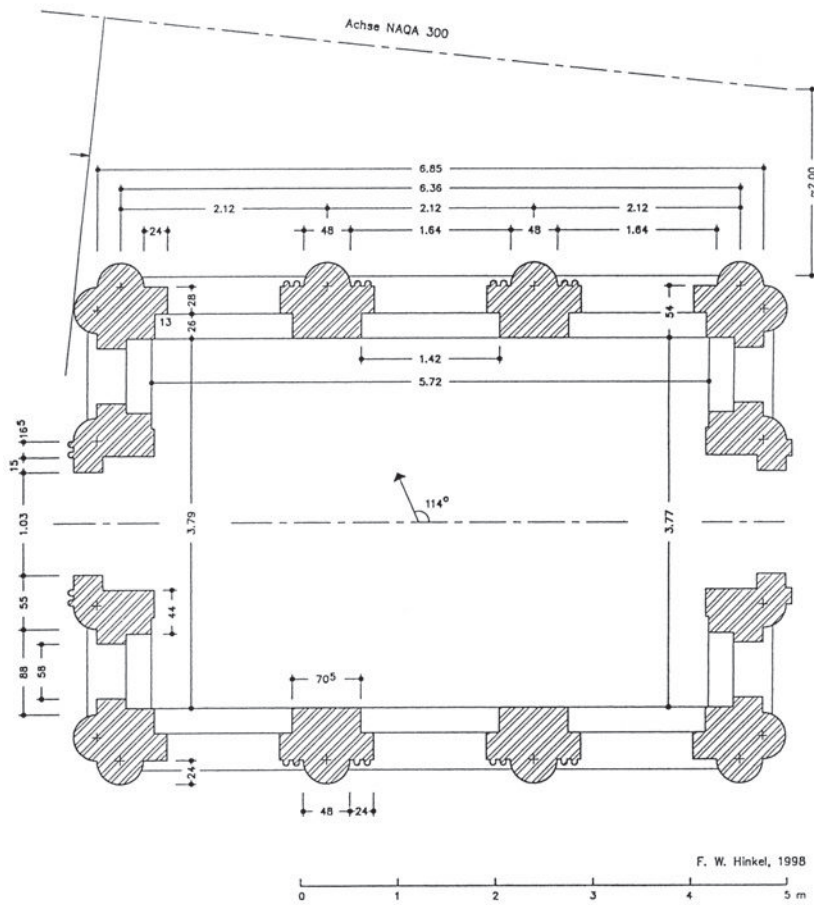




**Plate 149.** Karanog grave 187, bronze bowl, drawing of decoration, Cairo JE 41017.  
After Woolley – Randall-MacIver 1910 Pl. 27



**Plate 150.** Karanog grave 187, bronze bowl, drawing of decoration, Philadelphia E 7155. After Woolley – Randall-MacIver 1910 Pl. 28



**Plate 151.** Naqa, “Roman Kiosk”, ground plan. After Wildung – Schoske 1999 fig. 47



**Plate 152.** Naqa, "Roman Kiosk", west front

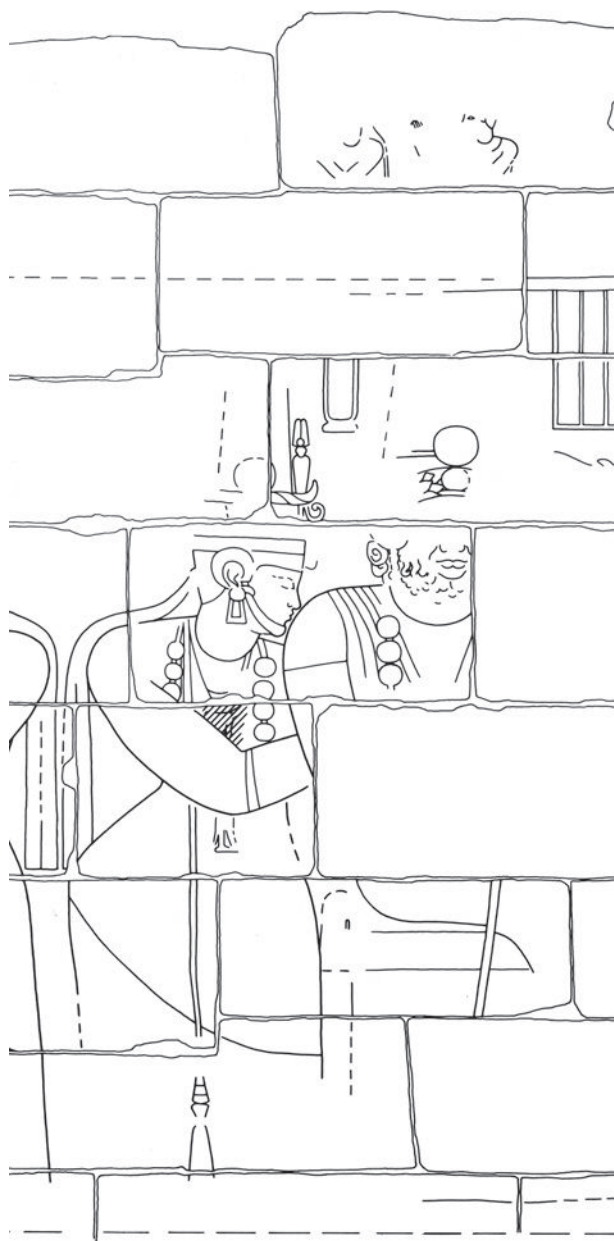


**Plate 153.** Naqa, "Roman Kiosk", south front before restoration.  
After Wildung – Schoske 1999 fig. 48

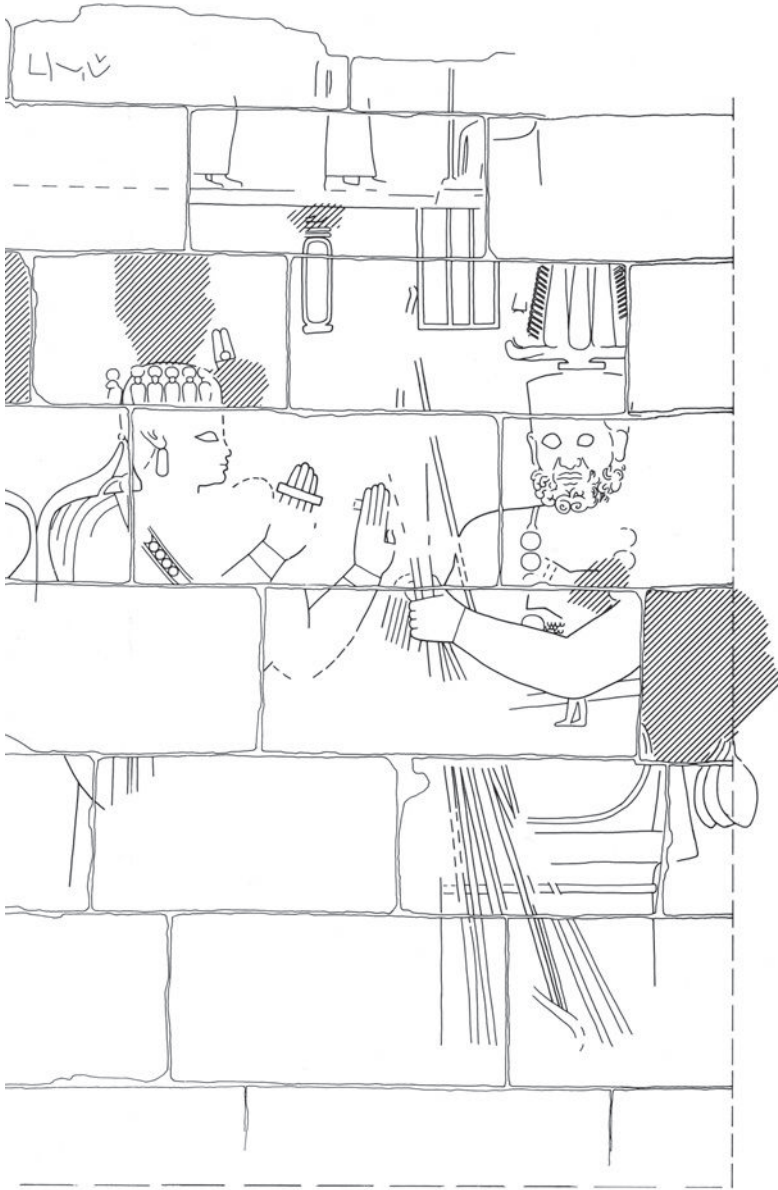




**Plate 154.** Naqa, “Roman Kiosk”, south front, virtual view after restoration.  
After Wildung – Kroeper 2006 fig. 15



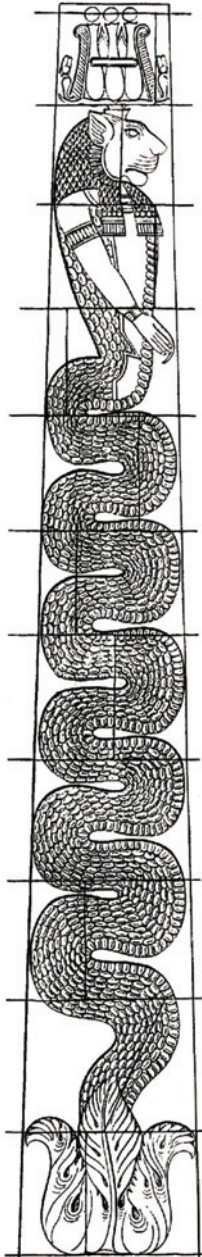
**Plate 155.** Naqa, Apedemak temple, interior west wall, Zeus-Amun-Sarapis and Queen Amanitore. After Gamer-Wallert 1983 Bl. 12



**Plate 156.** Naqa, Apedemak temple, interior south wall, Apedemak-Sarapis and Queen Amanitore. After Gamer-Wallert 1983 Bl. 10/a



**Plate 157.** Naqa, Apedemak temple, interior north wall, upper register, Zeus-Helios-Amun (?). After Gamer-Wallert 1983 Bl. 11/a



**Plate 158.** Naqa, Apedemak temple, south pylon, side wall.  
After Gamer-Wallert 1983 Bl. 3/a



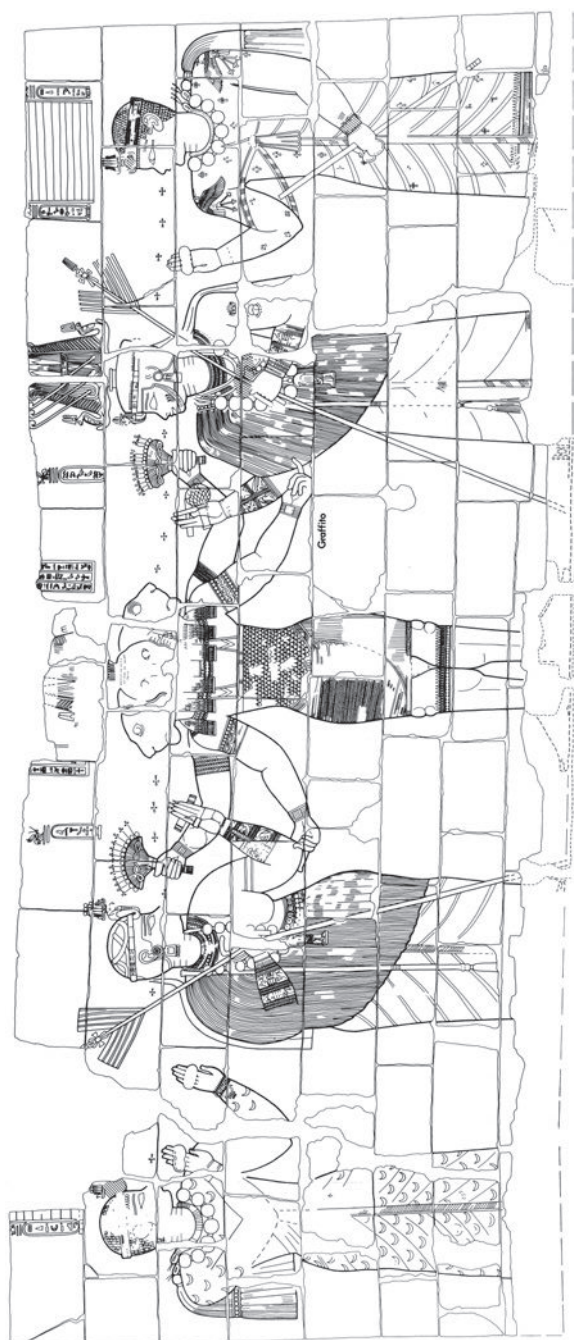


Plate 159. Naqa, Apedemak temple, west front. After Gamer-Wallert 1983 Bl. 7



**Plate 160.** Begarawiya North, statue of queen and prince, Cairo CG 684.  
After Wenig 1975b No. 432

